Guide to the SQ13 Mundurucu File

[Eleven sources have been processed for this file, covering most of the basic aspects of the culture but providing only a limited amount of detailed description such as is available for other more completely studied societies. 1: Tocantins and 3: Martius are early works which may be expected to best reflect aboriginal conditions of the Mundurucu. 4: Horton is a summary of known material for the Handbook of South American Indians and serves as an introduction to the culture. 2: Kruse, 9: Nimuendaju, and the other six sources by Murphy are all by modern writers who have been in personal contact with their subjects in the field. 11: Murphy is a detailed account of Mundurucu religion. The social organization of the tribe is especially well covered; other aspects more fully covered by the modern writers are subsistence, religion, warfare, and the effect of contacts with representatives of contemporary civilizations.]

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

175 The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the
[131] mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided
114 the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by
131 the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with
101 the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maué, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

[302 "The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have
386] the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing
[727] to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

[622] "They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

[648] "Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PRIMITIVE MAN

Quarterly Bulletin

of the

Catholic Anthropological Conference

Vol. VII | October, 1934 | No. 4

MUNDURUCU MOIETIES

REV. ALBERT KRUSE, O.F.M.

Kururú Mission, Correio de Santarém, Estado do Pará, Brazil

INTRODUCTION

101 THE warrior tribe of the Mundurucú is divided into four chief groups: the Tapajós, the Madeira, the Xingú, and the Juruéna Mundurucú. The Tapajós Mundurucú, numbering about [161] 950 souls, inhabit the Tapajós river country from the Cururu to the Rio das Tropas, these two rivers being affluents of the Tapajós flowing in from the east. According to native tradition, the [197] Wiaunyen, who are related by language to the Tapajós Mundurucú, should be included with them; they live in the region around the source of the Rio Mutum, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing in from the right. I have no data on the population of the Wiaunyen. The Madeira Mundurucú came from the Tapajós in the second half of the eighteenth century and acquired territory for themselves in the State of Amazonas. They were visited by Martius. 101 Nimuendajú estimates their strength at approximately 800 souls. 161 The Xingú Mundurucú are the Kuruáya. They live in small groups of from one to four houses along the uppermost left tributaries of the Igarapé da Flecha, a large easterly tributary of

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101 [61] the middle Rio Curuá do Iriry. According to Nimuendajú they number about 120 souls. The Juruéna Mundurucú are also called Njambikwáras.

From the Mundurucú are also supposed to be descended the Guajajára. They were settled on the Rio Gurupi near Cerzedello in 1818. So says Martius.

Tribal Names

[619] a. What do the Tapajós Mundurucú call themselves? A designation for the whole tribe does not exist. When a Mundurucú speaks of his fellow tribesmen, he simply calls them *wcidyc'nye*,[1] "our own", "our people". The word is compounded of the absolute inclusive pronoun *wcidyc*, "we", and the plural suffix, *nye*. Thus it has the meaning: "A great many of our own", "a plurality of our own". The Mundurucú language seems to have no word for homo, human being. Expressions like the following are used: "I belong to the Red Arara sib"; "he belongs to the Seringueira-itaúba sib"; "there come the Japu [people of Japu sib]"; "we met people of the *Ikupi*-wasp sib"; "some of the Mutum sib". For the list of sibs, see infra under social organization.

The Madeira Mundurucú, and the Kuruáya, that is, the Xingú Mundurucú, are held by the Tapajós Mundurucú to be relatives

126 [1] The following phonetic symbols are used: *ö* = German *ö* (palatal); *ü* = German *ü* (palatal); vowel with tilde = nasalized vowel; *ẽ* = nasalized *e*; falling diphthongs in which both vowels are pronounced distinctly have small superior second vowel; *c* = German *sch*; *ñ* = *ng* (guttural nasal); *r* = dental *r*; *s* = always voiceless; *w* as in English but pronounced with lips closer together; *w* as in English "water"; *x* = German *ch*; *y* as in English "yes". The spiritus lenis (stimmloser Kehlkopfexplosivlaut) occurs always between two vowels, and often before words beginning with a vowel; in these cases it is not indicated in transcription; in other cases it is indicated by *q*. Weak sounds are enclosed in brackets. Colon after vowel = long vowel. Accent is on last syllable, except where otherwise indicated by accent mark (′) following vowel.

The palatal vowels *ö* and *ü* are acoustically related to German *ö* and *ü*, but they are not identical with them. Nimuendajú writes me (personal letter, 1931): "A genuine ö and ü, such, for example, as occur in German, are found in none of the more than seventy Indian languages which I have heard with my own ears. Up to the present, I have heard these two sounds only in Urupá; but they do not occur even in Torá, which is most closely related to Urupá".

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

or kin, *bari'puye*. The Xingú Mundurucú are also called by the 101
Tapajós Mundurucú *Tyurari-rinat*, "Tauarirana tribe or clan", as they make their loin, arm and ankle bands out of tauarirana [287]
bark. The linguistically related Wiaunyen are called *i baarem*, "hidden"—hidden in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Mutum.

b. By what names are the Mundurucú known to other tribes? These names differ much. The Mundurucú are called among the Apiacá, their friends, by the name of Pari, or Itāwā't, or Madurukú; among the Bacahiri, Mandurukú; among the Chipaya, Karuriá; among the Juruna, Kaluriá; among the Kuruáya, Karudiat (compare Mundurucuan *Karu-rinat*, Red Arara sib); among the Matanawi, Paici; among the Mura, Patisi; among the To:gapi't, Tcuruvi (?); among the Pareci, Saruma (see infra); among the Torá, Kaubek; among a more distant tribe, Akékakuré. Among the Dyurupêa, a "giant" Indian tribe, the Mundurucú are called Tapêai'n. The Dyurupêa say: "When we come, they cry *tapêai'ñ* and then flee". The reference is here to the tribe which the Apiacá call Urupêá. The Dyurupêa must speak Apiacá. In Apiacá, *tapiai'ñ*, *tapêai'ñ*, means "Indian, stranger". Among the Widadawat, the Mundurucú are called Tupaiyu'n, so the Mundurucú say.

c. How are the Mundurucú called by the "civilized" people? The most common designation is Mundurucú. Nothing certain is known about the origin or meaning of this name, so I shall not go into the matter here. They are also called Caras Pretas, "Black Faces", on account of the dark (not black) tattooing on [304]
their faces. Their third name is Paikise. The word comes from the Lingua Geral, a corrupted Tupi-dialect, and means "Father Knife", as the Mundurucú were known as head hunters, although not as cannibals.

In the State of Matto Grosso the Mundurucú were known as Sarumá (see supra). As Von den Steinen noted, they lived there next to the Apiacá, and disturbed all the tribes of the Arinos and Xingú region by their attacks.

d. How do the Mundurucú call outsiders? Every non-Mun- 609
durucú, be he a "Brown-shirt" or be he some one with a pretension to a veneer of culture, is a *pariwat*, a foreigner, to the "headhunters". But of course the Mundurucú living on the

[see errata sheet, Category 116, p. 57A. – Analyst]

Indians in the River Regions of Tapajôz

101 726 [385] There are still more tribes in the area between the Tapajôz and Madeira, an area still today almost inaccessible, but of these tribes we have hardly any other information than that they are enemies of the Mundurucu, by whom they are being persecuted to the point of extinction. The same is true of the Jumas, Parentintins, and the Araras who live near the sources of the Rio Mauhe and from there westward. Probably to escape this persecution the Jumas and the Araras, the latter distinguished by their graceful feather finery, have moved to the parish of S. Antonio de Araretama (Borba) on the eastern bank of the Madeira, 25 legoas above the river mouth. And the Parintintins, described as a very industrious, [386] accomplished tribe live partly in the village of Jatapôon, on the left bank of the river of the same name. Whether this tribe is to be considered identical with the so-called Coroados, "the Shorn," who are also supposed to be living in the Tapajôz is uncertain. Certain is, however, that [727] the skulls of their enemies, which the Mundrucûs preserve, show a shorn pate. According to other reports the Parintintins are said to have the inside of their fore arms tattooed at the wrist and to be cannibals.* Castelnau [Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud] names them among the tribes still at war with the Brasilians (III, 307). *

> *Earlier the following were mentioned [as living] on the Arinos and Juruena: the Apaunuarias, Marixitas, Apicuricûs, Muquirîas, Ereruas. No trace is left of these, but there is a group known as the Anyurias and another called the Apecuarias. Hyspodiaei are sometimes seen among the Indians of the Tapajûz. Revista trimensal 1847. Ser. II Tom. 2, p. 5. 96.

000 All these tribes have little claim to our attention and I shall leave undecided whether those mentioned first (a - h) are fragments of the Apiacas and Mundrucus who are dominant here or whether they have

171 But they
881 do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Maues. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

241 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[161] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[439] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Würzschilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajoz now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
361 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[727] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
●101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from motumun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the thief [Mitnchmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

726 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[942] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the
child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened
to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is
changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the
bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the
same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already de-
termined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband
dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take
her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage,
for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons
888

*The hopelessly degenerate Camés, Voturées, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do
this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a
service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[101] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tame-
puyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to
this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old peo-
ple" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
[302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside
the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
[175] Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
000 the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCU[1]

By Donald Horton

TERRITORY AND NAME

101 [131] [197]

The *Mundurucú* are a *Tupí*-speaking people in the southwestern portion of the State of Pará and the southeastern corner of the State of Amazonas, Brazil (map 1, *No. 1;* map 4; lat. 5°–8° S., long. 56°–60° W.). When first encountered by Europeans in the late 18th century, the *Mundurucú* were a warlike people, aggressively expanding their territory along the Tapajóz River and adjacent areas. Their expansion reached its limits at the beginning of the 19th century, when they were defeated by the Neo-Brazilians. Since then their territory has dwindled; remnant settlements are located on the Canumá and several of its tributaries (Abacaxis, Paracury, Apucitáua), in the municípios of Maués, Parintins, and Juriti, and on the Cururú River (a southeastern tributary of the Tapajóz). The principal settlements are located along the middle Tapajóz River and especially on its southeastern tributary, the Río de Tropas (between lat. 6° and 7° S., and long. 56° and 57° W.). Communities formerly established on the lower Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Amazon have been absorbed or wiped out by Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Kruse (1934) distinguishes four regional groups of the *Mundurucú:* The Tapajóz River group, living on both sides of the Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Cururú River; the Madeira River *Mundurucú,* on the Secudury, a tributary of the Canumá; the Xingú River *Mundurucú,* known also as the *Curuaya,* on the uppermost left tributary of the Igarapé de Flecha, itself an eastern tributary of the middle Rio Curuá do Iriri; and the Juruena River *Mundurucú,* known also as the *Njambikwaras.* Nimuendajú (personal communication) regards the name "*Madeira Mundurucú*" as unsuitable, since the rivers on which this group is located do not flow into the Madeira; he also believes that the *Curuaya,*

[1] The writer is indebted to Dr. Curt Nimuendajú, who through personal knowledge of the *Mundurucú* and familiarity with literary sources not available to the writer, was able to provide additional information on the distribution and history of the tribe which has been utilized in the present account.

[128] Where the literature clearly indicates that a custom is no longer practiced, the past tense is employed; otherwise the account is given in the present tense even though it is probable that much of the culture so described no longer persists.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

161 though related linguistically to the *Mundurucú*, are to be regarded as an independent tribe (this volume, p. 221), and that the *Njambikwara* (see *Nambicuara*, p. 361) are not properly classified as *Mundurucú* on any basis.

Martius (1867) reported a group related to the *Mundurucú*, known as the *Guajajara*, who were settled on the Gurupí River near Cerzedello in 1818. The writer has found no further reference to this name in the literature dealing with the *Mundurucú*. (The *Guajajara-Tembé* are a tribe near the east coast of Brazil, page 137.)

According to native tradition, the *Wiaunyen*, at the headwaters of the Mutum River, should be classed as a subtribe of the *Mundurucú*.

The *Mundurucú* refer to themselves as *Weidyénye* (our own, our people) (Kruse, 1934). *Mundurucú* (*Mundurukú*, *Mundurucû*, *Mondurucû*, *Mundrucû*, *Moturicû*, etc.) is the name applied to them by the *Parintintin*, in whose language it denotes a species of ant (Strömer, 1932). A nickname widely used by Neo-Brazilians is *Paiquizé* (*Paikyce*) (Martius, 1867) or *Paikise*, meaning "father knife" or "head-cutter." They are sometimes called *Caras Pretas* ("black face"), in reference to their facial tattooing. (See Kruse (1934), who gives an extensive list of names used by other tribes to designate the *Mundurucú*.)

POPULATION

161 In 1887, Martius estimated the *Mundurucú* at 18,000 to 40,000, but Strömer believes that, on the basis of known settlement sites, a maximum population of 10,000 at the period of Contact is indicated. Tocantins (1877) listed 21 villages with populations ranging from 100 to 2,600 and a total population of 18,910. According to Campana, there were at the turn of the century about 1,400 individuals in 37 communities in the Tapajóz area. The largest village had 700 inhabitants, and the smallest less than a dozen. Strömer (1932) found 19 settlements with a total of 1,200 to 1,400 inhabitants in 1931, and fewer still in 1937. Both Campana's and Strömer's figures refer only to the population of the main area of concentration. Kruse gives a population of 950 for the Tapajóz group and 800 for the Canumá group.

HISTORY

175 726 The first reference to the *Mundurucú* was published in 1768 when Monteiro Noronha[2] listed the "*Maturucu*" among the tribes on the Mauées River. In 1769, according to Manoel Baena (1885), the *Mundurucú* began to move northward along the Tapajóz River, forcing out or exterminating the *Jaguain* (*Javaim*, *Hy-au-ahim*), a warlike, cannibalistic tribe then occupying the middle Tapajóz. A "*Mondruci*" settlement a day's journey below the mouth of the Arinos was reported by Almeida Serra in 1779. The *Mundurucú* reached and made unsuccessful attacks upon

[2] The writer has not seen all of the sources mentioned in this sketch of *Mundurucú* history; the material here summarized has been in part provided by Dr. Nimuendajú (personal communication).

The Mundurucú are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors and with the lingua geral. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Urubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Horton, 1948, p. 273.

121 **Mundurucú Indians, A Dual System of Ethics**

[101] The Mundurucú Indians, an aboriginal people of central Brazil, share with most of mankind a propensity to apply one moral standard to relationships among themselves and quite another to their conduct towards the rest of humanity. One may say that this phenomenon is universal. This paper shall maintain the view common to many social scientists that ethical values, whether norms implicit in observed behavior or overt ideals, are parts of social systems. It is to be expected, therefore, that desired and valued behavior will be different among members of any one system than between participants in different systems.

In a sense, all members of modern,

[p. 369 (B)]

[pp. 1-369 (A) not processed for the files. - Analyst]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

I. HABITAT AND HISTORY

The Mundurucú Indians are a tribal group of some 1,250 people living on the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. The remnants of a formerly much more numerous population, they have maintained a considerable part of their native culture despite more than one and a half centuries of contact with Brazilian society. Linguistically, the Mundurucú are Tupian-speaking, but their language is not mutually intelligible with the so-called classical Tupian of the Brazilian littoral. Rather, they appear to form a Tupian substock in company with the near-by Shipaya, Curuaya, and Juruna Indians of the Xingú River drainage. Other cultural characteristics indicate some discontinuity between the Mundurucú and the bulk of the Tupian-speaking peoples and suggest that Mundurucú history had a relatively independent course from that of the coastal groups. Some of these differences are manifest in mythology and religion.

Habitat

The Mundurucú habitat is rather different from what might commonly be expected in the Amazon Valley. Although stretches of flat jungle terrain abound, the area is in a northward-reaching finger of the Planalto de Mato Grosso; the topography is characterized by low hills, and the forests are interspersed with rock outcroppings and large stretches of grassy savannah. Actually, the northernmost extension of these central Brazilian highlands overlooks the Amazon behind the city of Santarém at the mouth of the Tapajós River.

The traveler en route to the Mundurucú country usually ascends the Tapajós River from Santarém; recent completion of an emergency landing field some 300 miles upstream can shorten the weeks-long trip to a matter of two hours flight.[1] During the first 150 miles of the water route the steamer or launch carries one up the deep blue and usually tranquil stream between shores that are at first more than 10 miles apart, but which narrow to a width of about one mile. The hills on either side rise to a few hundred feet and are covered with the vegetation characteristic of most areas of terra firma in the Amazon. At the point where the more elevated country and the banks of the river finally merge to form a narrow gap, the Tapajós River plunges furiously over the almost impassible rapids called the Cachoeira de Maranhão. These rapids form an effective block to navigation, and the traveler must debark and by-pass them by truck or on foot. The truck and the road, which are frequently not usable, are the property of a rubber-trading concern that maintains warehouse and commercial facilities at the lower end of the rapids. The company town has a population of less than 1,000, but it is the metropolis and entrepôt of the upper Tapajós; one can continue for 1,000 miles farther upstream without finding a settlement one-fifth that size.

The next stage of the trip is made in a shallow-draft diesel launch, especially built to negotiate rapids. The shores of the lower Tapajós River are lined with pleasant sand beaches and are broken by occasional villages, but the upper reach

[1] The reader will find it convenient to consult the maps on pp. 2 and 3 during the following discussion.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE SETTING

The Mundurucú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Assú, Secundurý, and Abacaxís rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River. 131

The Mundurucú are usually classified as a Tupian-speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Mundurucú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Mundurucú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identification of the Nambikuara as the "Juruena Mundurucú" are erroneous.[3] The Mundurucú originally were an autonomous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact. 197 [101] [114] 101 131 166

The present-day Mundurucú population consists of about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea 161

[1] Nimuendajú, 1938, p. 975.
[2] Kruse, 1934, p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

meters, but during July in the same period an average of only 6.05 mm. fell. The extremes during this seven-year ranged from 530.4 mm. in January, 1947, to no rainfall in July, 1945, and again in 1951. The rivers rise and fall with the rains, overflowing their banks in November or December and receding in May. 132

Contrary to popular belief, the heat is seldom excessive in this part of Brazil. Although the sea breezes that blow up the Amazon from the sea as far as Manaos every evening are not felt in the upper Tapajós, the temperature usually drops at night to very comfortable levels. It was my experience that one could use pajamas and two cotton blankets at night; the Mundurucú, who do not possess such luxuries, generally sleep in their cotton clothes and awaken at three or four in the morning to light a small fire beneath their hammocks. There are no great variations in temperature from one month to another. Days are slightly warmer and nights cooler during the dry season, but the lower humidity makes it more agreeable than the rains. Maximum temperatures throughout the year range between 87° and 95° F. (30° and 35° C.), minimum temperatures between 63° and 77° F. (17° and 25° C.). During June, a cold wind blows from the distant Andes and chills the entire region for two to four days. Temperatures then fall to as low as 63° F. (17° C.). [291] [513]

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Mundurucú habitat is surely not an earthly paradise, but neither is it the "green hell" so often pictured by royalty-minded travelers and writers. The Brazilians of the Tapajós River, however, do live in a social and economic hell. They distinguish themselves from the Indians by the self-designation of *civilizado* or, less often, *cristão* (Christian). The Indian is commonly called *caboclo* by them, 101 648

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101 648 which, ironically, is what the townsman calls the backwoodsman. The Brazilian residents in the upper Tapajós are scattered along its banks and the lower sections of its larger tributaries as far south as 9° S lat. on the Jurueena and São Manoel rivers. Beyond this point the country is inhabited by the Nambikuára, Tapayuna, and Tupí-Cawahíb Indians, who are all hostile to the whites and effectively prevent further penetration. The Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó Indians, who live to the east of the Mundurucú, have raided the upper Tapajós in recent years, and at the time of our visit fear had induced all inhabitants of the east bank of the river between the Tropas and Jamaxim rivers to move to safer areas.

511 249 The local Brazilians have an enormous fear of hostile Indians. This is especially true of recent immigrants to the Amazon, and it is reinforced by a general feeling of insecurity in the jungle environment. The natives of the States of Ceará and Piauí who have been attracted to the area through aspirations of wealth in rubber, are frequently heard to remark that "life here is a sacrifice"; or "it is better to starve in town where there is movement and people than in this desolation." Inhabitants born in the area are, of course, accustomed to it, but they recognize their own poverty and the despair of their condition. Life in the jungle is difficult; the people are poor and often hungry and deprived of the barest necessities of life. Rubber, the basic export of the area, once offered rich returns to collectors, and especially to traders, but the latex of [439] the wild *Hevea* is now submarginal on the world market; the population engaged in its extraction has correspondingly experienced a forty-year period of depression.

648 The governments of Brazil and of the State of Pará are remote from the region. On rare occasions, one or two policemen from the town of Itaituba, the seat of the mu-

6

social solidarity and social fission

619 [621] Each Mundurucú village is an autonomous political unit, and there is no permanent multicommunity decision-making body. However, the Mundurucú feel themselves to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dî* [101] *nyõ*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people," and the *pariuat*, a term which is applied to all non-Mundurucú. All the "people" consider themselves to be related, and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship system. All, however, are expected to show coöperation [189] and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá [618] Indians and the whites, the *pariuat* are enemies and, in former times, were the objects of warfare.

[p. 126]

who had cuckolded him. The village reacted to his charges ambivalently. They were highly amused at his discomfiture and humiliation, but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of deportment, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village soon became ranged on two sides. Sibel's family supported him, but the majority of the population were ranked solidly against him. Thus, the threat of conflict had spread from Cabituta to Cabrua. And Sibel ran back and forth between Cabituta, where they plotted against his life, and Cabrua, where they took more covert measures against him through his wife.

554
684
[578]

The balance of power and of moral correctness lay with Sibel's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made most difficult by virtue of the fact that Sibel had almost ceased to be a social person--the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the curtain fell on our little drama, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was seen most clearly when, shortly before our departure, Caetano fell from a pale tree and lay seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Cabituta would kill him as soon as they were assured of his father's death, Sibel came immediately to Cabrua and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Sibel approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tapajós River." I asked his why, and, in fine Sibel style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Sibel knew that his life as a Mundurucu was finished.

554
157

SUMMARY

(1) Mundurucú Indians are a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1952-53 with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

109
114

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Mundurucu social structure and the positive evaluation of male solidarity has already been published in an article entitled "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion" (American Anthropologist 59:1018-35, 1957).

554

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Headhunter's Heritage (Berkeley, 1960).

114

2: Steinen- 472 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B 175 648

/391 cont./

enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific information about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

B [113]

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

BM 175 648 [113] M [131]

A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning; it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks:

BM [101]

"In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldeiert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this

BM [131]

passage, that the Baikïrí lived in the province of Pará; among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," re-

BM [101]

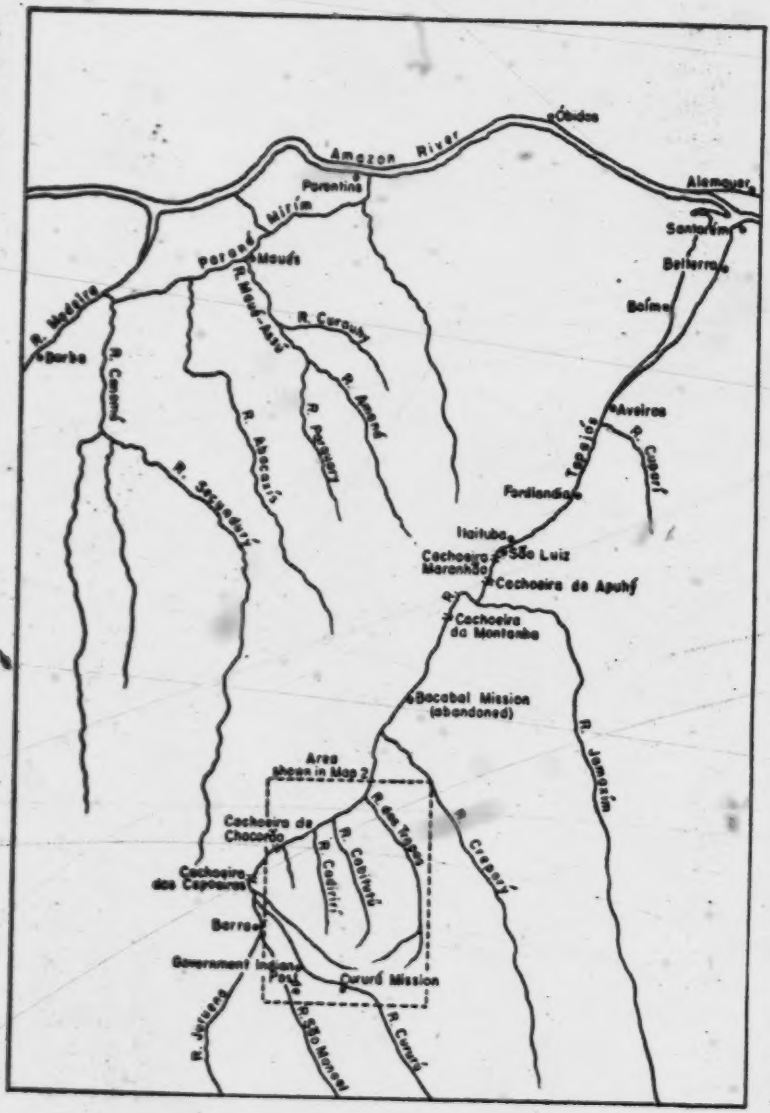
membered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

BA 173 648

The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

●102
103
131
133

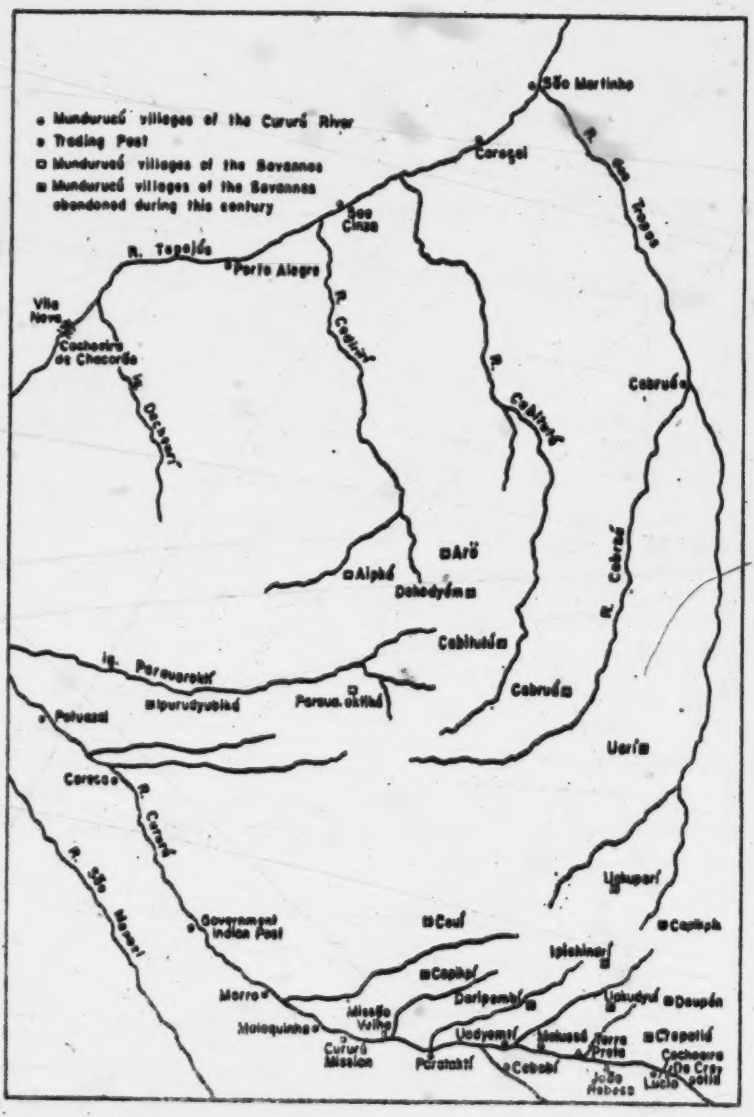


Map 1. Region of the Tapajós and lower Madeira rivers

[p.6]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

102
103
131
133
361
366



Map 2. Present territory of the Mundurucú Indians

P. 14

797 by Fa. Antonino and Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva. This mission holds some five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe.

[124] The missionary Fa. Pelino who was alone there, his companion having already left Bacabal, lent me as an interpreter a Mundurucu Indian who understands and speaks the Portuguese and Tupi languages in addition to his own dialect.

114 I continued my journey up the Tapajoz and reached the mouth of the Cadereri River, an eastern tributary of the Tapajoz, five days after leaving the Mission of Bacabal.

There, according to what I had been told, I was supposed to meet a bold frontiersman who knew the way to the central villages. Unhappily, however, I did not find him, and the members of my crew knew nothing about the course of the Cadereri River.

Here I was, perplexed for lack of guides and information, when two Mundurucu savages appeared upon the beach.

We asked them, through the interpreter, how long it would take us to reach the source of the Cadereri.

[20L 805] The older of the two savages responded with the following sign: with his index finger he pointed due east, and then he traced a semicircle following the apparent course of the sun to the west, accompanying this gesture with expressive looks, motions and sounds; and he repeated this slowly and distinctly six times in such a way that before the interpreter could explain his message I had already understood that the savage meant it would take us six days.

He also told us that we would meet other Indians at the headwaters of the Cadereri, who could guide us to the village of Necodemos whence he and his companion came. [75]

[103] I was impressed by this name of Necodemos which the Mundurucu gave one of their main villages, for it is the name of the generous and compassionate Jew who bestowed simple funeral dignities upon Christ -- a shroud to enclose his body and a sepulcher to protect it.

I do not know why the Mundurucu gave this name to their village, but I imagine that the coincidence of names is no more than a mere accident.

In any case, I decided to seek the village of Necodemos in preference to any other.

161 Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of
[321 families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the
342] woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

161 It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and
181 most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

115 In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

621 Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim
161 Caetano Corrêa.
103

NAME OF THE MALOCAS	POPULATION
Dauapone	1,500
Carucupi	2,300
Dairi	2,600
Capipique	2,000
Necodemos	2,100
Aikã (Samuuma)	1,500
Acupari	800
Areucrê	700
Arebaduri	400
Teiu Curupi	500
Ipsananti	600

621	Cererepçá	500
161	Cabroá	500
103	Imburariri	350
	Macapá	360
	Ucuberi	250
	Cabetutum	350
	Chacorão	700
	Airi	300
	Bacabal (Mission)	500
	Boburé	100
	Total	18,910

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these malocas may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacorão, for example, is now abandoned; that of Boburé is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the numbers of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 18,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the banks of the Upper and [97] Lower Tapajoz, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

XIII

Maloca of Necodemos -- Plan of Mundurucu malocas

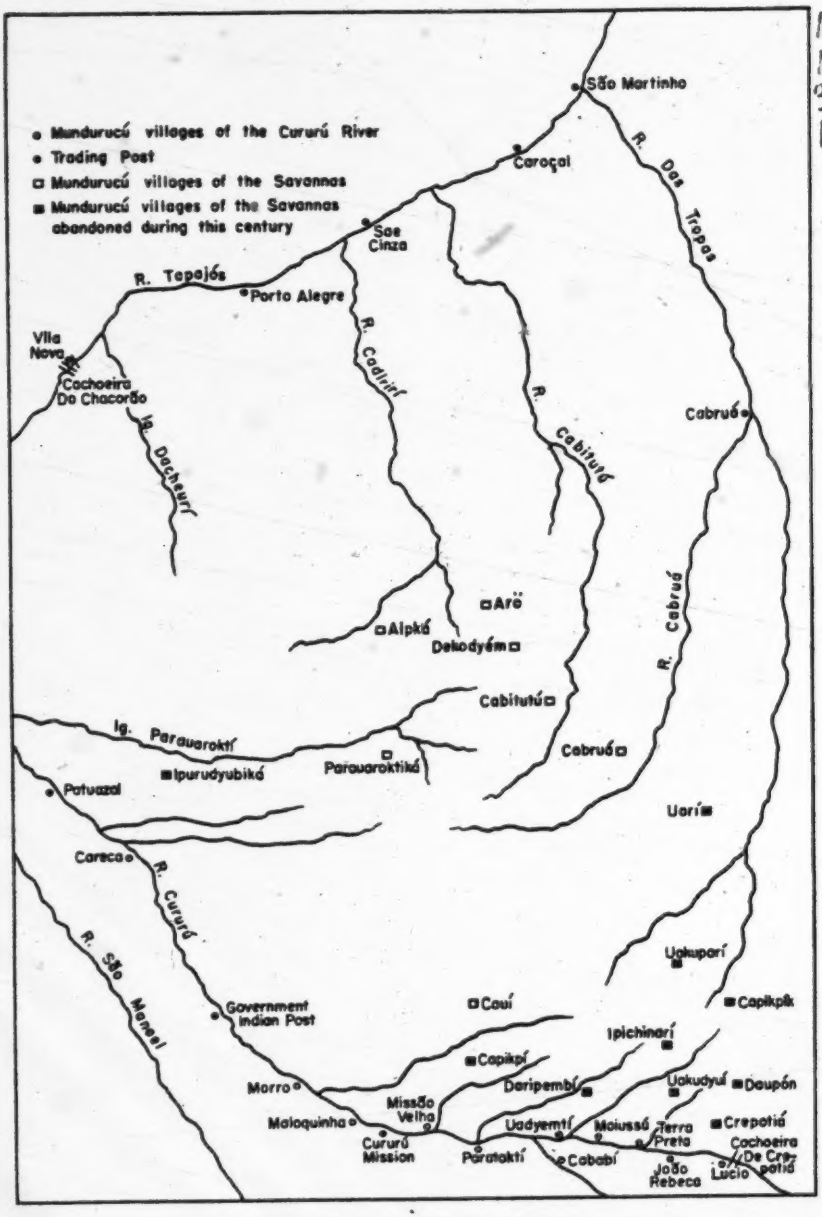
361 Necodemos is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

In the center of the maloca stands the ekçá or warriors' 342-361 quarters.

The ekçá consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

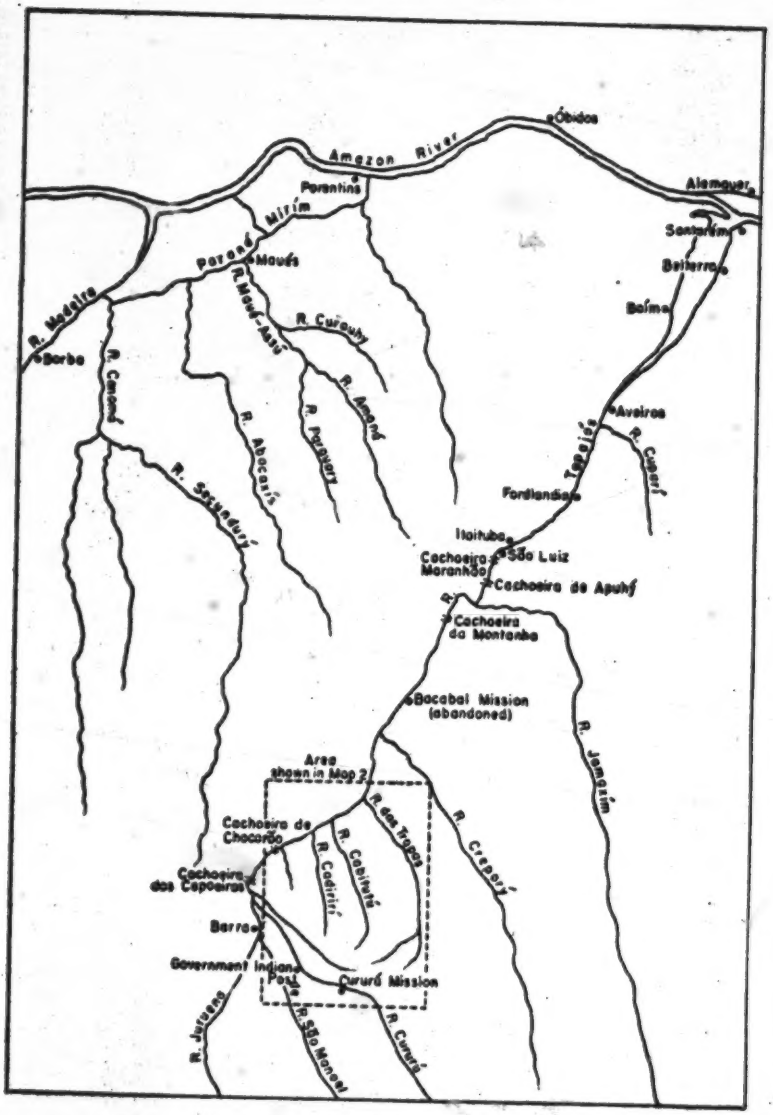
131
103
361
133



Map 2. Mundurucú territory and villages.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

102
103
131
133

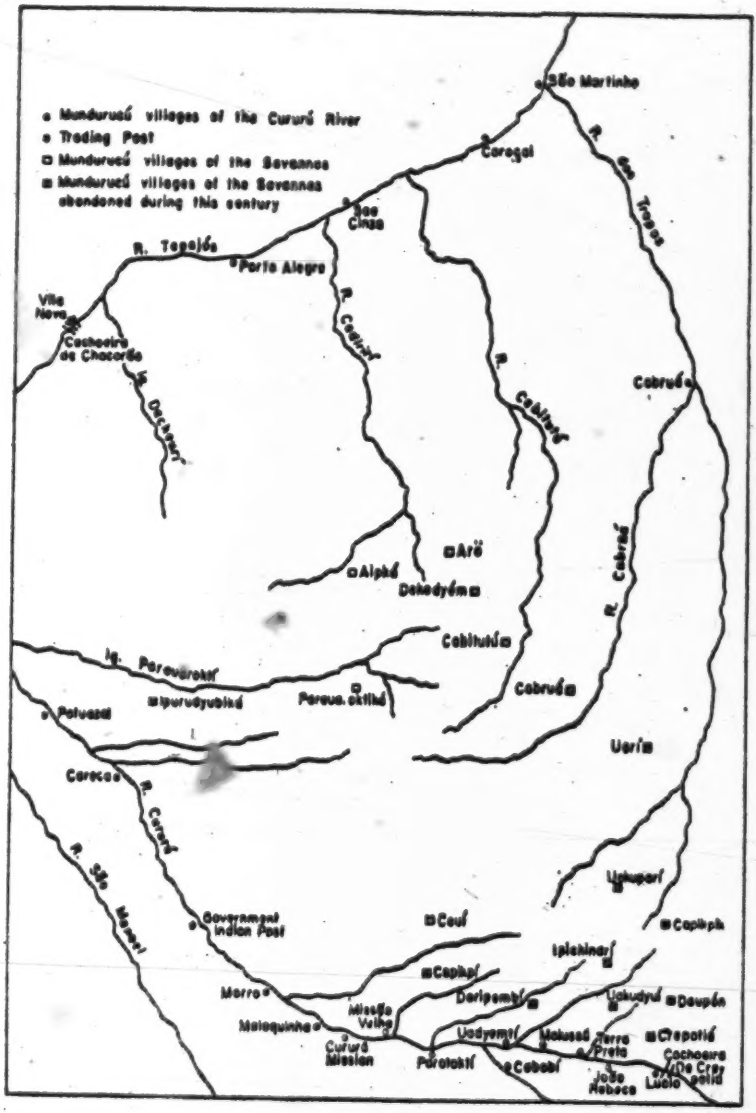


Map 1. Region of the Tapajós and lower Madeira rivers

[p.6]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

102
103
131
133
361
366



Map 2. Present territory of the Mundurucú Indians

P. 14

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

NOTES

[1] The field research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. 102

The writer's wife, Yolanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

[2] For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and u have the phonetic values of Spanish i and u; ö is pronounced as in German; ĩ and ũ are nasal sounds. 107

[3] The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on referential systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguished from the vocative system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein. 602

[4] The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep reverberating sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male subconscious is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the banana." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological explanation of this complex. It merely indicates the deep interaction between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purpose, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure. 534 931

[5] The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of 'increase in the economic importance' of women. Eggan (1950:131) views the continuance of matrilocality among the Hopi in much the same light. 000

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO F. DE

1869 Navegacão do Rio Tapajós para o Pará. Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro, 9:1–16, Rio de Janeiro. 113

BATES, HENRY W.

1863 The naturalist on the river Amazon. London.

COUDREAU, HENRI

1897 Voyage au Tapajoz. Paris.

EGGAN, FRED

1937 The Cheyenne and Arapaho kinship system. *in* Social Anthropology of North American tribes. F. Eggan, ed. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. pp. 35–95.

1950 Social organization of the Western Pueblos. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

1954 Social anthropology and the method of controlled comparison. American Anthropologist 56:743–63.

GOLDSCHMIDT, WALTER

1948 Social organization in native California and the origin of clans. American Anthropologist 50:444–56.

HARTT, CHARLES F.

1885 Contribuições para a etnologia do Valle do Amazonas. Archivos do Museu Nacional 6:1–174. Rio de Janeiro.

HEINE-GELDERN, R.

1923 Südostasien. *in* Buschan, G. Illustrierte Völkerkunde, vol. 11, Stuttgart.

Appendix A

GLOSSARY OF MUNDURUCÚ WORDS

In this list, the letters *i* and *u* have the phonetic value of the Spanish *i* and *u*, *ö* is pronounced as the German *o* with umlaut, and *š* is equivalent to the English *sh*. 104

Araiarai the ceremony for the spirit mothers of game animals, which lasts an entire rainy season.
ašik a spirit that steals the souls of children.
asima ši spirit mother of fish and other aquatic creatures.
aunsabi pipi pain in the side.
biu ši spirit mother of the tapir.
Biu ši anyen Mothers of the Tapir, a men's society.
borombö an instrument used by the shaman.
cauši the intrusive object, created and spread by sorcerers, that causes disease.
chezeretaibitch anyen those who know how to explain dreams; persons who learn supernaturally powerful songs from dreams.
chewoi the supernatural power possessed by game animals.
Dajearuparip the shorter, ten-day ceremony for the spirit mothers of the game animals.
Dajeboiši the title bestowed on a warrior who took an enemy head.
daje ši spirit mother of the peccary.
Darekši anyen The Mothers of the Arrow, a society to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.
dau pipi pain in the leg.
dawü a drink made of tajá leaf and a broth extracted from grated Brazil nuts.
Duparip an extinct ceremony.
eksabi pipi pain in the back.
ibikoium chronic bad luck.
ibiunbök soul; also shadow, reflection, picture.
iböböt an instrument used by the shaman.
iboiwatitit the clan that possesses burial rights over certain clans of the opposite moiety.
ibökaipat the sorcerer.
Inyenborotaptam the first part of the trophy-head ceremonies.
ipsa pipi pain in the stomach.
iši rap nyun ipichat a species of jaguar, one of the eponymous spirit "companions" of the sacred musical instruments of the village of Cabruá.
karökö the sacred musical instruments kept in the men's house.
karökö ejewot spirit "companion" of the sacred musical instruments.
biu a flute played during the *Araiarai* and *Dajearuparip* ceremonies.
kökeriwat the spirits of the underworld.
mambat ši the mother of the rain.
mamú shaman.
mamú keren a shaman who uses his power for foolish or scandalous ends.
möri a gruel made from sweet manioc.
möriapa a shrub, the fruit of which is believed to have been capable of endowing people with clairvoyant powers in mythological times, but which is now poisonous.
Muchacha anyen a society of learned and honored warriors.
naneh an instrument used by the shaman.
nunchai pipi pain in the uterus.
ochö ochö the common cold.
ok pipi pain in the intestine.
paiat fever.
pem a horn used only by members of the *Muchacha anyen* society.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

104 *Piunbõkmõkup anyen* the curing ceremony to retrieve a stolen soul.
piwat leader and sponsor of a ceremony.
põtponchap an instrument used by the shaman.
putcha ši the spirit mother of all game animals.
rapsem ši spirit mother of the deer.
šikiriu a species of small bird having a short beak.
Taimetorom the final phase of the trophy-head ceremonies.
taubokat the third and final stage of the illness, *ujewaii*.
tauć ši spirit mother of the prego monkey.
taukörenjujut a species of small bird.
tekerú a species of small bird.
tubõ ancestral clan spirit.
uai uru a tree.
uantaukuakat wandering soul.
uirapurú a bird, the body of which is used in love magic (Tupi).
ujewaii a lingering illness which causes the victim to sicken and die.
wira anan literally, 'jaguar with a beak'; the term applied to newly made sacred musical instruments.
wirakuá a supernaturally potent and stonelike substance.
yakip a malignant supernatural object, said to resemble a louse, possessed by game animals.
yapõ a wanton woman.
Yašegon the second part of the trophy-head ceremonies.
yauhú the second stage of the illness, *ujewaii*.
Yurupari a highly malignant forest and water spirit.

Appendix B

GLOSSARY OF PORTUGUESE WORDS

apoiseira a tree.
arabamba a fishing bird.
assaí a palm (*Euterpe oleracea*).
beijú flat cake made from manioc flour.
biribá the fruit of the biribazeiro tree (*Duguetia maregraviana* Mart.).
bizorro an insect.
boa boa a bird.
breu de jutahí sap of the jutahí tree.
buriti a palm (*Mauritia vinifera* Mart.).
cajú fruit of the cajueiro tree (*Anacardium occidentalus*).
cajú assú (*cajuacú*) giant cajueiro tree (*Anacardium giganteum*).
cão-cão dos campos a savannah bird.
cará the South American yam (*Dioscorea* sp.).
caratinga a species of fish (*Diapterus*), family Gerridae, genus *Diapterus* and *Eugerres*.
castanha de arara a tree of the Euphorbia family (*Joannesia hevioides* Ducke).
castanheiro the Brazil-nut tree (*Castanhea vesca*)
catitú (*caititú, taititú*) a small wild pig of the family of Tayassuidae (*Pecari tajacu*).
coatá the spider monkey (*Ateles* sp.).
cupiuba a tree (*Goupia glabra*).
curujão da noite a night bird.
cutia agouti (*Dasyprocta aguti* Lin.).
envira (*embira*) a generic term applied to several vegetable fibers used as cord.
farinha a coarse flour made from bitter manioc.
fava a domesticated food plant of the family of Leguminosae.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Muńdurucu SQ13

104

feijão bean.
galza a wading bird.
gavião rapina a species of eagle (*Cerchneis sparverius eidos*).
gavião real a species of eagle (*Thrasaetus harpyia*).
gavião tawató a species of eagle (*Hypomorphnus urubitinga urubitinga*).
guariba the howler monkey (*Alouatta seniculus*).
imbauba (*umbauba*) a tree (*Cecropia palmata*).
ingá the fruit of the ingazeira tree (*Inga* sp.).
jabotá a tree (*Casria blancheti*), the bark of which is used to make canoes.
jacamí (*jacamim*) a species of trumpeter bird favored as a pet (*Psophia crepitans*).
jacú various species of birds of the family of Cracidae, especially those of the genus *Penelope*.
jamarú a plant (*Cucurbita idolatrica* Lacerda).
jambú a plant of the family of Compostas (*Wulffia stenoglossa*).
japín (*japim, japí, zexeu*) a bird (*Cacicus cela*).
jararaca a species of poisonous snake (*Lachesis lanceolatus* Lacep.).
jíju a species of fish (*Etythrinus unitoeniatus*).
juriti (*jurutí*) various species of pigeons of the family of Columbidae.
jutahí (*jutahý, jutaí*) various trees of the family of Leguminosae, genus *Hymenaea*.
kamaiú a cane from which arrow shafts are made.
lagarta caterpillar.
macaxeira sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*).
mãe da lua (*urutau*) a night bird (*Nyctibius grandis*).
mãe de bicho mother of the beasts—a bush supernatural, belief in which is widespread among the caboclo population of the Amazon.
maracanã a species of parrot (*Propyrrhura maracana*).
matrinchão a species of fish (*Brycon brevicaudatus*).
mel de chupé a type of honey.
mucura (*gambá*) various marsupials of the genus *Didelphis*.
muquim small red tick.
murirú pagé a medicinal plant.
mutúm the "turkey of the jungle," name applied to various species of the genus *Crax*.
najá (*anajá*) a palm (*Maximiliana regia*).
nambú (*inambú*) various species of birds of the family of Tinamidae, especially those of the genus *Crypturi*.
orelha de pau literally, ear of wood; a fungus that grows on trees.
paca a river rodent (*Cuniculus paca*).
panema a term for chronic bad luck used by the Amazonian peasants.
patuá (*pataúá*) a palm (*Cenocarpus pataua*).
pau d'arco a tree (*Tecoma heptaphylla*), highly favored for the manufacture of bows.
pau de candeia tree, used for medicinal purposes (*Vanillosmopsis* sp.).
pau de sacupema (*sapopema*) tree with roots that spread from the trunk to form buttresses.
paxiuba a palm (*Socratea exhorrisa*).
paxiuberana a tree (*Tovomita triflora*).
peixe-boi manatee (*Trichechus inunguis* Desmaret).
pensicapau (*pica-pau*) woodpecker.
percevejo an insect, parasite (*Cimex rotundatus*).
piaba a small fish (*Leporinus copelandi*).
pipira (*tié-sangue*) a species of bird (*Rhamphocelus brasilius*).
piqui a tree bearing a round, oleaginous fruit (*Caryocar villosum*).
piránha a carnivorous fish noted for its ferocity (*Pygocentrus piraya*).
prego a species of monkey (*Cebus macrocephalus*).
samauma (*sumauma*) a large tree (*Ceiba pentandra*).

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

●104 *sipó (cipó)* a generic term for liana.
sorva the fruit of the sorveira tree (*Couma utilis*), also used as a source of sap.
tajá (tinhordo) a plant (*Caladium bicolor*).
tamanduá grande the giant anteater (*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*).
tartaruga a species of river turtle (*Emys amazonica*).
tauari a tree (*Carinianа* sp.), the inner bark of which is commonly used as a cover for cigarettes; sheets of the bark are used as walls in the traditional Mundurucú house.
timbó a generic term applied to many lianas and roots used for drugging fish.
tipoia bark-cloth sling in which women carry infants.
tracajá a species of river turtle (*Emys tracaja*).
tracuá a liana used for medicinal purposes (*Philodendron myrmecophilum* Engl.).
tucumã a palm tree (*Astrocaryum tucuma* Mart.).
uchi fruit-bearing tree (*Sacoglottis uchi* Hub.).
urucú the fruit of the urucuseiro bush (*Bixa orellana*), used as a source of red dye.
veado capoeira a species of deer.
zogi zogi (macaco boca d'agua) squirrel monkey.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

•104 glossary

Araiarai the ceremony for the spirit mothers of game animals, which lasts an entire rainy season.
barracões stores of traders
beijú manioc flour "bread"
caboclo neo-Brazilian, usually lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior
campineiro Brazilian term for savannah-dweller
Dajcaruparip the shorter, ten-day ceremony for the spirit mothers of the game animals
diwat "dwellers of the river"
farinha a coarse flour made from bitter manioc
iboiwatitit the clan that possesses burial rights over certain clans of the opposite moiety
karökö the sacred musical instruments ("trumpets") kept in the men's house
karökö ejewot spirit "companion" of the sacred musical instruments
Muchacha anyen a society of learned and honored warriors
padrinho godfather
pariwat Mundurucú who live as Brazilians
patrões patrons
regatões itinerant merchants, in contrast to *patrões*, regular patrons
timbó a generic term applied to many lianas and roots used for drugging fish
tipiti basketry press for grated manioc
tubö ancestral clan spirit

[P. xii]

/29 cont./

*241 to another only occur at long intervals, within decades, and because
361 they occur within a certain well-defined area which is precisely the
166 habitat of the tribe. When these moves overshoot the boundaries of the pertinent territory, the causes must usually be sought in other spheres: in wars, pressure by other tribes, or, as is noted among the present-day Mundurkú, in the influences of trade and of rubber gathering. But, in their original and usual sense, these "internal" migrations, that is, these displacements and movements of groups within the area peculiar to the tribe, are based solely on the agrarian conditions mentioned above. Martius had already said of the Tupi of the upper Tapajós, as quoted earlier: "They practice a primitive agriculture, and therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (16) He had, thus, already noted these moves

16. Martius, 1857: 201.

[182] and had recognized the fact that agriculture was responsible for the greater or lesser stability of the Indian within his territory. In fact, the same thing may be said in a concrete way of the Mundurukú. They are not nomads, precisely because of their agriculture. But neither are they entirely stable within their habitat for the same reason—agriculture—which, owing to soil exhaustion, forces them into repeated moves which, in the last analysis, result in slow internal migrations which I have termed intra-territorial /sic/.

/30/

*241 IV. Native terminology referring to garden plots and cultivated plants

● 104 1) Referring to the garden. (17)

17. The phonetics have been adapted to Portuguese whenever possible. Note the following, however:

*241 /30 cont./
●104

w — as in English.
ü — as in German, but shorter.
c — as the German umlauted "o," but shorter.
t — always dental.
s — always strong.
z — always weak.
Final consonants (as: k - p - t)
are not plosive.
The tonic accent, unless otherwise
noted, is always on the last syllable.

*241
192
[412]

a) Tools:

spade	puruse
iron digging tool	chit
digging stick	ip marazairarab ip

b) Garden and garden tasks:

garden (while under the man's care);	
he says:	kat
garden (while under the woman's care);	
she says:	ko
to clear the undergrowth	tyup tatabm
to fell (the trees)	yup chign; yup chichign
to burn	imapign
brush	taipa
to pile up the brush	taipa chign; taipa chichign
to burn the brush	taipa mapign
to plant (bitter manioc)	(masok) taizabm; (masok) ip maum
to weed, first cleaning	nip ogn
to weed, second cleaning	karit ogn
to pull up the manioc roots	masok ta ogn
to replant	warabm ypu maum; yab; kuon

B. ABORIGINAL CULTURE

121 The brief outline of the aboriginal culture of the Mundurucú which follows is based chiefly on traditional knowledge and the memories of informants, supplemented by the writer's observation of those features which are extant. Only slight reference has been made to historical sources due to their relative unreliability and also because of the absence of data in them on the socio-economic organization, which is our major interest in this work. This section does not pretend to be an ethnography of the Mundurucú, but will be focussed on the delineation of the basis of Mundurucú socio-cultural integration. It will thus provide a baseline for the study of Mundurucú culture change.

The Economy

105 [131] The Mundurucú are essentially forest dwellers. Although their aboriginal villages are located on high savannahs at the headwaters of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajós River, they depended on the resources of the forests and rivers for their subsistence. Their economy did not differ greatly from that of other Tropical Forest

• Because Mundurucú culture has suffered considerable attrition and because this culture loss has been felt in varying degrees in different areas of modern occupation, it is expedient to use the past tense throughout this chapter. It should be remembered that many traits still exist, especially those outside the realm of warfare and ceremonial. The later chapter on the contemporary Mundurucú will indicate what is now present or absent.

[pp 1-16 not processed]

105 tribes except in varying emphasis on different pursuits. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening were and still are the basis of Mundurucú life.

Hunting

224 Of these four activities hunting and horticulture contributed more to the food supply than the other two. To the Mundurucú man, the proper daily activity was the hunt. The men were tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prized game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. The principal animals hunted were tapir (Tapirus Americanus), both the wild pig (Tayassu albirostris) and peccary (Tayassu tajacu), several species of deer, the paca (Cuniculus paca Acs.), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. The men enjoyed hunting, but this must not obscure the fact that it is extremely exhausting work. The hunters left the village in the morning shortly after dawn and traveled long miles through the forests and across sun baked savannah before raising the tracks or scent of game. There then followed an arduous pursuit that sometimes lasted for hours. The successful hunter often ended his day by carrying a 100 pound wild pig on his back for three hours on the homeward trail to the village. Occasionally, he had to spend the night in the forest if he made his kill too late to return by daylight. The men hunted nearly every fair day except for those happy occasions when a great quantity of game was brought back to the village. All activity then stopped and the people sat around eating the

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mu
171
177
105

Tabular Comparison

Mundurucú

1. Pre-rubber

Village consists of men's house, matrilocal extended family households; population divided into patrilineal clans and moieties.
Village males form collective hunting and garden-clearing group.
Household females form the horticultural unit.
Intensive warfare for headhunting and as mercenaries allied to whites; partial dispersal of villagers in dry season for fishing and war.
Chief the war leader and representative of village in trade of manioc flour.

2. Marginal involvement

Chief continues as mediator with trader, but is now often trader-appointed--trader gains influence.
Dry season population dispersal for rubber production rather than fishing and war--war continues, but lessened in importance.
Basic pre-rubber economy and settlement pattern unchanged.
Continuing displacement of aboriginal crafts.

3. Transitional

Further displacement of native crafts, increased need of trade goods, increased dependence on trader.
Chieftainship undermined due to new type chiefs who now represent the trader.
Agricultural cycle and village life inhibit larger rubber production.
Trend toward individual trade.

4. Convergence and culmination

A. Intermediate
Move to new villages in rubber regions.
Chief now intermediary with Indian agent and missionaries.
Individual trade, individualized subsistence economy--end of men's house and traditional village--

Montagnais

1. Pre-fur

Nomadic composite band hunts large migratory game animals.
Frequent band breakup during winter scarcity.
Amalgamation of several winter groups for summer hunting and fishfishing.
Chieftainship weak and shifting--leader of winter group; no summer band chief.
Residence bilocal, frequent shifts of winter group membership.

2. Marginal involvement

Trade by family heads--leaders do not trade for followers.
Trapping secondary to subsistence hunting--subsistence still gotten traditionally, basic social patterns persist.
No trapping territory.
Linkage to trading posts.

3. Transitional

Further displacement of native crafts, increased need of trade goods, increased dependence on trader.
Increased fur production interferes with subsistence hunting.
Individual trade conflicts with group solidarity.

4. Convergence and culmination

Fur trapping now predominant; winter provisions purchased
Winter groups not necessary with end of collective hunt--family or individual hunting gives greater efficiency, allows conservation.
Shift of economic interdependencies from group to trader.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

Mo Mu

Mundurucú (cont.)

village held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability.
Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B, below.

B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A)
Leadership no longer integrative.
Individual trade undercuts kin obligations.
Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenue--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.

Montagnais (cont.)

Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries.
Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year.
Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.

171 177 105

Mo Mu

171 177 [439 622]

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

Mo Mu [601]

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

Mu 177 439

The Brazilian rubber tapper--the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucú who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

Mo Mu 171 177 593

The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Mo Mu 177 621 622

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

577 different in kind, for the central theme
186 makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between desirable behavior within Mundurucú society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

648 The Mundurucú first came to the
[131] attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forests and savannah country east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú
[726] warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a
[105] peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

181 Mundurucú warfare represents one
577 side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[2] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[2] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946). [p. 370(B)]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

had doubtless begun long before the establishment of the present mission; it is probable that items of Christian belief have diffused to the Mundurucú and been reinterpreted by them for a period of more than 150 years. These items of belief are now, from the viewpoint of the Indians, Mundurucú ideas. They recognize the affinity between Christian concepts and stories and some of their own, but they shrug off the former by saying that that is the way the priests tell the stories. Some informants thought that the priests had learned them from the Mundurucú—and learned them poorly.

The vast majority of Christian teachings have not, of course, been integrated into Mundurucú culture, and the Indians are exposed to these alien beliefs whenever they visit the mission or are visited by priests. Some of these, as the concepts of sin and damnation, are well known to the people, but make no emotional impact upon them. The idea of sin, especially original sin, is predicated upon the type of internalized authority more characteristic of the members of a complex society. Mundurucú social control is not dependent upon a sense of guilt, and the structure of personal relations is adequate to govern individuals. The Indians look upon this central theme of Christianity with mixed views. Some feel that hell is the particular destination of white people, but others barely bother to think about it at all. This summarizes the attitude of most Mundurucú toward missionary instruction. They rarely disbelieve the priests, for the latter are regarded as wise and sincere men. But their teachings are thought to be those of white men and thus to be true only for white men. There is no single and absolute body of unchangeable truth to the Mundurucú mind. Within their own mythology, for example, there are two separate origins of man; logically, this appears contradictory, but the Mundurucú do not put these beliefs to the test of logic. This statement does not imply that the Indians are illogical. Rather, it merely suggests that they, like most primitives, are not theologians. For this reason, the native and Christian beliefs coexist quite easily; but most Mundurucú have little interest in the latter, although they may not actively resist and reject them.

Social and Economic Changes

Although it is doubtful that Christian proselytization has resulted in a large-scale displacement of native beliefs, the fact still remains that many aspects of Mundurucú religion are in full decline. This decadence is not understandable as the result of a conflict of patterns of belief. Rather we must view religion, with Durkheim, as being in some way an expression of the mode of organization of the society. Also we are not concerned merely with belief, but with the closely connected subject of ritual; and the form of ritual is directly related to the structure of the social group that implements it.

With this thought in mind, we can review some of the major changes that have taken place in Mundurucú society since their contact with the whites. First, the Mundurucú were evidently patrilocal, as contrasted to their later matrilocality, until some time in the early nineteenth century.[12] This change in residence patterns revolutionized Mundurucú social structure. More than 40

[12] See Murphy (1956) for a full discussion of the causes and implications of this change.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

patrilineal clans, ranked loosely into unnamed phratries and divided almost equally between exogamous moieties, persisted, but the residential basis of patrilineality disappeared. Males formerly remained in the house and village of their birth, but now they were dispersed by the new marriage rule. Clans lost their lineage nucleii and correspondingly suffered a loss of function. Bride service had in a sense become permanent, and the men's house, formerly the dwelling of village bachelors and young men in bride service, became a permanent dwelling of the men. 178 174 105

That is essentially the situation in the contemporary savannah villages. But the social organization of the Cururú River settlements marks a further change from the savannah pattern. Matrilocality is still rather vaguely regarded as the ideal residence rule for all but the sons of chiefs, and the custom is followed in a significant number of cases. Actually, however, many marriages are patrilocal, and there is an increasing tendency for couples to become neolocal eventually.

Furthermore, family life and the social division of the sexes has been drastically modified on the Cururú River. The Cururú villages are the result of migrations by nuclear and extended families from near-by savannah villages and do not represent the simultaneous moves of entire villages. The men's house was never instituted on the Cururú and dwellings were characteristically small. Thus, the Cururú River houses are the residences of one to three related families, whereas those on the savannahs, even under present conditions of depopulation, have an average number of about four families each. Men reside in the same houses as do their wives and children on the Cururú River, and the nuclear family approaches being an independent social and economic unit. Under these conditions the village has little cohesion, and recurrent factionalism results in the proliferation of new and smaller villages. Among these units there are individual ties of marriage and kinship, but the mission provides almost the only context in which the residents of different villages interact in a group.[13]

Other factors have modified Mundurucú social structure and religion. The population is probably about one fourth of what it was 100 years ago;[14] this has resulted not only in greatly reduced villages and households, but it has decreased the number of shamans. Other influences have aggravated this decline. The end of warfare did much to devitalize the Mundurucú and to promote the growing disinterest in the native culture. It also eliminated a whole range of religious ceremonies that formed part of the head-hunting complex. Finally, there has been a profound shift in subsistence base among those Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers. In contrast to the savannah dwellers, who are vigorous hunters, these Indians depend primarily upon fish for protein. This has significance for the religious concepts and activities centered on the animal world and hunting. 178 [184] [262]

[13] The respective social and economic organizations of savannah and Cururú River villages are compared and analyzed with reference to the ecology of rubber collection in another work. (Murphy, 1954.)

[14] According to some sources, this decline has been even greater. Martius (1867, p. 390) estimated the Mundurucú population to be 40,000 in 1819, and Tocantins (1877, p. 101) calculated their number to be 18,910 in 1875. [161]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of work performed and the added importance of the co- 174
operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This 178
process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks 591
and a degree of organization among the women of a house- 439
hold. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of 614
the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[15]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú 105
clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of 174
the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized 614
that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Val- 105
ley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the 174
whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured 562
articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female 614

[15] Eggan (1950, p. 131) states that the Hopi remained matrilocal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

105 174 562 614 labor, in general, and the female work organization, in particular, that extended families increasingly sought to keep their daughters, even at the price of relinquishing the sons. The result was a shift, probably gradual, to a matrilocal mode of residence.

This shift modified the nature of Mundurucú society, 105 and its further consequences will be developed in the 174 course of this chapter. The most immediate and obvious 614 change, however, was the destruction of the residential basis of clanship through the dispersal upon marriage of the men, who are the transmitters of membership. This can be illustrated by the census of one village, which shows that eleven clans are represented among nineteen men. In a matrilocal and matrilineal system, men are also dispersed, but since descent is through females a co-resident lineage having a core of clanswomen can be maintained. This is not possible among the Mundurucú, for the patrilineal descent system places a daughter in a different clan and the opposite moiety from those of her mother. Thus, although the women are nucleated into clusters of blood relatives, the clan membership of these units is also eclectic.

The result of this fragmentation has been the severe 614 weakening of the clan as a functional social entity with corporate prerogatives. In the hypothesized localized form, the clan was a co-resident unit having important economic and political characteristics. Its members were in everyday interaction with each other, and bonds of clanship were continuously manifested and exercised. Moreover, the clan, through its possession of sacred musical instruments, had ritual significance that is perpetuated into the present only as empty form. Other than the continued nominal ownership of the trumpets, clans, as social entities, have few prerogatives. They bury the dead of certain clans of

1: Tocantins, Antonio Manoel Gonçalves. Estudos sobre a Tribu "Mundurucu" [Studies on the Mundurucu Tribe]. Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico Geographico e Ethnographico do Brasil, Vol. 40, part two, pp. 73-161. Rio de Janeiro: 1877.

Ohio State University: F 2501 I59. v.40 pt. 2. [HRAF MS. pp. i, 1-78]

[Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.]

[This is an account of the author's travels to the upper Tapajoz and Cadereri rivers. It is concerned as much with personal experiences as with objective observation. Although materials clearly related to cultures other than the Mundurucu have been marked for the appropriate files, much information has been assigned to the Mundurucu which may possibly pertain to other peoples. Some of the data of especial interest in this source are: a description of residences, population of individual villages, a listing of names of tribes in contact with the Mundurucu, legends of tribal origins, lists of cultivated and wild plants in the area, death and afterlife beliefs, ordering of time, and a lengthy account of relations with rubber

1: Tocantins, Antonio Manoel Gonçalves.

traders and the mission supported by the Brazilian government at Bacabal--Analyst]

Field date: 1875
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Engineer-5
Processed in 1959

2: Kruse, Albert. Mundurucú Moieties. Primitive Man, Vol. 7, pp. 51-57. Washington: Catholic Anthropological Conference, 1934.

Yale: Nk10 C27f v.7

[This very brief source is concerned almost entirely with the moieties and sibs of the Tapajós Mundurucu, giving notes on their organization, regulation, nomenclature, and traditional origin. In addition, the various Mundurucu tribes are identified by their various names and locations. There are some notes on general culture, and a myth of early matriarchy and its abolition is added. A page of corrections and additions from a later volume has been added and repaginated as page 57-A. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Missionary-5
Processed in 1958

3: Martius, Carl F. P. von. Die indianischen Völkerschaften, Stämme und Horden in Brasilien und einigen benachbarten Gebieten, Land und Leute. [The Indian Folk Societies, Tribes and Hordes in Brazil and Several Neighboring Districts, Land and Peoples.] In, Beiträge Zur Ethnographie Amerika's zumal Brasiliens. [Concerning the Ethnography of America, especially Brazil.] Leipzig: Friedrich Fleischer, 1867.

Processed for the files: Pp. 385-400.

Yale: C71c. 25. 1. (HRAF MS pp. 1-14)

/This is a brief ethnographic summary of the Mundurucu which has been extracted from a general work on several tribes of Brazil. Only pages 385-400 have been processed for the file. It includes a few historical notes taken from other sources but is mainly a first-hand account. Some of the topics treated are: physical description of the people, tatooing, ornaments, warfare, linguistic description and affiliations. This work is quoted by Horton (Source No. 4), but not always with the same interpretation as that given by the HRAF translator. --Analyst/

Field date: 1817 Evaluation: Natural Scientist - 5
Analyst: George R. Bedell Processed in 1959

111

SQ13 Mundurucu

4: Horton, Donald. The Mundurucu. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 143, Vol. 3, pp. 271-282. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1948.

HRAF copy.

[This article from the Handbook of South American Indians is a summary based on several primary sources and supplemented with data from Dr. Curt Nimuendajú, who was personally familiar with the Mundurucú and pertinent literary sources unavailable to the author. Some of the original sources have been translated and processed for the file, and a few discrepancies between the HRAF translation and that of Horton have been noted by the analyst on the pages where they appear. The list of sources on page 282 refers to a complete bibliography for the volume which appears on pages 903-986 of the original but has not been processed for the files. The author treats briefly the following subjects and gives notes on a few others: territory, population, history, subsistence, settlements, clothing and adornment, manufactures, social and military organization, warfare, life cycle, religious ceremonies, shamanism, and mythology. --Analyst]

Field date: no date

Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4

Processed in 1958

5: Murphy, Robert. The Rubber Trade and the Mundurucu Village: Chapter 2, Aboriginal Culture. Ph. D. Thesis submitted to Columbia University, 1954.

HRAF manuscript pagination: 17-69.

Unpublished manuscript, on loan from author.

[This source is an excerpt from a larger work based on traditional knowledge and memories of informants and supplemented by the author's own observations while conducting field work among the Mundurucu. The section processed for the files is particularly concerned with socio-economic organization, with considerable data on subsistence activities, warfare, and religion. It is especially valuable in that it covers aspects not treated by earlier writers on the Mundurucu. -- Analyst]

Field date: 1952-1953
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1958

6: Murphy, Robert F. Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucu Society. American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, pp. 414-434. Menasha: The American Anthropological Association, 1956.

HRAF copy

[The author presents evidence in this article that the Mundurucu are one of the few authenticated cases of a patrilineal group in which postmarital residence is permanently matrilocal. He includes a preliminary summary of tribal history and culture. The body of the work is devoted to a detailed treatment of Mundurucu social organization; tribal integration, unilineal institutions, kinship system, and community structure. Finally, he presents a reconstruction of cultural history with respect to the social organization, with a discussion of theoretical implications of the evidence he has gathered. --Analyst]

Field date: 1952-1953
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1959

7: Murphy, Robert F. Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion. American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, pp. 1018-1035. Menasha: The American Anthropological Association, 1957.

HRAF copy.

[This is an analysis of Mundurucu warfare and its relation to social organization, examined in light of theoretical propositions of other writers. The author gives a brief summary of Mundurucu culture and history, followed by a more detailed presentation of the conduct, goals and functions of warfare and associated practices. Based on both personal field experience and earlier documents, this source is probably as complete as is possible on the subject with which it deals. The conclusions are drawn in terms applicable to similar situations in other societies. --Analyst]

Field date: 1952-1953
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1958

8 Murphy, Robert F and Julian H. Steward Tappers and Trappers: Parallel Process in Acculturation. Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. 4, pp. 335-355. Chicago University of Chicago Press, 1956.

HRAF copy.

[This is a comparative study of the changes undergone by two distinct societies, both of which have collecting economies -- the Mundurucu and the Northeastern Algonkians or Montagnais -- which shifted from a subsistence basis to dependence on trade with outside markets. In each case a summary is made of the relevant aspects of the aboriginal culture, and there is a detailed historical treatment of the development of the newer trade economy and its effects on the culture. A comparative summary in tabular form of parallel developments between these two groups is followed by further comparisons from other cultures and a formulation of general principles which the authors derive from these cases. While primarily concerned with economic affairs, other aspects of the cultures are treated when pertinent to the discussion. --Analyst]

Field date: 1952-1953 Evaluation. Ethnologist-5
Analyst: George R. Bedell Processed in 1958

9: Nimuendajú, Kurt. Rapports entre les Mundurukú et les Tupí. [Relations Between the Mundurucu and the Tupi.] Anthropos, Vol. 33, pp. 975-976. Wien: 1938.

Yale: Nk10. +An89. v.33. [HRAF MS: title page and p. 1]

Translated from the French for the Human Relations Area Files by Ruth Horine.

[This source consists of a very brief report by the author of his study of the linguistic relationship between the Mundurucu and Tupi. A study of the language of the Mundurucu by the Rev. Father Albert Kruse was used as a basis. The evidence itself is not presented, but the types of evidence encountered are referred to. --Analyst]

Field date: no date
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4
Processed in 1959

10: Murphy, Robert F. Mundurucú Indians, A Dual System of Ethics. In Encyclopedia of Morals, edited by Vergilius Ferm, pp. 369-374. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1956

HRAF copy

HRAF pagination pp. 369(B)-374(A).

[The purpose of this article is to contrast the behavior of the Mundurucu toward one another with that toward outsiders, and to show how the intensity of this contrast is closely related to other aspects of the social system. The author gives a brief summary of the history of Mundurucu warfare with and for the Brazilian government, and stresses the importance of warfare in strengthening internal harmony. The role of the individual warrior, the position of sorcerers as scapegoats, and a general theoretical discussion of dual ethical systems are included. --Analyst]

Field date: 1952-1953
Analyst: George R. Bedell

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1959

11: Murphy, Robert F. Mundurucú Religion. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 1-154. Berkeley and Los Angeles: 1958.

Yale: C52 07 49\1

[The author, a professional anthropologist, describes the past and present religious practices of the Mundurucu. In the course of this description, some material is given on other aspects of the culture as they existed in the past, and the effect is shown of white contact, both of missionaries and rubber-traders. Included in the work are descriptions of native ceremonies, shamanistic curing, witchcraft, and the texts of 58 songs and folktales.--Analyst]

Field date: 1952-1953
Analyst: James R. Leary

Evaluation: Social Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1959

12: Murphy, Robert F. Headhunter's Heritage. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960.

Pp. xii, 202; preface; 2 maps; bibliography; index

Yale: CF 2520.1. M8. M8

[This source is a sociologically oriented study and analysis of the effects of social change on the economy and social structure of Mundurucu society. The agents of social change, as represented in this source, are primarily the trader and missionary both of whom are of non-Indian origin. In his preliminary discussion of the Mundurucu, the author gives a brief resumé of the culture history and ethnology of the Indians, with special emphasis on the Indian-white contact period, Mundurucu economy, kinship and marriage, the local group, social solidarity and social fission within the group, and changing settlement patterns, resulting from Mundurucu acculturation. A very thorough and scholarly analysis of the effects of social change on traditional Mundurucu society summarizes and concludes the work.

12: Murphy, Robert F.

The material on which this source is based was gathered by the author, a professional anthropologist, and his wife during a field trip to the Mundurucu Indians of the Tapajos River area in 1952-53. --Analyst]

Field date: 1952-1953.
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1961

13: Murphy, Robert F., Deviancy and Social Control I: What Makes Biboi Run. Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers No. 24, pp. 55-61. Berkeley, California: Kroeber Anthropological Society. 1961.

Yale: NK10 -/- K92D 24

[This short paper is a study of a young Mundurucu chief. The author discusses his abnormal personality traits and the causes of his social deviancy. The rest of the article is devoted to describing the social sanctions which were brought against him and the probable outcome of this situation--Analyst]

Field date: 1952-1953
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1962

14: Frikel, Protásio. Agricultura dos Indios Mundurukú [The Agriculture of the Mundurucu Indians]. Boletim do Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Nova Série, Antropologia, No. 4. Belém, Pará, Brazil: Goeldi Museum, July, 1959.

Pp. 35 [HRAF MS. pp. 38/; 3 figures

Yale: Brazil. Nk10. P21. 4

Translated from the Portuguese for the Human Relations Area Files by Ariane Brunel.

[This source presents a comprehensive study of Mundurucu agriculture, the data for which were gathered by the author in 1957 during a two month's stay among the Indians of the Franciscan mission of Cururú and surrounding area. The author reviews briefly the existing literature on Mundurucu agriculture, and then proceeds to describe in some detail the methods of preparing a garden plot from the initial choosing of the site by the Indian to the final harvesting and replanting of the crop. The final discursive section of this source deals with the relationship between agriculture as a basic subsistence pattern in Mundurucu society, and its reflection in the social life of the tribe as evidenced through the sexual division of labor, agricultural property and mutual assistance, and

14: Frikel, Protásio.

intraterritorial migrations. A list of native terms pertinent to agriculture and a list of plants used by the Indians will be found at the end of this source.--Analyst]

Field date: 1957
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1963

Coudreau, Henri. Viagem ao Tapajós [Travels on the Tapajós]: 28 de Julho de 1895-7 de Janeiro de 1896. Brasiliana: Biblioteca Pedagogica Brasileira, Series 5, Vol. 208. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, [ca. 1936].

Pp. 288; 37 illustrations; map.

Translated from the French to Portuguese by A. de Miranda Bastos.

[The original of this work was published as Voyage au Tapajoz in Paris by A. Lahure, 1897. Although the author draws some material from his own observations in the course of his voyages, he quotes extensively from the works of Tocantins and, to a lesser degree, Barbosa. He states that his purpose is to revise their observations in light of his own, and so intersperse his comments with those of the earlier writers. Because most of his information is secondary, this source has not been processed for the file. Pages 161-211 chapters VII and VIII) are the ones which treat the Mundurucu explicitly. -- Analyst]

Hartt, Carlos Frederico. Os Mundurucus. (The Mundurucu) In, Contribuicões para a Ethnologia do Valle do Amazonas, Archivos do Museu Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Vol. 6, pp. 1-174. 1885.

[Pages 116 to 133 this article covers the Mundurucu. Although the author, a geologist, quotes from Martius and other earlier writers on the Amazon region, he probably draws also from his own observations, as several statements imply that he traveled extensively through the region. He gives a fairly complete picture of the elements of Mundurucu culture: their locale, physique, subsistence, social organization, names, villages, funerals, warfare and language are all discussed with additional data interspersed. Because most of the information treated in this work is obtainable in other works, this source has not been processed for the files.--Analyst]

Kruse, Albert. Karusakaybë, der Vater der Munduruku. [Karusakaybë, the Father of the Mundurucu]. Anthropos, Vol. 46, pp. 915-932, Vol. 47, pp. 992-1018. Posieux (Freiburg), Switzerland: Anthropos-Institut, 1951-1952.

Yale: Nk10 +An89 46, 47

[This study, by a missionary of the Order of Friars Minor, is concerned with the mythology, cosmology, and other religious beliefs of the Mundurucu, and is primarily concerned with Karusakaybë, their great lawgiver. The material is given in the form of folk-tales, with little attempt at explanation. Since little cultural material is contained in these tales this source has not been processed for the Mundurucu file. For a sample of Mundurucu folklore see 11: Murphy, this file.--Analyst]

4: Horton
113

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[The bibliography noted in this source refers to the complete bibliography appearing at the end of Vol. III of Handbook of South American Indians, pp. 903-986.]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

773 dwelling house. The men did all the work, including such women's tasks
562 as fetching firewood, providing manioc, and baking manioc meal. The woman ruler of the tribe and two companions found three sacred trumpets and secretly practiced playing on them in the forest. When the men discovered the secret, they took the trumpets away from the women. The women were sent to the dwelling house and were forbidden to look again upon the trumpets, while the men took possession of the men's house.

773 Both Strömer (1932) and Farabee (1917 a) report a myth which tells that the sun once fell upon the earth and destroyed its inhabitants by fire. Five days after the fire, the creator sent a vulture from the sky to see if the earth had cooled, but the vulture remained to eat the bodies of men who had been killed. After 4 days a blackbird was sent, but it remained to eat the charred buds of the trees. Four days later, the creator sent a dove, which returned with earth between its claws. Then the creator came down and recreated men and animals of white potter's clay.[4]

LORE AND LEARNING

773 A few miscellaneous cosmological beliefs were obtained by Farabee:
821 Karusakaibō created the sun by transforming a young man who had red eyes and long white hair. The moon is a transformed virgin with white skin. The rain spirit makes thunder by rolling a pestle in a mortar. The constellations are men and animals in a great savanna. An eclipse of the sun is due to a great fire which sweeps over its surface. A powerful shaman once ascended to the sun and put out the fire. Now, when an eclipse occurs, the shaman sends his yakpu to clear the sun. The yakpu (a fragment of meteoric iron) falls to the earth as a ball of fire. After it cools, the shaman puts it away until the next eclipse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

● 113 Baena, 1885; Barbosa Rodrigues, 1882 a; Bates, 1872; Campana, 1904–06; Chandless, 1862, 1870; Coudreau, H., 1897 a; Farabee, 1917 a; Hartt, 1885; Hörschelmann, 1918–20; Katzer, 1901; Koseritz, 1885; Kruse, 1934; Martius, 1867; Nimuendajú, 1938; Nordenskiöld, 1924 b; Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3; Steinen, 1899; Strömer, 1932, 1937; Tocantins, 1877; Wood, 1868–70.

[4] For texts of some of the myths given in condensed form above, see Strömer (1932); for other myths, not included in this account, see Strömer (Ibid.) and Tocantins (1877). Farabee (1917 a) also gives three animal fables which he attributes to the Mundurucú.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

NOTES

[1] The field research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. 122

The writer's wife, Yólanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

[2] For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and u have the phonetic values of Spanish i and u; ö is pronounced as in German; ĩ and ũ are nasal sounds. 104

[3] The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on referential systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguished from the vocative system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein. 602

[4] The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep reverberating sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male subconscious is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the banana." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological explanation of this complex. It merely indicates the deep interaction between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purpose, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure. 534 831

[5] The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of 'increase in the economic importance' of women. Eggan (1950:131) views the continuance of matrilocality among the Hopi in much the same light.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO F. DE
1869 Navegação do Rio Tapajós para o Pará. Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 9:1–16, Rio de Janeiro. 113

BATES, HENRY W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazons. London.

COUDREAU, HENRI
1897 Voyage au Tapajos. Paris.

EGGAN, FRED
1937 The Cheyenne and Arapaho kinship system. *in* Social Anthropology of North American tribes. F. Eggan, ed. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. pp. 35–95.
1950 Social organization of the Western Pueblos. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
1954 Social anthropology and the method of controlled comparison. American Anthropologist 56:743–63.

GOLDSCHMIDT, WALTER
1948 Social organization in native California and the origin of clans. American Anthropologist 50:444–56.

HARTT, CHARLES F.
1885 Contribuições para a etnologia do Valle do Amazonas. Archivos do Museu Nacional 6:1–174. Rio de Janeiro.

HEINE-GELDERN, R.
1923 Südamerika. *in* Buschan, G. Illustrierte Völkerkunde, vol. II, Stuttgart.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

115 KIRCHOFF, PAUL
1932 Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen und verwandtenheirat. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 64:41–72.

KROEBER, ALFRED L.
1952 Basic and secondary patterns in social structure. in The Nature of Culture, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, pp. 210–18.

KRUSE, ALBERT
1934 Mundurucú moieties. Primitive Man 7, No. 4:51–57.

LOEB, EDWIN M. and JAN O. M. BROEK
1947 Social organization and the long house in Southeast Asia. American Anthropologist 49:416–25.

LOWIE, ROBERT H.
1948 Social organization. New York, Rinehart.
1949 Social and political organization of the tropical forest and marginal tribes. Handbook of South American Indians 5:313–50. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 143.)

MALINOWSKI, B.
1930 Culture. Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences IV.

MARSHALL, HARRY I.
1922 The Karen people of Burma: a study in anthropology and ethnology. The Ohio State University Bulletin 26, No. 13.

MARTIUS, KARL F. P. VON
1867 Beiträge zur ethnographie und sprachenkunde Südamerikas, zumal Brasiliens, Vol. 1, Leipzig.

METRAUX, ALFRED
1948 The Tupinamba. Handbook of South American Indians 3:95–133. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 143.)

MURDOCK, GEORGE P.
1949 Social structure. New York, Macmillan.
1954 Personal communication.

MURPHY, ROBERT F.
1956 The rubber trade and the Mundurucú village. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University. (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms.)

NIMUENDAJÚ, CURT
1938 Rapport entre les Mundurukú et les Tupí. Anthropos 33:975–76.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R.
1952 The study of kinship systems. in Structure and Function in Primitive Society. Glencoe, The Free Press, pp. 49–89.

RIVERS, W. H. R.
1914 Kinship and social organization. London.

STEWARD, JULIAN H.
1936 The economic and social basis of primitive bands. in Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber. Berkeley, pp. 331–50.
1937 Ecological aspects of southwestern society. Anthropos 32:87–104.

TIPPS, MINORA
1943 The influence of common residence on the preferred classification of kindred. American Anthropologist 45:511–30.

TOCANTINS, ANTONIO M. G.
1877 Estudos sobre a tribu "Mundurucú." Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro 40, No. 2:73–161. Rio de Janeiro.

WAGLEY, CHARLES and EDUARDO GALVÃO
1946 O parentesco Tupí-Guarani. Boletim do Museu Nacional. Antropologia. N.S. No. 6.

WHITE, LESLIE
1948 The definition and prohibition of incest. American Anthropologist 50:416–35.

WHYMPER, TOWNSEND W.
1910 The north-west Amazons. London.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

171 The repression of open conflict among the Pueblosans accounts for the latent
182 hostility that many ethnologists have seen seething below surface relations. Under modern conditions this often results in community fission, and the same process can be noted among the contemporary, nonwarring Mundurucú. Lacking adequate safety-valves for the release of aggression, the Mundurucú now tend to withdraw from the frustrating situation.

721 Not all matrilocal groups repress aggression to the same extent as do the
571 Mundurucú, nor are they as warlike. The greater emphasis of the Mundurucú
182 upon social cohesion and external aggression stems from the persistence of patrilineal clans in a matrilocal society. This factor, combined with inter-village matrilocality, made hostility even more explosive and internal release systems less workable. It oriented the group toward warfare and provided the organization for its effective pursuit. Some deviation from our model is expectable, for there is no fixed and unvarying reservoir of aggression in society; it has its roots in the social structure, as does its expression. Our thesis states only that matrilocal societies must repress the open expression of intrasocietal conflict and that this repressed hostility, variable in intensity, will be relieved through acceptable and nondisruptive means within the society, or through warfare, or through both. But warfare, it can be concluded, is an especially effective means of promoting social cohesion in that it provides an occasion upon which the members of the society unite and submerge their factional differences in the vigorous pursuit of a common purpose.

NOTES

122 [1] The field research upon which this article is based was conducted by my wife and me during 1952–53, and was supported by a Research Training Fellowship, granted by the Social Science Research Council, and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. Grateful acknowledgement is made to these institutions.

The present article was read in manuscript by David M. Schneider and profited greatly from his suggestions.

[2] This seemingly incredible series was still remembered by the Uraõ Indians of the upper Gurupí River in the state of Maranhão, according to a personal communication from the Brazilian ethnologist, Dr. Darcy Ribeiro.

[3] A fuller description of the ceremonial field subsequent to a successful raid will be published in a forthcoming monograph (Murphy n.d.).

REFERENCES CITED

113 Almeida Serra, Ricardo
1869 Navegação do Rio Tapajós pelo o Para (1770). Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro 9:1–56.

Alves de Cerqueira, Manoel
1887 Corographia brasileira. Rio de Janeiro.

Bates, Henry W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazons. London.

Chandless, W.
1862 Notes on the rivers Aciuna, Juruena, and Tapajós. Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 30:119–128.

Coser, Lewis A.
1956 The functions of social conflict. Glencoe, The Free Press.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

113

CHOMBART, HENRI
1947 Voyage au Tapajós, 1896. Paris.

ELLIS, FLORENCE HOWLEY
1951 Patterns of aggression and the war cult in Southwestern Pueblos. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 7:177-201.

FARGHER, GEORGE
1954 The structure and causation of Mohave warfare. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 10:97-118.

FERNANDES, FLORESTAN
1952 A função social da guerra na sociedade Tupinambá. São Paulo.

FIRTH, MERIER
1943 The dynamics of chastity among the Tikopia. London, Oxford Press.

GUGINI, EDUARDO
1950 'O uso do propulsor entre as tribos do alto Xingu. Revista do Museu Paulista 4: 353-68.

HARTT, CHARLES F.
1885 Contribuições para a etnologia do Vale do Amazonas. Archivos do Museu Nacional 6:1-174. Rio de Janeiro.

MONTEIRO NOGUEIRA, José
1862 Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará até as últimas colonias dos Dominios Portuguezes ao Rio Amazonas e Negro, 1768. Pará.

MURDOCK, GEORGE P.
1950 Matrilocality and patrilocality in Murdock society. American Anthropologist 50:424-26.
N.d. Murdock religion. Ms.

MURPHY, ROBERT F. and BUNZA QUAIN
1955 The Trumai Indians of Central Brazil. American Ethnological Society, Monograph XXIV.

NEWCOMB, W. W.
1950 A re-examination of the causes of Plains warfare. American Anthropologist 52: 357-60.

NIMUENDAJÚ, CURT
1939 The Apinayé (translated by Robert H. Lowie). Catholic University of America, Anthropological Series No. 8.

SIMMEL, GEORG
1955 Conflict (translated by Kurt Wolff). Glencoe, The Free Press.

SPIX, JOHANN B. VON and MARTIUS, P. P. VON MARTIUS
1831 Reise in Brasilien, Vol. 3, München.

TOLLENARE, AUGUSTO M. G.
1877 Estudos sobre a tribo "Mundurukú." Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro 40, No. 2:73-105. Rio de Janeiro.

Notes

1. The tenacious and diverse legal rights of the tenders to control of rubber areas has been discussed by Bagley [1963, pp. 61-82].

References Cited

Barnett, H. G.
1938 "The Coast Salish of Canada", American Anthropologist, 40, pp.118-141.

Bates, Henry Walter
1863 The Naturalist on the River Amazons, London.

Chandless, W.
1869 "Notes on the rivers Aripuanã, Juruena, and Tapajós" Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. 39, pp. 269-90.

Cohen, Felix
1960 Pluralism with sovereignty, Monograph No. 19[illegible] of the American Ethnological Society.

Collins, June
1950 "Growth of Class Distinctions and Political Authority among the Sheqit Indians during the Contact Period", American Anthropologist, 52, pp. 333-343.

Cooper, John M.
1949 "On the Algonquian Family Starting Ground System pre-Columbian", American Anthropologist, 51, pp. 99-90.

Drucker, Philip
1939 "Rank, Wealth, and Kinship in Northwest Coast Society", American Anthropologist, 41, pp. 55-65.

Eggan, Leslie C.
1939 see Speck and Eggan.
1942 see Speck and Eggan.
1947 "Land Tenure in the Northwest: A Note on the History of a Concept", American Anthropologist, 49, pp. 426-448.

Farber, Bernard
1950 "The Structure of Kalinago Descent Groups", American Anthropologist, 52, pp. 37-42.

Goldman, Irving
1940 "The Alkatcha Carriers Historical Background of Crest Prerogatives", American Anthropologist, 42, pp. 396-424.

Jenkins, Joseph
1951 The Chinese in Pacific Indian Trade Relations, 1786-1840, Monograph No. [illegible] of the American Ethnological Society, New York.

Jenness, Diamond
1955 The Indians of Canada, 3d ed., National Museum of Canada Bulletin 65, Anthropological Series No. 15.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

113●

Leacock, Eleanor Burke
1954 The Montagnais "Hunting Territory" and the Fur Trade, American Anthropological Association Memoir 78.

Lowie, Oscar
1942 The Effects of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture, Monograph No. VI of the American Ethnological Society, New York.

Murphy, Robert F.
1960 "Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society", unpublished.

Speck, Frank G.
1923 "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization", American Anthropologist, 17, pp. 289-305.
1939 (— and Loren C. Eiseley) "The Significance of the Hunting Territory Systems of the Algonkian in Social Theory", American Anthropologist, 41, pp. 269-280.
1942 (— and Loren C. Eiseley) "Montagnais--Naskapi Bands and Family Hunting Districts of the Central and Southern Labrador Peninsula", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 85, pp. 215-242.

Steward, Julian H.
1941 "Determinism in Primitive Society?", Scientific Monthly, 53, pp. 491-501.

Tavanetine, A. M. G.
1957 "Estudos sobre a tribo Mundurukú", Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, Pt. 2, pp. 75-181.

Wagley, Charles
1940 (— and Eduardo Galvao) The Tenetehara Indians of Brazil, New York.
1953 Amazon Town, New York.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

113

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BALDUS, HERBERT
1946. Lendas dos Indios do Brasil. São Paulo.
BATES, HENRY WALTER
1863. The Naturalist on the River Amazons. London.
CALL, MANUEL AYRES DE
1941. Corographia Brasileira (third ed.). Rio de Janeiro.
CHERMONT, KENRY
1897. Voyage au Tapajos. Paris.
HARTT, CHARLES FREDERICK
1872. Amazonian Tortoise Myths. Rio de Janeiro.
KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE
1944. Navaho Witchcraft. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. 22, No. 2. Cambridge.
KOCH-GRÜNBERG, THEODOR
1923. Von Roraima zum Orinoco. Ergebnisse einer Reise in Nordbrasilien und Venezuela in den Jahren 1911-1913. Vol. 3. Stuttgart.
1927. Indianer Marchen aus Südamerika. Jena.
KROEBER, ALFRED
1934. Mundurukú Mutilation. Primitive Man, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 61-67.
LOWIE, ROBERT H.
1948. The Tropical Forests: An Introduction. Handbook of South American Indians (Julian H. Steward, ed.), Vol. 3, The Tropical Forest Tribes, pp. 1-66. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143. Washington.
MAGALHÃES, COUTO DE
1935. O Selvagem (third ed.). Rio de Janeiro.
MARTIUS, KARL F. P. VON
1867. Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's zumal Brasiliens. Vol. 1-Zur Ethnographie. Leipzig.
MÉTRAUX, ALFRED
1938. La Religion des Tupinambas. Bibliothèque de Pseudo des Hautes Etudes, Sciences Religieuses, Vol. 48. Paris.
1948. The Tupinambas. Handbook of South American Indians (Julian H. Steward, ed.), Vol. 3, The Tropical Forest Tribes, pp. 95-133. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143. Washington.
MURPHY, ROBERT F.
1954. The Rubber Trade and the Mundurucú Village. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia Univ. May be obtained from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
1956. Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society. American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp. 414-434.
1957. Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion. American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, No. 6, pp. 1018-1035.
NIMUENDAJÚ, CURT
1915. Sagen der Tembé-Indianer (Pará und Maranhão). Betaeckth für Ethnologie, Vol. 47, pp. 281-301.
1946. The Eastern Timbira, trans. and ed. by Robert H. Lowie, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 41. Berkeley.
1952. The Tukuna, ed. by Robert H. Lowie and trans. by William D. Hohenthal. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 45. Berkeley.
NORDENSKIÖLD, ERLAND
1924. Forschungen und Abenteuer in Südamerika. Stuttgart.
NUNOVES, José MONTEIRO
1862. Roteiro da Viagem da Cidade do Pará até as Ultimas Colonias do Serão do Provincia. Pará.
OBERG, KALERVO
1953. Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publ. No. 15. Washington.
ROTH, WALTER E.
1915. An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-Lore of the Guiana Indians. 30th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 1908-09, pp. 103-268. Washington.
SERRA, RICARDO F. DE ALMEIDA
1869. Navegação do Rio Tapajós para o Pará. Jornal do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Vol. 9 (second ed.), pp. 1-16. Rio de Janeiro.

II: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

#3

Métraux, Alfred.
1948. Tribes of Amazonical Integration: An Operational Concept. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 4, pp. 374-385.

Steinen, C.
1892. Die Sprache der Mundurukú. Linguistische Anthropos-Bibliothek III. Mitteilung bei Wien.

Tastevin, Abbaye R. C.
1927. Estudos sôbre a tribo "Mundurucu." Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, pt. 2, pp. 79-161. Rio de Janeiro.

Wallace, Charles.
1942. O Estado de Grupos do Pagé Tupí. Sociologia, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 205-226. São Paulo.
1943. Documentos Tupinaqui. Boletim do Museu Paraensé, N. S. Antropologia, No. 6. Rio de Janeiro.
1955. Amazon Town. New York.

Wallace, Charles, and Barbara Sacks.
1948. The Tenetehara Indians of Brazil. New York.

Wallace, Dwight Tuttle.
1923. Funeral Beliefs. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 10. New York.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

bibliography

113 AGASSIZ, LOUIS
1868. *A Journey in Brazil*. Boston.

ALVES DE CARVALHO, MANOEL
1945. *Geografia Brasileira*. Rio de Janeiro.

BATES, HENRY WALTER
1863. *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*. London.

BETTENDORF, JOÃO F.
1910. *Crónica da Missão dos Padres da Companhia de Jesus no Estado do Maranhão*. Rio de Janeiro.

CHAFFANJON, W.
1902. "Notes on the Rivers Atinou, Jurumu, and Tapajós," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. London, XXXII, 288-291.
1910. "Notes on the Rivers Maués-Assu, Abacaxis, and Canumã, Amazons," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. London, XL, 618-622.

CHARTIER, ANTONIO, and CAMPOS ALBUQUERQUE
1942. *Os Bororos Orientais*. São Paulo.

COHEN, LEWIS A.
1956. *The Functions of Social Conflict*. Glencoe, Ill.

CONDREAU, HENRI
1897. *Voyage au Tapajós*. Paris.

DURKHEIM, E.
1947. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Glencoe, Ill.

EGGAN, FRED
1937. (ed.) *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*. Chicago.
1950. *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos*. Chicago.
1954. "Social Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Comparison," *American Anthropologist*, LVI, 743-763.

[p. 194]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

BIBLIOGRAPHY

FALLERS, L. A.
1957. "Some Determinants of Marriage Stability in Busoga: a Reformulation of Gluckman's Hypothesis," *Africa*. London, XXVII, 106-122.

FARABEE, WILLIAM C.
1917. "The Amazon Expedition. The Tapajós," *Museum Journal*, University of Pennsylvania, VIII, 126-144.

FORTES, MEYER
1945. *The Dynamics of Clanship Among the Tallensi*. London.

GILLIN, JOHN
1936. "The Barama River Caribs of British Guiana," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Harvard University, Vol. XIV, no. 2.

GLUCKMAN, MAX
1950. "Kinship and Marriage Among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal," in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and C. D. Forde, eds.), pp. 166-206. London.
1956. *Custom and Conflict in Africa*. London.

HARTT, CHARLES F.
1885. "Contribuições para a etnologia do Valle do Amazonas," *Archivos do Museu Nacional*. Rio de Janeiro, VI, 1-174.

HERNDON, WILLIAM L. and L. GIBBON
1854. *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*. Vol. II. Washington.

HOMANS, GEORGE C., and DAVID M. SCHNEIDER
1955. *Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes*. Glencoe, Ill.

KOCHEMSKY, FRITZ
1912. "Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen und Verwandtschaft," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*. Braunschweig, LXIV, 41-71.

KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE
1944. "Navaho Witchcraft," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Harvard University, Vol. XXII, no. 2.

KROEBER, A. L.
1917. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XVIII, pt. 2. New York.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 KROEBER, ALFRED
1934. "Mundurucu Moieties," *Primitive Man*, VII (4), 53–57.

LOWIE, ROBERT H.
1948. *Social Organization*. New York.

MALINOWSKI, B.
1930. "Culture," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IV.

MARTIUS, KARL F. P. VON
1867. *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Südamerikas, zumal Brasiliens*. Vol. I, Leipzig.

MURDOCK, GEORGE P.
1949. *Social Structure*. New York.

MURPHY, ROBERT F.
1956. "Matrilocality and Patrilocality in Mundurucú Society," *American Anthropologist*, LVIII, 414–434.
1958. *Mundurucú Religion*. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Berkeley, Calif. Vol. XLIX, no. 1.
1957. "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion," *American Anthropologist*, LIX, 1018–1035.

MURPHY, ROBERT F., and JULIAN H. STEWARD
1956. "Tappers and Trappers: Parallel Process in Acculturation," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, IV, 335–355.

NIMUENDAJÚ, CURT
1938. "Rapport entre les Mundurukú et les Tupí," *Anthropos*, Fulbourg, XXXIII, 975–979.

OSWALD, KALERVO
1953. *Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil*. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication no. 15, Washington.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R.
1952. *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. Glencoe, Ill.

SCHNEIDER, DAVID M.
1953. "A Note on Bridewealth and the Stability of Marriage," *Man*, London, LIII, 55–57.

SERRA, RICARDO F. DE ALMEIDA
1869. "Navegação do Rio Tapajós para o Pará," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro*, Rio de Janeiro, IX, 1–18.

12:Murphy E-5 (152-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SIMMEL, GEORG
1955. *Conflict* (translated by Kurt Wolff). Glencoe, Illinois. 113●

SMITH, WILLIAM ROBERTSON
1903. *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. London.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL
1954. "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation," *American Anthropologist*, LI, 973–1002.

SPIX, JOHANN B. VON, and KRL. F. P. VON MARTIUS
1831. *Reise in Brasilien*, Vol. III, Munich.

STEINEN, KARL VON DEN
1894. *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*. Berlin.

STEWARD, JULIAN H.
1936. "The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands," in *Essays in Honor of A. L. Kroeber*. Berkeley, Calif.

TITIEV, MISCHA
1943. "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kinship," *American Anthropologist*, XLV, 511–530.

TOCANTINS, ANTONIO M.
1877. "Estudos sobre a tribu 'Mundurukú,'" *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, XL (II), 73–181.

WAGLEY, CHARLES
1953. *Amazon Town*. New York.

WAGLEY, CHARLES, and INGRID GOLDIN
[illegible] Tupi-Guarani," *Boletim do Museu Nacional*, n.s., An[illegible], no. 6. Rio de Janeiro.

WATSON, JAMES B.
1952. *Cayua Culture Change: A Study in Acculturation and Methodology*. Memoir 73, American Anthropological Association.

WHITE, LESLIE
1948. "The Definition and Prohibition of Incest," *American Anthropologist*, 1416–435.

[p.18 is blank]

2: Steinen-472E,D-5 (1894, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SP3

/391 cont./

enemies of the Bakaïr, but there is no more specific information about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïr

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïr, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Boróró.

A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning: it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manuel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks: "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïr, whom they call Muruchúnes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldeiam') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Bakaïr lived in the province of Pará, among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper [illegible] "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Serumá, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakaïr, who called them "Mandurukú," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

The chief enemies of the West Bakaïr, and probably even of the united Bakaïr, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

Studies on the Mundurucu Tribe: A Memoir Written and Read before the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute by Engineer Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, Corresponding Fellow of the Institute.

I

Journey to the central Mundurucu villages, situated in the valley of the Upper Tapajos. -- Itinerary from Belém, capital of the province of Pará, to those villages. -- Scenes of savage life.

I left Belém on the eighteenth of June, 1875, bound for the Upper Tapajos.

The journey up the Amazon from Belém to Santarém and up the Tapajos from Santarém to Itaituba takes five days on one of the big steamers of the Companhia do Amazonas.

At Itaituba I embarked in a small canoe manned by eight Indians, nearly all of the Maué tribe, and proceeded through the falls of the Upper Tapajos.

Ten days later I reached the Mission of Bacabal, which was founded by order of the Imperial Government and established on the right bank of the Tapajos on the twenty-third of February [1821.872.

Translator's Note:

Wherever possible, the spelling of Portuguese and aboriginal words -- including names of places, tribes, rivers, plants, native foods and implements -- has been changed to its modern Brazilian equivalent.

Portuguese personal names and trade names, book titles, aboriginal word lists and Mundurucu quotations have been left untouched, as have a few other native words of uncertain phonetic rendition and those that would require the use of letter combinations equally foreign to present-day Portuguese.

by Fa. Antonino and Fa. Pelino de Carrovalva. This mission holds some five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe.

The missionary Fa. Pelino who was alone there, his companion having already left Bacabal, lent me as an interpreter a Mundurucu Indian who understands and speaks the Portuguese and Tupi languages in addition to his own dialect.

I continued my journey up the Tapajos and reached the mouth of the Cadeseri River, an eastern tributary of the Tapajos, five days after leaving the Mission of Bacabal.

There, according to what I had been told, I was supposed to meet a bold frontiersman who knew the way to the central villages. Unhappily, however, I did not find him, and the members of my crew knew nothing about the course of the Cadeseri River.

Here I was, perplexed for lack of guides and information, when two Mundurucu savages appeared upon the beach.

We asked them, through the interpreter, how long it would take us to reach the source of the Cadeseri.

The older of the two savages responded with the following sign: with his index finger he pointed due east, and then he traced a semicircle following the apparent course of the sun to the west, accompanying this gesture with expressive looks, motions and sounds; and he repeated this slowly and distinctly six times in such a way that before the interpreter could explain his message I had already understood that the savage meant it would take us six days.

He also told us that we would meet other Indians at the headwaters of the Cadeseri, who could guide us to the village of Necodemos whence he and his companion came. [78]

I was impressed by this name of Necodemos which the [illegible] generous and compassionate Jew who bestowed simple funeral dignities upon Christ -- a shroud to enclose his body and a sepulcher to protect it.

I do not know why the Mundurucu gave this name to their village, but I imagine that the coincidence of names is no more than a mere accident.

In any case, I decided to seek the village of Necodemos in preference to any other.

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

The Mundurucu villages are located inthe valley of the mighty Tapajos, which was discovered only 30 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Souza de Azevdo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Para, carrying sixty-four ounces of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which bordered the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Casal divided the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, theTocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajos, and the Madeira. For obviousreasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajos, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and inthe south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with the exception of a few stretches along the bankof the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, thebiboai, the Parua, the Parintintin, the Muras, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

"The Mundurucu," Ayres de Casal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black withgenipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Bakairi, which means head-cutter," owing to their custom of chopping off the heads of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

"They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

"Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

of a different origin. Since I have already given the essential material
● 174 about the Apiacas it might, however, be appropriate to repeat here what I reported about the Mundrucus (Reise in Brasilien III, 1308 et. seq., 1337.) for no other traveller has actually observed these remarkable Indians in their native habitat.

The Mundrucus, Mondurucus, Mundurucus, Mocurious (called by the Apiacas Pari)

[51] The Mundrucus are, together with the Apiacas, the ruling tribe in the northern basin of the Tapajos. Their largest aldea de S. Manuel, which has trade connections with the Brasilians, lies about a day's journey below the junction of the Rio Arinos with the Juruena at the Rio negro (vermillion).

[52] [307] When I met the first Mundrucus in the Mission Novo Monte Carmel de Canuma I had to admit that I had never before seen Indians like these. Without exception they were athletically built, broad-chested and four-square, plump and well nourished in limbs and torso, and the hard muscles so evenly covered as though these people had never interrupted a life of comfortable relaxation with the hardships
[306] of war and the hunt. Their posture and their walk was that of conscious strength. What struck me the most, along with the general physical excellence of every member of the tribe, was the light skin color.
304 They were not as deep a copper red as many other Indians, in particular those living on plains or on large rivers, and this paler color was considerably accented by the tattooing (it was not just painting) which covered almost the whole of the body. * Either the whole face was

*See the illustration in Spix and Martius [illegible] they use a comb made from the thorns of several varieties of palm trees. In all probability there is no other tribe in South America which practices tattooing to the same extent. Rob. Dudley has drawn similar ones from Guyana.

Matrilocality and Patrilocality in Mundurucú Society

ROBERT F. MURPHY
University of California, Berkeley

UNILINEAL descent and unilocal residence, by definition, follow one of but two possible lines, the male or the female. Simple arithmetic would therefore dictate that there are four possible combinations of common descent and residence. Only three of the combinations, however, are found to have any frequent and reliable occurrence. Kroeber (1952:313) noted the single lapse in the following observation:

> "Logically the possibility arises of a fourth plan of society: matrilocal but patrilineal . . . I do not know of such a society, and should expect its occurrence to be rare."

This combination is certainly unusual, and ethnographic literature yields practically no descriptions of its unequivocal occurrence. In most cases, the unilocality or unilineality of the group is questionable. For example, Loeb and Borah (1947:418) claim the Karen people of Burma to have patrilineal clans and matrilocal residence. However, the sources which they cite in support of this contention (Marshall 1922; Heine-Geldern 1922) do not warrant such positive affirmations as to the rule of descent. This conclusion with regard to the Karen is verified by Murdock (1956). Residence rules are likewise subject to misinterpretation, for in many cultures matrilocality is frequently a temporary state followed by permanent patrilocality.

In 1952 the writer discovered the co-existence of matrilocality and patrilineality among the Mundurucú Indians of the upper Tapajós River in central Brazil.[1] Existing information on the Mundurucú had led me to believe, before field research, that the group was patrilineal. Subsequent field investigation proved the contrary to be true, and gives us one of our few authenticated accounts of a patrilineal group in which postmarital residence is permanently matrilocal.

The purpose of this paper is to present the pertinent data for the use of students of social organization, to describe how such a system functions, and to discuss its significance in terms of the evolution of social structure. Considerations of the latter problem will be reserved until the conclusions of this paper, for much of the discussion will [illegible] tional, or dysfunctional in Mundurucú society. This material, when analyzed with reference to the limited amount of historical data available, suggests strongly that the Mundurucú shifted from patrilocality to matrilocality in the first half of the nineteenth century. The bearing of such a change upon Murdock's observations (1949:196) on the difficulty of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent becomes immediately apparent when it is considered that much of Murdock's position depends upon his persuasive argument that a patrilineal society can change from patrilocality to matrilocality only with great difficulty. It would seem that this shift in residence patterns is possible under certain conditions which will be analyzed functionally among the Mundurucú. Matrilocality, following Murdock's use of residence as a determinant

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

591 terms, despite combining matrilocality and patrilineality. Contemporary in-
179 formants claim matrilocality to be the normal rule since ancient times, but historical data suggestive of antecedent patrilocality among the Mundurucú comes from the German explorers Spix and Martius, who encountered elements of the tribe near the lower Madeira River in 1819. The reader should be warned that these observers are not completely reliable, and several obvious errors were encountered in their works. We can only verify their information by comparing it with what is reliably known of the structure of Mundurucú society.

604 According to Martius (1867:393), the Mundurucú were apparently patri-
179 local, for a man could eject his wife from the household. Every young man,
591 however, had to go through a period of bride service lasting several years (*Ibid.*:393). The same writer claimed that when there was no other potential husband available for a young woman, the mother's brother could marry her (*Ibid.*:393). This is of some significance, not only because it gives historical confirmation for the previous analysis from kinship terminology (and Martius was not aware of the "sociological" interpretation of kin terms), but also because it tends to bolster the hypothesis of antecedent patrilocality. The prac-
[77] tice of avuncular marriage is quite widespread in the Amazon basin and in northeastern South America and the Islands (Lowie 1949:317). In all cases, it is correlated with a period of bride service followed by permanent patrilocality. Both Kirchoff (1932:58) and Murdock (1949:111-12) state that avuncular marriage serves to liberate men from the period of temporary matrilocal residence. Whether or not avuncular marriage had this function among the Mundurucú is not known, but its wide distribution in the Tropical Forest region in combination with initial bride service and patrilocality argues for its former existence among the Mundurucú where, according to Martius, the same pattern was in existence.

601 The reader will remember that contemporary Mundurucú informants
179 specifically and vehemently deny the contemporary or past practice of avuncu-
591 lar marriage, and this form of marriage was not collected in genealogies. This is understandable in the matrilocal framework because, although the mother's brother was a member of the opposite moiety to that of his sister's daughter, he was nevertheless a member of the same household with her marriage. In a patrilocal society, the sister's daughter would not reside in the same household and might not even be a resident of her uncle's village. The disappearance of avuncular marriage due to a change from patrilocality to matrilocality would be consistent with much anthropological speculation on the origins of incest prohibitions, whether explained as a result of the necessity to deny sexual access to one's familial intimates, which would disrupt the household (Malinowski 1929:430), or as a result of the need to marry out of the ingroup in order to extend its ties with the larger society (White 1948:427). Tylor (1963:316) has noted the importance of residence in the definition of incest in other cultures:

> "... there are numerous cases in which exogamy is enforced among co-residents even when there is no demonstrable or putative genealogical connection."

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Munduruku SQ13

Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion[1]

ROBERT F. MURPHY
University of California, Berkeley

GEORG SIMMEL (1955:33–4) noted that warfare is frequently the only mode of social interaction between primitive societies. He saw the social relations of such groups to be characterized by diametric opposition between the norms of behavior applicable to members of the ingroup, on one hand, and toward members of outgroups, on the other. This dichotomy was internally self-consistent to Simmel, and he wrote (ibid:34):

> For this reason, the same drive to expand and to act, which within the group requires unconditional peace for the integration of interests and for unfettered interaction, may appear to the outside world as a tendency toward war.

Intergroup conflict was viewed by Simmel has having positive functions: it provides the basis for group formation and cohesion, and it accentuates and maintains group boundaries. Conflict, then, is not aberrant or dysfunctional. Rather, it structures social relations both within and between societies.

Lewis Coser (1956:95), writing to Simmel's general thesis, points out that social cohesion does not automatically follow from conflict, for "social systems lacking social solidarity are likely to disintegrate in the face of conflict, although some unity may be despotically enforced." The corollary proposition is offered that:

> . . . if the basic social structure is stable, if basic values are not questioned, cohesion is usually strengthened by war through challenge to, and revitalization of, values and goals which have been taken for granted (ibid:98).

Coser's view by no means contradicts that of Simmel but is an elaboration of the latter's thesis, as cited above, that intergroup hostility and social cohesion are only analytically different aspects of the same social process. Conflict and social solidarity are mutually re-enforcing: conflict promotes social integration, and solidarity is necessary if the group is to take effective common action against the outer world.

The present paper will analyze the warfare pattern of a Brazilian Indian group, the Mundurucú, in the light of the propositions given by Simmel and subsequently by Coser. We will go beyond the thesis that warfare contributes to the maintenance of the social structure to consider also how this social structure organized the membership for military activity. Further, the thesis will be advanced that this type of social structure actually generated the bellicose activities and attitudes that functioned to preserve it, and that this circular relationship allowed Mundurucú society to continue through a period during which it was subjected to severe internal and external threats. Finally, we will conclude with a general hypothesis upon the relation between social structure, social cohesion, and conflict.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PREFACE

This monograph is based primarily upon data gathered in the course of research among the Mundurucú Indians of the state of Pará, Brazil, in 1952 and 1953. The field work, in which my wife Yolanda and I collaborated, was conducted with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded by the Trustees of Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. At the time of the investigation, we were graduate students in the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, and our work was under the guidance of Professors Julian H. Steward and Charles Wagley.

The focus of the research was upon those changes in economic and social structure consequent upon the involvement of the Mundurucú in the rubber-extraction industry, but we set as a further goal the collection of as much ethnographic data as was possible during the year available. This aim was partly motivated by a desire to add to the information about South American Indian groups, but it was also felt that completely concentrated and problem-oriented research could be done only in cultures upon which a good background of reliable information was already available.

Actually, the Mundurucú are probably better known than most South American Indians, except for those few groups which have been the subject of prolonged and intensive study. This speaks less for the wealth of published data than for the poverty of our knowledge of the area. A certain amount of data is available from the early nineteenth-century explorations of Spix and Martius, and a fine source on Mundurucú culture in the latter part of the century is available in the report of the Brazilian engineer, Antonio M. G. Tocantins. More limited and fragmentary data are available in the work of Manuel Ayres de Casal, Henry Walter Bates, William C. Farabee, João Barbosa Rodrigues, Henri Coudreau, José Ricardo Noronha, and Rimarcio de Almeida Sousa. Some excellent material has been published by the Franciscan missionaries to the Mundurucú, especially Fathers Albert Kruse and C. Steinen. Unfortunately, I have not had access to the information published by these priests and their colleagues in the *Provinzialschrift der Franziskaner in Nordbrasilien*. The information available in most of the above sources is based upon limited residence among the Indians, and some contain most questionable data. Some was written in the light of modern anthropological problems and theories or with the aid of contemporary field techniques.

Accordingly, my wife and I proceeded to gather as wide a range of data as was possible within the limits imposed by the necessity to accumulate material pertinent to our main interests. The present work represents one aspect of this research. The reader will see that a great deal of the native religion has been lost as a result of contact with Brazilian society, and certain items reported were not actually witnessed by me. It was continually necessary to resort to the memories of older Mundurucú, but we made every attempt to insure the reliability of our facts by cross-checking our data with several informants. I stated in the text which activities and beliefs are extinct and which are still practiced. The final

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

chapter of the work systematically explores the processes of disappearance and retention of religious traits and offers an explanation of the phenomena. The analysis relates changes in the sphere of religion to corresponding alterations of the socio-economic structure. In this sense the volume continues my main interests and represents an additional treatise on the problems of culture change.

I wish to acknowledge the helpful comments of my colleagues, Professors Robert F. Heizer, Alfred L. Kroeber, and Theodore D. McCown. Mr. Sheldon Klein, a graduate student in anthropology, gave me valuable assistance in research on South American mythology. Funds for aid in the preparation of the manuscript were made available by the University of California.

The debt that my wife and I owe to our friends and colleagues in Brazil is incomparable, and I regret that their contributions are so large that they cannot all be mentioned. Our research was especially aided, however, by Drs. Eduardo Galvão and Darcy Ribeiro, who were at that time ethnologists on the staff of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Officials of that agency in Rio de Janeiro, Belém, and in the field were unstinting in their cooperation, and our work owes much to their kindness. Mr. George Coleman, then United States consul in Belém, gave aid far beyond the requirements of his official duties, as he has to all anthropologists who have worked in the Amazon during the last decade. The priests and nuns of the Cururú River mission were especially warm and hospitable to us, and the Superior of the mission, Father Placido Tonin, O.F.M., was generous in imparting knowledge derived from forty years residence among the Mundurucú. Finally, the Indians who accepted two inquiring strangers into their midst with understanding and kindness can only be repaid by this volume, which is a partial fulfillment of our promise to tell our people of their way of life.

V. MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

A collection of fifty-eight myths and folktales was recorded in the villages of Missão Velha and Cabruca. The latter community, one of the more conservative savannah settlements, was far more productive of traditional lore of all kinds and most of the material below was gathered there. Although this chapter represents the complete body of oral literature collected in the field, there is undoubtedly more available if a wider range of Mundurucú informants were to be sampled. Some myths, such as that of the origin of clans collected by Father Kruse,[1] were specifically sought, but were unknown to these questioned. Mundurucú mythology has undoubtedly undergone considerable attenuation, and these may be among the large number of stories no longer extant.

The older Mundurucú say that oral literature was formerly much more actively recounted and transmitted. During the evenings, the elders told tales to all the assembled men, and children were brought to listen. These sessions are no longer frequent, but considerable interest is still manifest among the listeners. A number of men and children and usually some women gathered around whenever I found an informant with a story. Indeed, without an audience the narrator would not put forth his best efforts. The delivery was always quite animated and was accompanied by vivid gestures, imitations of animals, and dialogues between the personages in the story. The audience gave full attention, and it was considered most disrespectful to create any diversion during the narration. All laughed readily and spontaneously at the appropriate passages, although many had heard the tale several times before.

The stories themselves range over a variety of subjects and are told for a number of purposes. They have been broken down into six major categories to provide continuity. This does not represent an attempt toward a systematic classification of the myths, actually the categories overlap considerably. For example, the animal tales are generally told for amusement, but they frequently explain the origin of certain species. On the other hand, the Karumbaiché cycle is a true creation myth and is centered upon the activities of the principal culture hero. There are numerous passages in this myth cycle, however, that are considered highly humorous by both narrators and audiences, and in other incidents animals are also created. Similarly, a category of cosmological myths has been included, but there are several events in other tales that are also important to an understanding of Mundurucú cosmology.

Through all, there is a running theme of the importance of the animal world to the Mundurucú. [illegible] In these tales, animals either have the form of people or are able to take on this form. The mythology does more than explain the origin of animal species, for in almost all cases the various animals are transformed people. That the species had their origin in the human world tends to reinforce the special significance given them in ceremonies and the supernatural belief system.

This affinity between animals and humans will be evident in the saga of

[1] Kruse, 1956, pp. 39-47.

THE SETTING

The Mundurucú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Açú, Secundury, and Abacaxis rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River. [131]

The Mundurucú are usually classified as a Tupian-speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Mundurucú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Mundurucú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identification of the Nambikwara as the "persona Mundurucú" are erroneous.[3] The Mundurucú originally were an autonomous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact. [197] [101] [19] [26]

The present-day Mundurucú population consists of about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea [161]

[1] Nimuendajú, 1928, p. 973.
[2] Kruse, 1956, p. 31.
[3] Ibid., p. 32.

614 myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Mun-
713 durucú. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaibó divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This belief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to
[614] which the Mundurucú were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaibó through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[5] The latter account and the previously
614 mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *dhoat*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*dh* = river, *uat* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Paruwadhoat* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would
614 contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the
591 Mundurucú are—and this is important—predominantly matrilocal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brides; fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patrilocality, and we are here presented with the possibility that the Mundurucú underwent a basic change in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than the conjecture raised by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued in the following discussion of the ritual prerogatives of clanship.

614 Each uaxamah village has a men's house, which is the
[345] dormitory and club house for all post-pubescent males.

[5] Kruse, 1956, pp. 86-87.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

582 601 further the brother's wife as *we ñi* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The application of the term *we ñi* to the mother's brother's children and not to those of the father's sister indicates that cross-cousin marriage was matrilateral. This possible preference is consistent with Homan's and Schneider's thesis that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is congruent with patrilineal systems.[*] Contemporary informants claim, however, that either cousin is now a suitable mate.

Following the terminological system, the equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of union with the sister's daughter. Thus, the analysis of nomenclature presents strong evidence for the past practice of avuncular marriage; the disparity between the kinship terms and current practice is probably an instance of the conservatism of terminology relative to the social relations they categorize.

114 582 601 The method of analysis employed above seems to be in violation of Murdock's dictum that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society."[*] It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate alone, but by all three practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework. In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock, himself, states the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following: "Since

[*] Homans and Schneider, 1955, p. 51.
[*] Murdock, 1949, p. 123.

multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."[a]

That the patrilineality of Mundurucú society has been of some significance in structuring the terminological system may be inferred from the fact that the identical marriage practices have been found in South America in societies lacking unilineal descent groups and having ordinary bifurcate merging kinship systems.[b] Thus, the classification of the mother's brother's and sister's children as *uv ñ* follows in part from their membership in the moiety opposite to that of Ego. Similarly, the application of the reciprocal term *o djorit* to the sons of the father's sister and the mother's mother recognizes their moiety affiliation and, also, the fact that both are sons of women classified as *adjung*. The latter term, it will be noted, is applied to all older women of Ego's own moiety.

Extension of kin terms is complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety are addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bat*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation are either "older" (*uun yũ*) or "younger (*o kõt*) brother." On the descending generations there are only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*tapõ*). Females of one's own moiety are called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety are addressed as "daughter" (*da ũ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú have "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapõ*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety are addressed as

[a] *Ibid.*, p. 128.
[b] *Cf.* Oberg, 1953, pp. 44, 99; Gillin, 1936, pp. 95-98.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE LOCAL GROUP

THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization of male and female social activity is separately treated. The Mundurucú exhibit the most complete development of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayurá men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Mundurucú, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

This unusually complete division presents points of difference with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated the Mundurucú men's house *ekuá* to be the residence of village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unverifiable extant source on Mundurucú culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the *ekuá*, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the *ekuá* are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 56.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 38.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 168.
[6] Ibid., p. 169.

but it is equally possible that the former reporter was correct and that the present composition of the men's house represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceeding from Murphy's data on other aspects of Mundurucú social structure, if the men's house was the residence of bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality would have kept the latter in the village. They would then have been faced with either permanent residence in the men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incorporation into the household economy and authority structure. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocality by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such assessment is important, for, in contrast to the local endogamy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,* the Mundurucú male commonly comes from another village and does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts prerogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then prevalent system of localized or unilocalized clans undoubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from another community. The young man caught in the process of change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate himself to permanent residence in a village in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female, the male plays the main role in the structure of authority and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

*Cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 124.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that in far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.* He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant cooperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

* Murdock, 1949, pp. 216-218.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

primary function is to mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study, for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock* is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

* Ibid., pp. [illegible]

12: Murphy .E: (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

determined comparatively: cross-cultural studies of social and cultural change may well use the factors of ecological adaptation and ties of relationship between social systems as constants in a different common denominator than the genetic or suggested by Fred Eggan as a means toward controlled comparison.* but it has been used by Steward and myself in a comparative analysis of the rubber-tapping Mundurucú and the Indian trappers of Canada.* In the latter only, we attempted to demonstrate that the two populations experienced similar relationships with mercantilist, extraction economies, which entailed similar ecological adaptations. Both groups underwent disturbances of tradition patterns of postmarital residence, and both eventually underwent transitions in which the population became organized into larger aggregations in which larger bonds of economic dependency were transferred to patrons.

Finally the relevance of the present work for the study of "acculturation" must be considered, for I have given little attention to a borrowing of the symbolic forms of Western culture by the Mundurucú. The term "acculturation" has had a vivid history and much ink has been spilled over its definition. It is generally defined as comprising those changes that take place as a consequence of culture contact. Application in the past, however, has usually referred to the absorption of the content of European culture by primitive group. Acculturation studies have been characterized by a concern with the phenomenon of diffusion, though on a large scale, and with the processes through which the content of other cultures is accepted and incorporated. Although such studies are interesting and valuable, I have not chosen acculturation as

* Eggan, 1954.
* Murphy and Steward, 1956.

12:Murphy K-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the central problem of this work. It might be asked whether the classical culture-historical emphasis of acculturation studies would have elucidated or confused some of the central issues of Mundurucú social change. Could the development of matrifocality have been understood in these terms? Or could the fact that family organization among the Mundurucú of the Cururú River is converging with that prevalent among the Brazilian population of the region be clarified by noting their intercourse with celibate German priests? It is true that the priests have encouraged the independence of the nuclear family, but how does this also explain a similar process of fragmentation among the Indians without close contact with the missionaries? Also, it cannot be denied that the adoption of Brazilian forms of dancing and trousers, of dresses and guitars, are significant because they constitute breaks in the symbolic barriers between the Mundurucú and the whites and, in effect, bespeak alienation from the past. But were not these barriers already shattered and was not the major part of the population already alienated from their heritage by other factors?

The necessities of existence and the ways in which people and peoples interrelate should be the central problems for the student of culture change—as they are for the persons caught in the process. These, and not man's propensity to imitate, cause the fundamental alterations of a way of life. The question is perhaps too often phrased as "how *have* cultures changed" rather than "how *do* they change." The former leads to description, the latter to theory.

A recent report by a Social Science Research Council seminar on acculturation has expanded the outmoded definition of acculturation as simple transmission of culture between groups in contact to include almost anything that happens when "conjunctive" relations are established be-

[illegible] AND SOCIAL CHANGE: A [illegible] WHO [illegible]

Robert F. Murphy

I

Ollei, the young chief of the Fadhamal[1] village of Gabrak, visited the village of Gabrak with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he was made the butt of ridicule by one day. Inquiry revealed that Ollei was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Gabrak, he took a young and pretty wife to the house of his father, the chief of Gabrak. However he visited his wife, his "kinsmen" in Gabrak heard rumors to plotting against him. Fearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to support his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Gabrak, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Ollei, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly return his chair. During most of the time he lived in Gabrak, Ollei gravitated between the two communities—to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of the fellow Fadhamal.

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Ollei run. But the two questions of why the men of Gabrak plotted against him and why those of Gabrak pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Fadhamal society and culture and of Ollei's position within it. For Ollei was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been exclusive, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His conflicts finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reintegrate the normal flow of social interaction. Adaptationally, this is a study in deviance and social control. Substantively, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

II

Ollei's personality was most distant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Fadhamal men and their chiefs. I was waiting at the establishment of Ollei, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Gnoblian who lived in the village headed by Ollei's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Fadhamal, any more than he was a Gnoblian. When I first met Ollei, he addressed me in Nakwanda Pidgin-guage and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Ollei, son of Gabrak, the chief of Gabrak and chief of Gabrak." This contrasted sharply to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Fadhamal addressed me, and

each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a Tuareg was so emotionally. Ibiri turned out to be a great problem in other ways. In other his was importance as a justification for the demands that he made on us for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with others, to lead his followers, to hack, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Tuareg activity or in their relationships with the outside world. He showed desperately and quickly towards the acquisition of prestige and of material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our acquisitive tasks were valued greatly, so this would surely differentiate his from his hereditary fellow-chiefs. Ibiri's other use of his status, we also discovered that her tasks were standing. And as was so other Tuareg, so Ibiri. They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Ibiri would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammock; he was quite offended when we pointed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Ibiri had other such unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and did this even in the presence of third parties. He did he better to conceal his hostility and contempt when someone intended to his was near. Yet underneath this facade, Ibiri was a frightened and insecure man. He could often confide to us clearly that "people are talking about us." Lest this be interpreted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were indeed talking about him, and Ibiri had every reason to be anxious. Not only his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

Ibiri's behavior proved against almost every single point of Tuareg conscious regarding how a chief should act and how he, in general, should behave. Tuareg society is inherently egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are considered to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilineal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the family from which he obtains his membership. It also produces a feeling of isolation in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also maintains membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a kinship form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and individual advantage denied, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellowship in a village may pit a person against his village mates and clan mates. In a society with a population of only 1,000, living in communities of 50 to 100 persons, such divisions are serious threats to social stability in any event, in one of the Tuareg type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only produces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[7] Given the structure of Tuareg society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, aggressive, secret, calm, and willing to place the will of the collectivity before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Ibiri presented a threat to cooperation and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and manipulative—all the things that a Tuareg should not be.

she had [illegible] him. The village reacted to his charges [illegible]. They were highly amused at his discussions and [illegible], but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of deportment, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village was because caught on two sides. Ribet's family supported him, but the majority of the population were rather actively against him. Then, the threat of conflict had spread from Gatitado to Dabeek. And Ribet was back and forth between Gatitado, where they plotted against his life, and Dabeek, where they took more overt measures against the through his wife.

The balance of power and of moral accusations had left Ribet's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made much difficult by virtue of the fact that Ribet had always seemed to be a social person—the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the matters fell on our little dram, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was made clearly clear, shortly before our departure, Dabeek fell from a palm tree and had seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Gatitado would kill him as soon as they were aware of his father's death, Ribet came immediately to Dabeek and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Ribet approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tapajós River." I asked him why, and, in true Ribet style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Ribet knew that his life as a Mundurukú was finished.

[illegible]

(1) Mundurukú Indians are a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1950-51 with the support of the William Rainey Harper Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council.

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Mundurukú social structure and the positive evaluation of male activity has already been published in an article entitled "Emergency Mobility and Social Identity" (American Anthropologist 59:1045-51, 1957).

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Mundurukú's Heritage (Berkeley, 1960).

(1)

The Agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians*

*Most of the data that follow were gathered in 1957, in the course of a two-month stay among the Indians of the Franciscan division of Cururú and vicinity. My principal informants were the Mundurukú Tomé, Cirilo, and Anêmia. But I am also indebted to the mission fathers for much valuable data, for which I am grateful.

Frances Pribel

Cowhill Museum

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture
II. Garden methods
III. Social factors
IV. Native terminology

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture

What we know of Mundurukú agriculture is little, and most of it is based on the reports of nineteenth-century travelers. Already in those days the Mundurukú were pictured as a people who possessed a certain level of primitive agriculture. These travelers speak of the Mundurukú as living on the margins of the Tapajós River and as already being in the first stage of acculturation to the environment of the time. They deal with the subject of "agriculture" as if it were an ancient culture trait among these Indians. This may indeed be the truth, for we cannot assert the contrary, (1) although certain

/1 cont./

*241 crown Beatrewile and viel Mundurú-Wurmi, dawa kiki, to Kawbe and bezie Blanco vos Polmes ... vespeki, ne an de Schiffe on Tapajós zu verkaufen pfleges, wisdom ze to Sindicken Verbeir gewoon sind...."

● 114 114 (I should like to insert here the following question: Did Martius have knowledge of traditions regarding a preagricultural era of the Mundurukú? It would seem so, for he writes in the above-quoted passage: "... the somewhat dense population can no longer depend exclusively on hunting and fishing"; this might indicate knowledge of a previous stage of the Mundurukú as hunters and gatherers but not as agriculturalists.)

*241 Still more or less in the same period, we have the testimony of Swan who speaks of the Mundurukú as agriculturalists and good workers in various parts of his book, though he does so rather offhandedly; he notes the fertility of the land and the relatively small effort required of the Indians to bring forth the necessities /6/ of life; he tells of the large gardens of the Mundurukú which he saw on the Cupari River and of how the women make flour; he says that the Mundurukú carry out a certain amount of flour trading with the traders of the Tapajós, and finally he states that aside from brow-manioc they raise sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane. (7)

7. Swan, 1866, passim.

114 There are practically no twentieth-century sources on the Mundurukú. The Franciscan mission has not yet published its material on these Indians, and the work of Robert Murphy, who also studied this tribe in 1952-53, aside from a few articles, has not reached us. Thus, our knowledge is based almost exclusively on the meagre data of the above-mentioned authors. Only Gonçalves

/6 cont./

114 Tocantins appears to have provided some additional materials on Mundurukú agriculture. But his work is not available to me at the moment.

"24| 22| The Handbook of South American Indians summarizes the subject in these few lines: "The Mundurukú subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugar cane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco and gourds. Tocantins names some 30 nonculti=ated plants utilized in Mundurucú economy." (8)

8. Steward, 1948: 573.

"24| 12| [7] And this is all, more or less, that is known of these Indians' agriculture. The present article, therefore, attempts to amplify this knowledge, although the author is well aware that in many respects, and especially regarding garden methods, the Mundurukú system does not differ materially from that of other tribes in the region, or in the Amazon basin in general. /5/ Practical experience in the matter matches in their agriculture among the Indians of the Amazon forest allows for slight variations, but not for basic differences.

II. Garden methods

If we regard the agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians as a culture complex, we can easily single out two distinct elements. One is the purely material, manual, or technical element, which will be discussed here. The other is made up of various social factors which render agriculture not a lifeless task or factor, lacking all influence, not an isolated complex within the tribe, but something vitally integrated into tribal life, something upon which the well-being of the community and of the family now depend. In this sense, agriculture itself becomes a social element in native life. (7)

[E2]

Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our influence, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent tribe.

In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itacoatiara and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajós River Indians by Counsellor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajós. [101]

Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim Caetano Corrêa.

NAME OF THE MALOCAS	POPULATION
Dessipeno	1,500
Camaraqui	2,300
Dabi	2,400
Cayipuna	2,000
Necodemun	2,100
Aikai (Semuma)	1,[illegible]
Acupari	[illegible]
Aracuri	700
Aretaduri	[illegible]
Teiu Curugi	[illegible]
Ipanauari	[illegible]

This is the squatting position which was also used by the Quechua and the Egyptians. [The Mundurucu] bury with the deceased a few objects he had used in life, such as weapons, feather ornaments, etc. My interpreter was an intelligent Indian and spoke, besides his Mundurucu dialect, the Portuguese and Tupi tongues. He would translate without hesitation into Mundurucu the following sentences: "I miss my mother -- Ihebeu uxi cabi" "I miss my son -- Ihebiu epuie cabi." The word ehibiu means "to miss." "My soul goes to heaven -- Ubiumbi cabi cabi dai."

This knowledge of the heavenly bodies, though still quite rudimentary, these beliefs in a future life, free from odious superstitions, this facility to conceive and express abstract ideas and the purest and sweetest feelings of the human heart, such as nostalgia for mother or son -- all this surprised me on the part of a people that has always been considered one of the fiercest and most hideous in the valley of the Amazon.

If the Mundurucu did not derive their beliefs and knowledge from some of the civilized groups on the Andean Plateau, I presume at least that for centuries they must have lived as the inhabitants of the plains villages do today -- that is, in centers so densely populated as [116] a savage economy based on hunting and the meager resources of a crude husbandry will permit. These villages are in constant communication with each other and preserve the same uses and customs. As I mentioned above, the Mundurucu tattooing persists in really a blood initiation which stamps them with an indelible mark -- a sacred tie binding in brotherly communion all the members of this numerous and powerful tribe.

I will, however, abstain from drawing any conclusions whatsoever. My purpose is to observe facts with scrupulous care and to describe them with fidelity.

It may be that the light sketch I am tracing of the life of a savage tribe will be pondered by one of those superior minds who ponder on human destiny and on the problems of mankind.

There is the task to plumb the mysteries of Providence, to search for the beginnings of man's journeys on this earth, for the paths he has followed and the destinies that await him.

THE LOCAL GROUP

[57/
378
972
[72:]
makes it extremely close knit and is probably the most co-
hesive group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional
bond between the women of these groups that I know of
one who committed suicide because of alienation from her
two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended fam-
ily, conflicts between individual women or households are
common. All women of the household generally join with
a member in her antipathy for another woman or house-
hold; this, of course, follows from the fact that the house-
mates are closely related to each other, which complem-
ents the allegiance arising from co-residence.

Hostility between the women generally takes the form
[52/
378
of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of
most of the confidences that passed among the women,
[12:]
which constituted one of our most valuable sources of in-
formation. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house
[16]
and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with
tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women.
Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself
was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart.
And we usually managed to learn by this means of the
well-expressed hostilities in the village, of fears and ac-
cusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between
the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network
brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn,
gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the ex-
change of female information and opinion was the shed
where farinha was made. The women usually chatted sol-
emnly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the
group, the heads of the others drew together and she was
thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of con-
dences in the village, the same thing happened, as we had
no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst.
Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

114

The Agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians *

*Some of the data that follow were gathered in 1957, in the course of a two-month stay among the Indians of the Franciscan mission of Cururú and vicinity. My principal informants were the Mundurukú Tomé, Cirilo, and Antônio. But I am also indebted to the mission fathers for much valuable data, for which I am grateful.

115

Pennsylvania Tribal

Cowlitz Museum

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture
II. Garden methods
III. Social factors
IV. Native terminology

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture

What we know of Mundurukú agriculture is little, and most of it is based on the reports of nineteenth-century travelers. Already in [illegible] days the Mundurukú were pictured as a people who possessed a certain level of primitive agriculture. These /travelers/ speak of the Mundurukú as living on the margins of the Tapajós River and as already being in the first stage of acculturation to the environment of the tribe. They deal with the subject of "agriculture" as if it were an ancient culture trait among these Indians. This may indeed be the truth, for we cannot assert the contrary. /2/ Although certain

1: Tocantins C-4 (1870) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

000

Studies on the Mundurucu Tribe
(Estudos sobre a Tribu "Mundurucu")

By
Antonio Manuel Gonçalves Tocantins

Rio De Janeiro: 1877

Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico Geographico e
Ethnographico do Brazil
Vol. 40

Translated from the Portuguese by Ariane Brunel

Human Relations Area Files

1959
[Title page]

1: Tocantins--i C-5 (1875)1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

QUARTERLY REVIEW

OF THE

HISTORICAL, GEOGRAPHIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC

INSTITUTE OF BRAZIL

Established in Rio de Janeiro

Under the Direct Patronage of H. I. M.

Dom Pedro II

VOLUME XL

Part Two

Hoc facit, ut longos durent bene gesta per annos
Et possint sera posteritate frui.

RIO DE JANEIRO

R. L. Garnier — Bookseller & Publisher

65, Rua do Ouvidor

1877

CDO

Studies on the Mundurucu Tribe: A Memoir Written and Read before the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute by Engineer Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, Corresponding Fellow of the Institute.

I

114
121

Journey to the central Mundurucu villages, situated in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. -- Itinerary from Belém, capital of the province of Pará, to those villages. -- Scenes of savage life.

I left Belém on the eighteenth of June, 1875, bound for the Upper Tapajoz.

The journey up the Amazon from Belém to Santarém and up the Tapajoz from Santarém to Itaituba takes five days on one of the big steamers of the Companhia do Amazonas.

At Itaituba I embarked in a small canoe manned by eight Indians, nearly all of the Maué tribe, and proceeded through the falls of the Upper Tapajoz.

797 Ten days later I reached the Mission of Bacabal, which was founded by order of the Imperial Government and established on the right bank of the Tapajoz on the twenty-third of February,[74] 1872.

---

128 Translator's Note:

Whenever possible, the spelling of Portuguese and aboriginal words -- including names of places, tribes, rivers, plants, native foods and implements -- has been changed to its modern Brazilian equivalent.

Portuguese personal names and trade names, book titles, aboriginal word lists and Mundurucu quotations have been left untouched, as have a few other native words of uncertain phonetic rendition and those that would require the use of letter combinations equally foreign to present-day Portuguese.

by Fa. Antonino and Fa. Pelino de Carvalho. This mission holds some five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe.

The missionary Fa. Pelino who was alone there, his companion having already left Bacabal, lent me as an interpreter a Mundurucu Indian who understands and speaks the Portuguese and Tupi languages in addition to his own dialect.

I continued my journey up the Tapajos and reached the mouth of the Cadeneri River, an eastern tributary of the Tapajos, five days after leaving the Mission of Bacabal.

There, according to what I had been told, I was supposed to meet a bold frontiersman who knew the way to the central villages. Unhappily, however, I did not find him, and the members of my crew knew nothing about the course of the Cadeneri River.

Here I was, perplexed for lack of guides and information, when two Mundurucu savages appeared upon the beach.

We asked them, through the interpreter, how long it would take us to reach the source of the Cadeneri.

The older of the two savages responded with the following sign: with his index finger he pointed due east, and then he traced a semicircle following the apparent course of the sun to the west, accompanying this gesture with expressive looks, motions and sounds; and he repeated this slowly and distinctly six times in such a way that before the interpreter could explain his message I had already understood that the savage meant it would take us six days.

He also told us that we would meet other Indians at the headwaters of the Cadeneri, who could guide us to the village of Necodemos whence he and his companion came. [75]

I was impressed by this name of Necodemos which the Mundurucu gave one of their main villages, for it is the name of the generous and compassionate Jew who bestowed simple funeral dignities upon Christ -- a shroud to enclose his body and a sepulcher to protect it.

I do not know why the Mundurucu gave this name to their village, but I imagine that the coincidence of names is no more than a mere accident.

In any case, I decided to seek the village of Necodemos in preference to any other.

[27] According to the same informant, some women from this village had returned from a war a few days previously, bringing back with them the mummified heads of two of their enemies, necklaces of human teeth, and other trophies.

As it turned out, I did not regret my choice, for I was well received in Necodemus and I encountered there, more vivid than anywhere else, the legend of Mandaruvu beginnings which considers this very malocs or village the cradle of the human race.

[28] 133 I continued up the Cuderent. Strange river! Every day we had to carry bodily our light boat over sand bars. There was confirmed an opinion I had already formed, namely, that the Cuderent, as well as the Aringuaia, Juruena, Maranon, and other upper branches of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, such as the Tocantins, the Tapajos, the Madeira and others, would dry up completely during the summer months, baring their channels, were it not for the falls of the middle course which serve to dam up the violent flow of the stream. The average gradient on the middle course of these great Amazon tributaries, which descend from the central plateau, is steeper than necessary to maintain a normal flow of water. [70]

[29] 133 Finally, on the morning of the sixth day as calculated by the Indian, we came upon a tree thrown across the river in the form of a bridge. On the bank stood a crude hut. There was no one around. We blew a horn to call out the owner of the hut, who was probably out hunting in the nearby woods. As no one appeared, we continued our journey. I left behind some trifling gifts to mark the passage of a friendly person.

[30] I thought it best to behave in this fashion, remembering that Lieutenant Captain Soares Pinto had been attacked and killed by the savages for having destroyed some bridges which they had laid across the river. It is impossible to proceed upriver without destroying the bridges, and it is not always feasible to replace them.

For this reason, whenever I found myself unable to replace one in the same spot -- and on that day we encountered four more bridges -- I left gifts to make up in some degree for the damage I had caused the savages. At the end of the day the river became totally impassable: we could not carry the canoe any further. Happily, at this difficult moment we found another bridge over the river and a hut upon the bank. We blew our horn persistently.

[i.e., Necodemus - Analyst]

and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two most youthful.

291 Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in these parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children -- were altogether naked.

We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed troubled with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cabeceri to the village of Necodemus on the plains.

[87] At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cabeceri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

From the rafters hung too hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled with the fruit of the mauki palm (Mauritia vinifera). He showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemous if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully.

In the afternoon, having crossed the fence, we walked out across a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Abesanni.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters where we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

The village of Abesanni was under construction; it comprised but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, sloping down from east to west.

We found no one inside the house, but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

This youth was about twenty. His face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the Inongpo, that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away, leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Abesanni and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

to have them. Resumed our journey at dawn of the following day, crossing successively woods and stretches of open country.

While using one of these woods I came upon one of the most touching scenes of savage life. Near one of these numerous brooks that wind its way everywhere, and that constitute the headwaters of the Cadeci, I met a young family. The head was no more than eighteen-years old, and his companion was not over fifteen or sixteen, yet already carried in her arms a child of a few months. They weraccompanied by an old Indian woman. The faces and chests ofe young couple had not yet been painted with the indelible dyes the tribe; but the young woman, who had been bathing in the lake had painted her face with green dye, which lent her a childlikeexpressiveness. This innocent couple, on seeing us pass, dieed visible signs of surprise and alarm.

Tired as we, and anxious to get to the end of the journey, it was not evpossible for me to tarry a few minutes and have some friendlywords with these poor savages. Besides, the interpreter wis unknown at the time.

I would ne liked, at least, to offer them a cloth with [60] which the twchildren — mother and baby — might ward off the burning rays ofe sun during their journey across vast stretches of open country. Our man, rebellious like all Mbeat Indians, carried only what s strictly necessary for our own subsistence.

We hawlarched here this touching scene in order to inspire sympathy for e poor savages, weighted down as they are with great misfortunes.

III

I arrive the village of Necodeem. —
The Moravs offer me shelter and good
hospitali;

After fivdays of incessant walking, counting from the spot where we had lt our canoe at the headwaters of the Cadeceri, we finally saw in thdistance a column of smoke which rose from the maloca of Necodem.

In the afternoon I nearly lost my way among the trails leading to the village. The blind Indian who accompanied me, as well as the guide and the interpreter, had forged ahead, leaving me behind with two companions, and had already reached the pueblo while I still struggled with difficulty to find my way, guided only by the sound of a horn which I could hear somewhere ahead of me.

It was a Mandaruca Indian from Tocoaster, who had graciously come to meet me, and who blew on his instrument to guide me.

My satisfaction was great when at nightfall I came upon this savage, who was about thirty-five or forty, and who was short, fat, dark and ugly, but so happy and cheerful that he seemed like a child. [81]

I arrived at Tocoaster at seven o'clock in the evening.

I was finally realizing one of my fondest wishes, namely, to see a savage tribe in its primitive state, exactly as it must have been before the discovery of Brazil. Living according to the laws of nature and lacking all contact with the ideas of other peoples that might serve to alter its beliefs and traditions.

There are thinkers who do not acknowledge biblical tradition and who hold that mankind began its earthly journey in darkness, in the state of nudity and savagery I saw before me, and guided by the light of reason and by Providence climbed to the present state of civilization. This doctrine is more comforting than the one which represents man as fallen from a paradise of light and bliss, fallen, for minor sins that were not his own, into the extreme misery of these unhappy savages.

When I arrived, some eighty most Mandaruca swarmed me on the village grounds and received me with a display of open curiosity.

To me, the appearance of these men was no less curious, painted as they were with such identical designs that they looked like uniformed soldiers. Dozens of fires which burned on the square lent this picture a sinister quality, casting reflections on the broad, naked, bronze-colored chests.

I greeted them, bidding them good evening with one of the few words in their language I had memorized for such purpose: "Chipate." They all answered: "Chipate." One of them addressed

[60] [59] himself to me, offering me some copper with another word which I had also learned: "Cuisinde."

[61] Then I went into one end of the large house which is occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [62]

The Mandarans whose hammocks hang on that side, and whose tomtoms might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

[57] I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received in Mandarans. It was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

[63] [62] Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called Aigé.

Mystatt was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermaceti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [cassette]. They examined every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mandarans greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuis dié."

[63] For these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn all through the night in their quarters or sleep. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his couchet [cis-ac de ses couchées], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage practice. [63]

[57] A Mundurucu makes me a present of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl. He tells me how and why he killed her.

[58] One of these barbarians, who was twenty-five or thirty years old, outgoing and bold, and a veritable talker, made me a present on the following day of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl. This head, which is now to be found in the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], retains its abundant hair, which is partly drawn in front as though with a comb. The forehead thus appears to be prolonged nearly to the middle of the skull; in the center of this artificial forehead stands a circular cluster of black hair. This head, which was ornamented with [59] brilliantly colored feathers, must have belonged to a girl fashionable in her own tribe.

[59] Here I must point out that the Mundurucu often make war on enemy headmen for the purpose of capturing women and children rather than killing them. They do kill the men, whose heads they preserve as trophies. When preparing for these forays, they frankly say: "I am going because I need a woman to marry, or a little one to be my wife's child."

A Mundurucu warrior would therefore be greatly concerned to capture rather than to kill a girl like the one whose head was offered me.

Indeed, the barbarian told me that he had killed her by mistake, failing in the heat of battle to discern her sex. She was running out of the hut which he and his companions had taken at dawn by surprise, and he had thrown himself upon her, piercing her through the back with his powerful spear. He felt sorry when he found that she was a woman, and a young one at that. But nevertheless he cut off her head, removing the brain, and smoked it over a green wood fire until it became mummified.

[60] It was strange to witness the extreme tenderness the barbarian bestowed on this enemy head. A deadly hatred has ruled for many years between the Mundurucu and Parintintin tribes, and wars of extermination take place between them.

[See p. 7, cat. no. - Aveloz]

[57] Yet this Mundurucu had gone gently mad over the Patamonto head. He would not part with it for an instant. When the time came for me to leave Necodemus, as I shall relate below, he and twelve other Indians escorted me on my eight-day journey through the forest to the headwaters of the Cuiaumi. In the course of this trip, when evening came and we had to stop for the night, the Indian would throw into the ground next to his hammock a staff which he carried expressly [illegible] for this purpose, and on which he would hang the head, as if on a clothes-rack, covering it carefully with a cloth I had given him.

At dawn, his first glance was for the head. He would place it in his lap, run his fingers through its long hair, and croon to it as if it were a beloved daughter.

He only handed me this relic at the last moment, when I had already embarked for my descent of the Cuiaumi, and then he still said: "But I wanted it for myself!" I must say I had made him a present of a double-barrelled shotgun, some gunpowder, shot-lead, and other objects. Nevertheless, his gaze followed us until our canoe had vanished down the river.

In Necodemus there was yet another mummified head. It had been the head of a Patamonto warrior. The Mundurucu who owned it, already quite old, did not wish to show it to me and would not talk about it. I did not press the issue. Some of the Mundurucu wore necklaces made from the teeth of enemies they had killed.

I saw children sold by my interpreter to be captives taken in the last war. The villagers, however, did not even mention the subject; perhaps they feared that we should want to take their prisoners from them.

V

Legend of Mundurucu beginnings. -- Beliefs and traditions. -- Appearance of "Cairo-Sacaeli." -- Ingratitude of the inhabitants of Acupari -- Punishment. -- Necodemus as the cradle of the human race.

[74] It seemed to me that I could distinguish traces of an ancient civilization among these strange people. The Mundurucu

[76 live in a strongly organized republic; for a long time they have made war on their enemies whenever it has pleased them to do so; they pronounce sentence of [86] death on someone; they have a legend of their own beginnings; and they possess beliefs and traditions which are handed down from generation to generation.

Could these people, I wondered, be descendants of Quechua or Aymara who came down from the Andes and settled in these parts? I investigated their traditions with the greatest care, and questioned repeatedly the oldest inhabitants of the maloca as to whether their ancestors might have come from the high and distant lands that lie towards the sun's hiding place. But they invariably answered that it had not been so, the first men to appear upon the earth had founded the maloca of Acupari. Caro-facachi appeared among them and taught them how to hunt; until then the game had been poor; Caro-facachi caused larger game to appear.

773

He had neither father nor mother; he had a son by the name of Cununi and a companion by the name of Kaiva, who acknowledged him as his master.

One day, Caro-facachi had no luck in hunting. He returned to Acupari and sent his son Cununi to ask the hunters for some of the fowl -- tinamiks and partridge -- which they had killed in abundance.

The hunters however, turned him down and mockingly threw Cununi the birds' feathers, saying: "Your father, too, is a good hunter."

Thrice Caro-facachi repeated his request; thrice the hunters turned him down.

Then Caro-facachi gathered up the feathers which they had mockingly thrown at Cununi and threw them one by one into the ground around the maloca. And suddenly, with one gesture, he changed all the inhabitants of Acupari -- men and women, old people, youths and children -- into wild pigs.

The hungry animals roared and threshed about [87] and were about to scatter, when with another gesture Caro-facachi turned the feathers into high hills.

773 Now it so happens that a large cave actually exists near the
[773] present site of Acapari. The blondurans say that even today the groans of wild pigs and cries of agony may be heard there.

Others state that women's omaments such as brincolets made of chestnut shells may be found near the cave entrance, as well as other vestiges of the tremendous cataclysm. The blondurans flew not enter the cave of Acapari.

Then Caro-Sacaché left with Itzaza, the only survivor of the disaster.

Arriving at the place where Necodemus stands today, he stamped his foot upon the ground, and from the large fissure that resulted he drew one pair of blondurans, one of white people, one of Indians, and one of Negroes.

[773] Caro-Sacaché painted the blondurans couple in the same fashion as he himself was painted, and this was the origin of the nations of Necodemus and the beginnings of the tribe, which grew so large and powerful that the earth shook when they marched off to war.

Thilphilite people, the Indians and the Negroes set off to populate other lands.

In Necodemus, Caro-Sacaché laid out a field and sowed it, and when the first rains fell there sprouted manioc, maize, sweet potato, yam, cotton, and other food-yielding and medicinal plants.

He taught how to build ovens and how to make manioc flour.

He made a small wooden statue, gave it life, and named it Hashu-Acaulée; this was his second son.

To provide Hashu-Acaulée with a mother, Caro-Sacaché took as consort a maiden of the tribe by the name of Chicrichá. [88]

Hashu-Acaulée grew; some women eluded the vigilance of Chicrichá and seduced him.

Caro-Sacaché changed Hashu-Acaulée into an ass, and Chicrichá and the guilty women into fish.

Necodemus was already strong and powerful.

773 Caro-Sacaché drew on a high rock between Acapari and
[773] Necodemus those symbolic characters which are still to be seen

775 on the hills of Amarali. He had hardly vanished away by the clouds,
776 and he himself disappeared from Necodemus, following the course of the Tapajos: on the left bank of the river, at a height no human hand can reach, he also drew some characters on the cliff of Castagnin.

775 And since then no one has known where he is. The Mundurucu faithfully preserve the memory of his deeds, and paint themselves, their wives and their children in exactly the same fashion as Caro-Sacaribé was painted.

VI

Appearance of the dog in Necodemus -- Legend

Among all peoples, the dog is looked upon as a faithful friend. The Mundurucu, who are hunting savages, picture the
[265] dog in their legends as descended from a maiden of their tribe and from an unknown warrior, who appeared in the malocca and disappeared again without anyone finding out who he was, whence he had come, or where he had gone. He was a deus ignotus.

The story ran as follows. After Caro-Sacaribé had disappeared, the Mundurucu of Necodemus continued [98] to hunt, searching every part of the plains and forests. One day, while they were out hunting, an unknown warrior by the name of Caro-Pitubé appeared at the malocca.

He went to the circl, climbed into a hammock, wound a horn from the roof, and proceeded to blow upon it in a peculiar way. A maiden of the malocca, Inciliero by name, responded to
[266] the call and offered the warrior dati [food prepared from Brazil
[579] nuts] as a sign of good hospitality.

Caro-Pitubé had arrived almost at nightfall.

There was no one else in Necodemus.

At dawn of the following day, Caru-Pindé said to the maiden: "You will give birth to beings who will smash the vanism of your tribe. Do not kill them."

And he vanished.

Great indeed was the terror, astonishment and indignation in Necodemon when Inacheru gave birth to a pair of dogs.

Inacheru's brothers and her own mother were the first to pronounce against her the sentence of death.

But when the executioners approached to kill Inacheru and her newborn babes, she fled swift as an arrow bird into the woods, searching in her trembling arms the fruit of her mysterious loves.

Wandering through the forest, Inacheru finally stopped, exhausted, by the source of a clear brook.

But it was not long till the young mother beheld already grown the children she had nursed with such difficulty, warming them at night against her fiery bosom.

Finally she saw them crossing the woods and the fields hunting and bringing back tabaculu birds and partridges, and then Inacheru lived in the midst of plenty. [30]

At night her children made formidable guards, and they watched over her unceasingly. Even the jaguar kept fearfully away.

One day, Inacheru went to Necodemon and recounted these marvels.

She knew well that if the warriors of Necodemon did not revoke the death sentence, she alone would die; her children would easily elude the executioners.

But if the sentence were to be revoked, the Mundurucu would become the masters of the forests and the plains; they would vanquish all other tribes; their rule would go unchallenged.

The children of Inacheru were received amid general applause; the whole tribe acknowledged them as their own.

And indeed the Mundurucu treat the dog as their own offspring; the women suckle newborn pups at their own breast and shelter them in their hammocks with the children as if they had been born of the same womb.

When a dog dies it is copiously mourned and its body carefully buried, for it would be considered impious to abandon it to the vultures.

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajos, which was discovered only 138 years ago, in 1746, when the miner João de Souza de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Para, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Tres Barras. [31]

In his Cosmographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Casal divided the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajos, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajos, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maué, the Paua, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

"The Mundurucu," Ayres de Casal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

"They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

"Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

"The inhumanity of those who still roam the jungle, unhampered as they are by considerations of sex or of age, have forced large numbers of the other tribes to take refuge [92] in the shadows of Christian settlements where they can live peacefully, safe from their heathen enemies.

"The bold Mundurucu are partners of the Mucusse of Cuiaba, who are reputed to be the most valiant people of the great cassava antipelago."

VIII

Present location of the central plain villages -- Disappearance of the bands from the valley of the Tapajos

Yet this vast savage population, which according to Ayres de Casal still roamed the territory of Mundurucania sixty years ago, no longer wanders through these parts.

On the Lower Tapajos there are christianized Indians who are descendants of the savages of old. On the Upper Tapajos there is only the Maut maloca which goes by the name of Acaes and another maloca of Apiaca Indians, both of which maintain petty trade relations with the few frontiersmen who penetrate that far. In addition to these two malocas, bands of Parintintin occasionally visit the banks of the Tapajos and its tributaries; but they do not settle anywhere, for the Mundurucu pursue them implacably and relentlessly.

It should be noted that in earlier times the Maut and the Apiaca were also often pursued and beaten by the Mundurucu, who only left them alone after those two tribes had established relations with the Christians. The Maut no longer paint their faces; the Apiaca only retain a blue-black line which runs down from the outer corner of the eye to the chin and strongly resembles a tear streak. [93]

It should also be noted that the central Mundurucu villages, known on the Upper Tapajos as malocas das campinas [villages of

[3] the plains] are not located in the district which Ayres de Casal named Mundurukania. They stand in the territory which the geographer called Tapajonia, between the Tapajos and the Xingu and close to the sources of the certain tributaries of the Tapajos, namely the Cabanni, Cabanitum and Cururu rivers, the Rio das Tropas (which the Mundurucu call Pinunti) and the Rio do Crepori.

In the course of my journey I encountered a great many small streams that were sources of the Cabanni and tributaries of the Tapajos.

Had I proceeded in the same direction beyond Necodemus a few days longer, I would undoubtedly have come upon the sources of the tributaries of the Xingu.

IX

Wars of the Mundurucu -- waging procedure -- End of these wars.

727 We have already noted that the wars of these barbarians are waged with the sole aim of capturing young women and children of both sexes. Within the tribe, however, the captives are treated no differently than native Mundurucu. They are painted with the same arabesques of indelible dyes; the woman immediately gets a husband, and the child finds an adoptive father who is almost invariably the same Indian who captured him. When preparations are made for one of these forays, the warrior's sister, his mother, or some other relative places an order for a child, saying: "Bring me a boy to be my son!"

[64] The Mundurucu's chief victims are the Parintintin. In addition to a desire for captives, the deadly hatred [94] which has long ruled between the two tribes is another motive for frequent attacks.

721 Whenever it becomes known that a band of Parintintin have appeared somewhere, the Mundurucu immediately set off after them. To my knowledge, however, this inveterate hatred is not directed toward other tribes. Among the Mundurucu there runs a

725 tale, probably inaccurate, that whenever one of them is captured by the Parintintin he is devoured alive by the mouthful, "as if they were jaguars and we were deer."

Inaccurate or not, this tale serves to fire even more the Mundurucu desire for vengeance.

726 Those wars to which we have referred are usually mere forays.

When summer comes, a number of Mundurucu get together, make ready their bows, arrows, horns and provisions, and then set off.

Whenever possible, each warrior is accompanied by his wife or by a sister. The role of this sutler, who sometimes is no older than fifteen or sixteen, consists of slinging the warrior's hammock on a tree, preparing his chestnuts, carrying the load, and helping to prepare the enemy head and to bring in the captives; in short, she does whatever is needed to leave him entirely free for the attack.

They go hunting leisurely along the way, and these raids last for weeks and even months. At night they all gather and camp together.

If they find some trail in the depths of the woods, or some other sign pointing to the passage of a human being, they study it with rare prudence and subtlety. If they spy a hut or a village, they make a reconnaissance [95] in the greatest possible silence; and they walk so adroitly that not even the dry leaf they crush underfoot can be heard. It is as though they walked on a thick rug. They surround the hut and silently wait for dawn. Then they set it ablaze with a long staff, its end covered with flaming pitch, and post themselves in ambush near the door.

Suddenly awakened, the besieged occupants immediately let out the terrible cry, "Mundurucu!"

Those confused men who attempt to break through the ring of besiegers are immediately pierced with enormous spears.

The children, aware that they are at the mercy of the enemy, give themselves up.

The women nearly always offer resistance, put up a fight, and are made prisoners only by sheer force.

727 And then the Mundurucu retreat on the double. The enemy heads are cut off and hastily prepared. They travel day and night

727 when they feel or fear they are being pursued. At night they
[373] guide themselves with torches made with fragments of a resinous wood which they call ouichique-taque, and which the Indians of the Lower Tapajoz know by the name of pau candeia [(Port.) "lamp wood"]. This wood, when dry, catches fire easily; it blazes brightly when carried on the run.

726 Almost invariably these expeditions last so long that the
[263] Indians run out of provisions and subsist on chestnuts rather than manioc flour and sweet potatoes. They suffer long privations; some of them return thin.

It is maintained that the Mundurucu make these forays every year and that they always bring captives.

A very old Indian woman, probably a native of the interesting Tapajoz tribe which gave the river its name and which is now extinct, told me that more than once, during her youth [96] the Mundurucu had come down the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajoz, striking cruelly at the many malocas then extent, cutting enemy heads, and spreading boundless terror throughout the region.

A well-verified tradition also has it that these barbarians once reached the mouth of the Tapajoz, and besieged the fort built by the Portuguese in the Christian Tapajoz village which is now the site of the flourishing city of Santarém.

X

Facts about some native tribes whom the Mundurucu fight and who wander through the valley of the Upper Xingu and toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

648 The Mundurucu say that they still find many heathen bands
[63] in the extensive regions they roam, and that towards the east there runs a broad and mighty river, full of waterfalls, which they call Caruntunzi and the banks of which are inhabited by many pagans.

This must be the Upper Xingu, which is indeed one of the major tributaries of the Amazon and one of those which run closest to the capital of Pará. Its upper course, however, is still entirely unknown.

Brazilian Indians SL4

M
648
B
101

In 1842 the Crown Prince of Prussia, Adalbert, accompanied by Count Oriolo and Count von Bismarck, set out from Belém in a canoe up the Lower Xingu as far as the first waterfalls and the malocas of the Juruna Indians. Those gentlemen, I believe, provided the first rough outline of the course of the Lower Xingu.

The upper course of the river, however, remains unknown to this day.

The Mundurucu often move from the valley of the [97] Upper Tapajoz to that of the Upper Xingu, for they reside nearly on the dividing line between the two. They can thus provide information about the heathens they meet in the course of their journeys, not only along the banks of the Upper Xingu but also toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

The major groups are as follows:

Puparurûte -- They are distinguished by a dark line which runs from the outer corner of each eye down to the chin, and which resembles a tear streak. About three years ago, some five hundred savages marked in this way appeared on the banks of the Lower Tocantins near the falls; they were later decimated by smallpox, but those who survived still live there.

Biche-Irameran -- Their lower lip alone is painted black.

Ipitiuâte -- They are not painted; they shave their head all around; they are corpulent, bearded, fierce, feared even by the Mundurucu; they do not use hammocks but sleep on mats, and make use of formidable warclubs.

Pararaoâte -- They have canoes and paint a snail-like design on their temples.

Uiraraoâte -- The Mundurucu call them "the jaguar tribe" and say they scream like that animal.

Peren-an-an.

Parinrinrin.

Titidhuâte.

Jurupuá. -- Corpulent and fierce.

Tupaiuna -- They paint themselves black.

Paribitat -- They live on the plains toward Cuiabá.

Paribitête -- They inhabit the headwaters of the Dom [São] Manuel River, a tributary of the Tapajoz.

M
648
B
101

In former times the Mundurucu also fought the Bacaïri, whom they call [98] "Mureufuâte," and forced them to move to Mato-Grosso where they were resettled.

They fought the Apiacá, and only left them alone when the latter settled on the Juruena River, at the foot of the Salto-Augusto Falls. Even today they are very much afraid of the Mundurucu, and when the latter pass through the Apiacá malocas on their way to war, the occupants furnish them with cassava and other supplies.

Itiuâte -- They have already withdrawn toward Cuiabá. They are bearded.

Tuparurûte -- They live toward the Xingu.

Nhauanhen -- This band belongs to the Parintintin tribe, and lives by the falls of the Jauanxin River, a tributary of the Tapajoz.

The Mundurucu of Necodemos know Cuiabá; but they say that many bands of fierce heathens roam those parts.

In the course of their journeys they meet yet other bands of savages whose names they do not know.

It may be assumed that part of the native populations that disappeared from the banks of the Tapajoz and of the Tocantins may now roam the valley of the Upper Xingu.

It might prove of scientific interest to study the movements of these unknown savage populations.

XI

There appears in the malocas an elegantly dressed Mundurucu who claims to have been baptized in Rio de Janeiro.

M
123

It was only natural that I should invite the Mundurucu to come and share with us the advantages of life in society, and especially to [99] send us their children so they might be properly educated and return to the malocas knowing how to build houses and make bows, ovens and other things that would prove of great usefulness.

123 I was seeking through every means to convince them that they would find dedicated friends among us, when they replied that Teiu Burubê had told them H. M. the Emperor was a friend of the Mundurucu.

159 Teiu Burubê was a Mundurucu who had left the villages many years previously, and returned after a long absence. He presented himself in the maloca of Cabrot elegantly dressed after our fashion. His kinsmen greeted him with delight.

Then he told them that he had been baptized in Rio de Janeiro, that he had taken the name of Martinho de Alcantara, and that H. M. the Emperor had served as his godfather and patron. He found in the maloca of Cabrot various relatives, and in particular a sister who treated him with great devotion. When he had left his native village, at a very young age, he had been accompanied by a brother, and together they had traveled down the Canumã River.

This Mundurucu painted a vivid image of the advantages of civilized life, without moving his kinsmen to renounce their savage existence.

Eventually the change in his way of life made him ill, and he came down with violent fevers.

It was said in the maloca that his elegant clothes had cast an evil spell upon him, so his sister angrily gathered them on the village grounds and set them ablaze.

As he recovered from his illness he met even greater distress, for now he was naked.

He finally died; his sister, who had not forsaken him for an instant, buried him under her own hammock. [100]

XII

Population of the central Mundurucu malocas.

161 It is very difficult, indeed impossible, to furnish an exact 361 census of these Indians, living as they do in malocas situated in inaccessible stretches of bush country.

161 Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of
[321 families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the
312] woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

161 It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and
182 most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

115 In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

621 Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim
161 Caetano Corrêa.
103

NAME OF THE MALOCAS	POPULATION
Dauapone	1,500
Carucupi	2,300
Dairi	2,600
Capipique	2,000
Necodemos	2,100
Aikã (Samuuma)	1,500
Acupari	800
Areucrê	700
Arebaduri	400
Teiu Curupi	500
Ipsananti	600

621	Cererepçá	500
161	Cabrós	500
103	Imburariri	350
	Macapá	360
	Ucuberi	250
	Cabetutum	350
	Chacorão	700
	Airi	300
	Bacabal (Mission)	500
	Boburé	100
	Total	18,910

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these malocas may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacorão, for example, is now abandoned; that of Boburé is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the numbers of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 18,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the banks of the Upper and [197] Lower Tapajoz, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

XIII

Maloca of Necodemos -- Plan of Mundurucu malocas.

361 Necodemos is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

In the center of the maloca stands the ekçá or warriors' 342 quarters.

361 The ekçá consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ekçá is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.

513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ekçá above his hammock -- bows, arrows, warclub, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

462 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
248 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the ekçá, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the ekçá stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemos these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the ekçá], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
[562] never set foot in the ekçá. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

461 Whenever I had the opportunity to enter one of those
352 houses, I always found the women working: some wove hammocks, some made flour, others smoked meat, some cooked, some prepared banana mush, etc.

262 They never failed to offer me something to eat: now
574 cooked sweet potatoes, now banana mush. [104]

[386] A cheerful and merry Indian woman, her face all painted up with urucu dye in addition to the usual designs, offered me a tremendous caterpillar which she held on her finger. It was a repulsive thing which contracted and stretched convulsively; and the woman insisted upon transferring it to my own hand, telling me that it was something to eat: "Cobi-cobi."

XIV

Symbolic characters drawn on the cliff of Cantagalo, on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and on the hills of Areu-crê between Acupari and Necodemos.

172 On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the place known
532 as Cantagalo, fifteen figures are to be seen, drawn on the face of a cliff which is about one hundred meters high and which was carved perpendicularly by the stream.

These figures have been there for ages untold: the oldest frontiersmen who explored the Upper Tapajoz, and the oldest Mundurucu, found them just as they are but do not understand their meaning.

They are dark red, like ocher, and stand about eight meters above the highest level of the water at the time of its maximum winter swelling.

At the present time it would be impossible for a man to draw them at this height, even with the help of scaffolding, for the current is fierce where the river curves in at the base of the cliff, expecially at the time of year when the water level reaches its maximum height.

1: Tocantins--28 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

172
532

172 I shall offer no conjectures as to the origin or meaning of these characters. I shall only point out that Humboldt found characters of the same type similarly located on the banks of the Orinoco [105] at a height inaccessible to human hands.

If I remember correctly, this famous scholar is of the opinion that in remote times the level of Orinoco waters rose to a much greater height than today.

I believe that the same deductions reached by the famous German scholar about the Orinoco would apply to the characters of the Upper Tapajoz.

I made a sketch of the characters on the Upper Tapajoz; I do not know whether they are symbolic.

When I showed them to the Mundurucu of Necodemos and Samuuma (Aikã), they all told me that similar characters are to be found in greater numbers on the hills of Areucrẽ, in the midst of the plains which stretch between Acupari and Necodemos. I had no opportunity to see them.

173 Mundurucu tradition holds that Caru-Sacaebẽ, after destroying the maloca of Acupari to punish its inhabitants for their ingratitude, went on to found Necodemos, which thus became the cradle of the human race. It was then, according to the same tradition, that he drew those characters between the two villages, as a monument to recall this memorable event. When Caru-Sacaebẽ left Necodemos, which had become wealthy and powerful, he went down the Tapajoz River and left some further characters on its banks to preserve more vividly among the Mundurucu the memory of his deeds and of his stay among them. [107]

XV

The Mundurucu pronounce sentence of death against sorcerers.-- Some of the more recent applications of this sentence.

200 As late as the beginning of this [19th] century, Portuguese law burned alive in public squares those unfortunate victims accused of being sorcerers by the credulity and superstition of the

700 time. Many other peoples, if not all, have afforded posterity the sad spectacle of this aberration of human reason.

683 The Mundurucu hold fast to this fatal error: the sorcerer among them is irrevocably sentenced to death, but this is the only instance when capital punishment is applied.

797 The missionary from Bacabal, Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva,
683 relates the following case in the Report he submitted to the President of Pará on the fourteenth of August, 1876:

"First of all, Your Excellency must know that one of my greatest concerns, during my five years of office in this Mission, has been to blot out from the Indians' heads some stubborn superstitions, especially those which stood most directly opposed to religion and to the well-being of society.

"Now, one of the strongest superstitions I had to battle was that of witchcraft.

"All I did not say, all I did not do, to wrench from their hearts this evil superstition! And how many deaths were not caused by those mistaken beliefs before the Mission was founded! However, when I already believed that I had persuaded them to loathe this abominable sin, lo and behold [108] one day when the missionary was not there they reverted to the same practices.

"Your Excellency is aware that last year I came to the capital [of Pará] to attend to some affairs of the Mission. Well, while I was away, several people in the Mission sickened and died.

"And some of the Indians began to cry: 'It is witchcraft! It is witchcraft!'

"We must kill the sorcerers. They want to kill us all: we must kill them! They selected four young men of the Mission to be sacrificed as sorcerers. They were able to find one of them, by the name of Ismael; the others, warned in time, fled and came back to the Mission after my return.

"The young man was killed with two gunshots, and finished off with blows on the head.

"The executioners were Silvano da Silva and another boy (now dead).

"The commander was Capt. José da Gama who, around noon of the day when he gave orders to kill Ismael (who lived on

683 the other side of the Mission, across the stream, in the midst of
797 the woods), seeing that the envoys he had dispatched at dawn did not return, said impatiently: 'These people are no good at killing people, I'll go myself!' But when he got there he found the victim already sacrificed. They returned satisfied, leaving the body to the vultures, without giving it burial."

[622] This Capt. José da Gama, mentioned by the missionary father, had been the chief of a village which formerly stood on the banks of the Tapajoz and came with all his people to the Mission of Bacabal. His aboriginal name is Mari-Baxi; the missionary father always left him in charge of the Mission when he had to leave for any period of time. He is an energetic and bold Indian, and already before the Mission was founded he sacrificed several of his companions who had been accused of witchcraft, among them his own brother whom [109] he cast down the waterfalls with a stone tied to his neck.

If Mari-Baxi, alias José da Gama, still commits such acts in a mission which is under government supervision, we can imagine what the chiefs of the central villages may do. The above episode took place in 1875, while I was traveling beyond the Mission of Bacabal, visiting the plains villages. Upon my return I stayed two days at the Mission, where José da Gama was in charge during the absence of the missionary who had gone to the capital.

The chief greeted me with numerous tokens of regard and friendship, but said not a word about the crime he had just committed. He, as well as his accomplices, preserved the greatest secrecy on the subject. Even the missionary, who returned a few days after my stay at the Mission, only came to know the facts much later.

693 Around that time, the following episode also took place in one of the villages. Several Indian women went bathing in a
[412] brook near the village; upon returning, each carried on her head
[415] a gourd of water for her household. When they least expected it, four Mundurucu came out toward them, got hold of one of the poor girls who was about eighteen years old, and pierced her with their tremendous spears. Her companions tarried a moment and

683 involuntarily glanced at the lamentable sight; but the executioners told them: "Keep going, she is a witch."

The body of the girl remained lying on the path all day. On the morrow they threw it on a fire and reduced it to ashes.

Another episode: On the bank of the Tapajoz, [110] in the house of a frontiersman, lives a Mundurucu girl, all painted, and about twenty years old; she is pagan, but owns the Christian name of Sebastiana; she already speaks a little Portuguese and she is very outgoing. She says that her family used to live in the village of Curucupi. Some dangerous fevers came to rage there, and several people died.

It so happened that her mother took it upon herself to treat some of the sick.

One day, as the old Indian woman returned from her work in the fields, an intimate friend of hers told her in secrecy: "Look out; your patient died; it is already rumored that youare a witch." Without losing time, the woman makes a decision with her husband's agreement. They leave the village the same night, taking with them two young daughters and a young son. And indeed, while they fled, the barking of the executioners' dogs followed them all through the night and the following day.

This poor family, after several days of steady marching through the forest, finally came out onto the banks of the Tapajoz and never returned to Curucupi or to any other maloca.

Sebastiana says that the prime mover of the plot aiming at her mother's death now lives in the Mission of Bacabal.

This same girl told me of another case, no less sad, which occurred at the time of the same outbreak of fevers. A few days before the family's flight, this girl and a few others had arrived in Acupari from a neighboring village. That afternoon, they still ate together on the grounds of the house. Around dawn, however, she was rudely awakened by a scream of despair and agony which rose nearby. Immediately afterwards two Mundurucu passed by her hammock, nearly dragging behind them [111] the body of her companion, into whose breast they had thrust the sharp blade of a spear; they had rounded off this horrendous sacrifice by strangling the unfortunate victim in her own hammock. The body,

683 nude and bloody, was found in the middle of the grounds at daybreak, and there remained exposed until evening. All passed by it in silence and without a complaint.

There are many other such cases, for unfortunately executions on account of witchcraft are still frequent. It is said that in those times when Caru-Sacaebê lived among the Mundurucu, there existed no witchcraft and no sorcerers.

Indeed, the criminal code of the Mundurucu is based exclusively upon this.

There is no record of one Mundurucu ever being killed by another except on account of witchcraft. When violent hatred erupts between two Indians who inhabit the same village -- and this is extremely rare -- one of the two merely takes down his hammock, goes to some other village which attracts his fancy, chooses a place in the ekeá, and remains there as long as he pleases.

XVI

Social feelings among the Mundurucu -- The family -- The characteristic painting pattern of the tribe.

A remarkably strong social spirit, or indeed national spirit, binds the individual members and the villages of this tribe, preserving, if I may say so, the autonomy of the Mundurucu republic in a wilderness which lies beyond the contact and influence of our civilization. [112]

It is no cause for wonder that the Quechua of the Andes, herding as they did vast flocks of llama and alpaca and cultivating in large quantities the potato native to their mountains, should have founded great population centers and established a powerful monarchy. An agricultural and pastoral people, they possessed those elements necessary to live in the midst of plenty and to develop their intellectual and moral qualities under the stimulus of life in society.

But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of these families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadereri.

In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly united although divided into twenty villages.

It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the *ekeá* or warriors' quarters.

291 Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any
941 postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

152 I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I be-
913 lieve that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband ap-
689 peared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

855 Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are ex-
913 tremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

69 When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

302 Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The de-
signs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to per-
531 fection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

The tattoing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

Then the painter traces the design on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacaebé.

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs --Burial customs.

The Mundurucu call the sun caxi.

They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coatu and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

They say that summer begins when the swallows appear.
They call the moon caxiase.
The full moon, caxi-tapambon-pimau.
The first quarter of the moon, caxi-quite.
The last quarter of the moon, caxi-hian.
Day, cabiá; night, ximan.

To signify morning, noon, or afternoon, they point out with their index finger the location of the sun at that particular hour.

They call the stars cacuzá.
The seven-star constellation (Hesperides) they call tauadirá.
The morning star, cabiará.
The Southern Cross, chenchemá (ch as in Spanish muchacha).

They say that the earth is flat, but they know not where it begins or where it ends.

When a Mundurucu dies -- man or woman, elder, youth, or child -- his spirit, biumbé, passes on to another world, a sort of paradise which they call cabi.

The cabi consists of a boundless plain, in the midst of which stands an ekcá large enough to hold them all.

Sometimes these spirits wander through the air and cause storms. Sometimes the Mundurucu spirit comes down to earth and turns into a matin tapirera to hunt at night. It so happens that throughout the valley of the Amazon the repeated cries of a bird may be heard during the night, echoing over and again the same syllables -- "matin tapirera."

Beyond this life, beyond the grave, there is no more pain and no realm set aside for the torture of spirits. Life beyond the grave is much sweeter than earthly existence. [117]

Once in the cabi they can never die, and if they need something they come down to earth in the form of thunder. There are no evil spirits intent on bringing ruin on the Mundurucu.

When one of these savages dies, his relatives dig a grave beneath [his?] own hammock, in the shape of a vertical cylinder. They lower the body into it, head uppermost, folded in the posture of the foetus in the maternal womb.

This is the squatting position which was also used by the Quechua and the Egyptians. [The Mundurucu] bury with the deceased a few objects he had used in life, such as weapons, feather ornaments, etc. My interpreter was an intelligent Indian and spoke, besides his Mundurucu dialect, the Portuguese and Tupi tongues. He would translate without hesitation into Mundurucu the following sentences: "I miss my mother -- Nheben uexi cahi" "I miss my son -- Nhebên opute cahi." The word nehbên means "to miss." "My soul goes to heaven -- Ubiumbê cahi cahi dhê."

This knowledge of the heavenly bodies, though still quite rudimentary; these beliefs in a future life, free from odious superstitions; this faculty to conceive and express abstract ideas and the purest and sweetest feelings of the human heart, such as nostalgia for mother or son -- all this surprised me on the part of a people that has always been considered one of the fiercest and most barbarous in the valley of the Amazon.

If the Mundurucu did not derive their beliefs and knowledge from some of the civilized groups on the Andean Plateau, I presume at least that for centuries they must have lived as the inhabitants of the plains villages do today -- that is, in centers as densely populated as [118] a savage economy based on hunting and the meager resources of a crude husbandry will permit. These villages are in constant communication with each other and preserve the same uses and customs. As I mentioned above, the Mundurucu tattoing pattern is really a blood initiation which stamps them with an indelible mark -- a sacred tie binding in brotherly communion all the members of this numerous and powerful tribe.

I will, however, abstain from drawing any conclusions whatever. My purpose is to observe facts with scrupulous care and to describe them with fidelity.

It may be that the light sketch I am tracing of the life of a savage tribe will be pondered by one of those superior minds who cogitate on human destiny and on the problems of mankind.

Theirs is the task to plumb the mysteries of Providence, to search for the beginnings of man's journeys on this earth, for the paths he has followed and the destinies that await him.

XVIII

Means of subsistence of the Mundurucu -- Hunting -- Cultivated Plants -- Wild Fruits.

224 The Mundurucu, living as they do among vast plains and virgin forests, being skillful hunters and possessing excellent hounds, owe their subsistence largely to hunting.

[241] They also practice some husbandry which, though still quite rudimentary, is of considerable help to them. [119]

Many wild fruits also grow in the region, some of them excellent.

I will not enumerate all the various kinds of game which are to be found in those parts, where tapir, deer, wild pig, mutum [?] and the inhambu and jacamin birds occur in such abundance. I will, however, provide below a list of all the plants cultivated by the Mundurucu, and another of the wild fruits, with the corresponding names in their own language:

Cultivated Plants

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
manioc	mocetá
sweet manioc	mocepean
large white yam	puerá erechache
large purple yam	puerá aniucate
small white yam	auairá
small purple yam	anauerá aniucate
sweet potato	uixiá
pineapple	para-â
papaya	ação-â
pepper	aium-â
sugar cane	canipec
timbó liana	comopi
cotton	bruun-â
maize	muirarâ

241
824

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
large bean	ueitei
banana	acouba
S. Tomé banana	acoreqempa
large taja	pan-an-uan
maniqueira	mocera
reed	bepa
jamaru (gourd)	uiaia

[120] Wild Fruits

Fruits of the forest and brush

222
824
137

Pará chestnut [Brazil nut]	hennain
assaí	oaporeme
muriti [fruit of that palm]	inherepea
bacaba	haruruxê
patauá	uadhu
uxí	taruá
pequiá	xaá
abio	anacarea
forest caju	herecera
maracock? [passion fruit]	maracuiá
bacuri-pari	uaremeça
sage	utuá
araticu	bocubocu
mocajá	uacuriá
anaja	uaritaia
copu-ahi	acarapá
pajurá	cobican-a
cumai ([Port.] solvashinha [small sage])	iubaá
massaranduba	cirara-â
forest cacao	uadherá
jutaí or jatubá	[sic]
copu-assu	acarapá

Fruits of the Fields

222
824 jaboticaba
137 mangaba
field caju
axiua
muruci
marmelada
field araticu
pineapple

jubã
unhua
hacerácaraũ
eten-ã
quenhen-ã
hera-ã
bocubocu baru
iparã

252 137 Daũ is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared with Pará chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Pará yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectoliters.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

252 To prepare daũ, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daũ keeps for a long time.

262 They also make another kind of daũ from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assai; patauá; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

[272] In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uteima.

[273] They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

261 They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daũ, etc.

251 They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

XIX

241
137

Plants cultivated in Mundurucu villages (1)

1. I owe this technical outline to the courteous collaboration of Dr. Lourenço José Ribeiro da Cruz Rangel, distinguished botanist from the National Museum [Rio].

manioc	Manihot utilissima, Linn.; euphorbiacea fam.
sweet manioc [122]	Manihot aypim; euphorbiacea fam.
large white yam large purple yam small white yam small purple yam	Dioscorea bulbifera, dioscorea sativa, Linn. Dioscorea fam. There are many different yam species, such as: Dioscorea dodecaneura, Vall.; Dioscorea hyperi folia, Velloso; Dioscorea tribola, Vil.; Dioscorea brasiliensis; etc., etc.
watermelon	Cucurbita citrullus, Linn.; cucurbitacea fam.
jerimu	Cucurbita maxima, D.C.; cucurbitacea fam.
sweet potato	Convolvulus edulis; convolvulacea fam.
pineapple	Bromelia ananas, Linn.; bromeliacea fam.
papaya	Caryca papaya, Linn.; papayacea fam.
pepper	Many fruits belonging to different families and genera go by the name of pepper; but the Indians know best and use most the Indian pepper, Capsicum pendulum, Velloso; solanacea fam.
sugar cane	Saccharum officinarum, Linn.; graminacea fam.
timbó	The timbó liana, also known as cururu-apé, is Paulinia pinnata; and the Rio de Janeiro timbó is Physalis heterophilla.

341
137

Beside these, the Serjania genus also subsumes some poisonous varieties that [123] go by the name of timbó, such as S. caracasana, S. clematidifolia and S. lethalis--especially the latter as its name indicates.

cotton — Gossipium herbaceum, Lamarke; malvacea fam.

maize — Zea mais, Linn.; graminacea fam.

large bean — Bean, Vicia sativa, Linn.; leguminosa fam.

There are many bean species, nearly all of which belong to the Phaseolus genus; leguminosa fam.

banana — Prata banana, Musa argentea; plaintain, Musa sapientum; dwarf banana, Hexandria mouoecia, Linn. These are all of the musacea family.

S. Tomé banana — Musa paradisiaca, Linn.; musacea fam.

large tajá — Caladium esculentum, Linn.; aroidea fam.

reeds — The reeds used by the Indians to make arrows belong to the wild cane, Anthoxanthium gigans; graminacea fam.

calabashes — Calabash, Cucurbita lagenaria, Linn.; Cucurbita leucahles, Duch.; genera of cucurbitacea family. The term "calabash" is used to designate various species of the genus Cucurbita, cucurbitacea family, some of which are edible and others poisonous.

[124]

Uncultivated Fruits Native to the Region

137

Fruits of the Fields

mangaba	Hancornea pubescens, Martius; apocinea fam.
jaboticaba	Myrtus cauliflora, Martius; myrtacea fam.
field caju	Anacardium humile? Martius; therebentinacea fam.
axina	[sic]
muruxi	Byrsonima serieea.
marmelada	The people of Sergipe thus call the fruit of a wild shrub, which looks somewhat like the genipap and is of a dark purplish hue; it is edible, and considered to be a kind of quince native to [the province of] Alagoas. Cydonia?; rosacea fam.
field ariticu	Anona cornifolia, St. Hilaire; anonacea fam.
anany	Leopoldina imperialis cucurbitacea fam.

Fruits of the forest and brush

chestnut	Pará or Maranhão chestnut, Bertholletia excelsa, Humb. and Bomp.; myrtacea fam.
assahy	Euterpe edulis, Martius; palmtree fam.
muriti	Mauritia vinifera, Linn.; palmtree fam.
bacaba	Oenocarpus baccaba, Martius; palmtree fam.
[125]	
pataua	Oenocarpus?; palmtree fam.
uxi	Uxi umbrossimus; crosobolanea fam.
pequiá	Pequiá, coffee or wild coffee, Casearia foetida; samydea fam.
abio	Labatia reticulata, Martius; sapotacea fam.

137
824

forest caju	Considered to belong to the Cassuvium genus; therebentinacea fam.
maracock? [passion fruit]	Passiflora maliformis, Linn. and Wild; passifloracea fam.
bacuru-pari	Platonia insignis, Martius; canellacea fam.
sage	Lippia citrata, Schelt; verbenacea fam. Brazil sage, Salvia fulgens, Cav. Mahl.; labiacea fam. Forest sage, Hurreria salsaparrilha.
ariticu	Anona silvatica, St. Hilaire; anonacea fam.
mocaja	Known in Rio de Janeiro as "catarrhal coconut;" Acrocomia sclerocarpa, Martius; palmtree fam.
anaja or majá	Palmtree fam.
cupu-assu	Deltonea luctea; malvacea fam.
cupu-aí	Leguminosa fam.
pajura	Laurinea fam.
cumati	Psydum albidum, St. Hilaire; myrtacea fam.
massaranduba	Achras paraensis; Massaranduba emarginata, Lacerda; sapotacea fam.
[126]	
forest cacao	Cacaò, Theobroma cacao, Linn.; buthneriacea fam. Wild cacaò, Theobroma guianensis, Wild; buthneriacea fam.
jotobá	Hymenoea stibocorpa, Haine and Martius; Hymenea courbaril, Linn.; leguminosa fam.

XX

The Mundurucu language

192

We shall now list some phrases and words from the Mundurucu language.

[English]	Tupi	Mundurucu
Good afternoon	ianê caruca	oui caxitengue
good morning	ianê eoema	cabiá
so long [até a volta]	acuri cha iuera ramé	repite bimé
goodnight	ianê pitûna	iaicate
how are you?	catu meri será?	chi pateene?
I am well	catu teên	une chipate

[English]	Mundurucu
sun	coxi
moon	caxiate
man	anhocate
woman	aiatiate
day	cabiá
night	ximán
star	taçêpetá
rain	mambaûte
thunder	beru-xixi
sky or heavenly regions	cabi
cloud	cabi crereate
water	iribi
boy	berechata
Let us eat	nhachecon
wart	querêra
nose	ueramboque
tooth	ueirei
eye	ueta
tongue	ueicu

[English]	Mundurucu
192 mouth	ueibi-xéc [?]
face	ueirupá
head	uiaã
ear	oenhembôe
leg	uiraû
foot	uiei
arm	uibá
nail [finger or toe]	uêinrãn
[127]	
beard	uibirape
hair	uiarape
hand	uebaraná
finger	ueibê
eyebrows	ueitá embite
toe	uiei
breast [chest]	ueicameta
abdomen	uêiecca
navel	uêrampeá
throat	uecumbirá
neck	uanhembé
mole [spot]	ueixiquetique
arm-pit	ueinhembi
nostril	uiabingta
hammock	caran
I	une
you	ene
he	inhedhe
they [masc.]	inhedheanhe
friend	ubeixi
older brother	uamu
younger brother	ocouto
sister	uêixite

192
193

[English]	Mundurucu
to give--unheme	
I give	une unheme
you give	ene unheme
he gives	inhedhe-ate unheme
they [masc.] give	inhedianhe unheme
to be a man--anhocate dhê	
I am a man	une dhê anhocate
you are a man	ene dlhê [sic] anhocate
he is a man	inhe dhê anhocate
they are men	inhedianhe anhocate
to eat--uchecune	
I eat	une uchecune
you eat	ene edhuũ
he eats	inhedhêê udhuũ
they [masc.] eat	inhedianhe udhuũ

[128]

[English]	Mundurucu
I'm coming [eu já vou]	udhebeque
regards to yourself [?] [lembranças para ti mesmo]	ecatu dhe euê bê
all Mundurucu are kinsmen	Mundurucus [sic] nheên dhiu anhum umain
my soul goes to heaven	ubiumbé cabi cahi dhe
I miss my mother	nheben nexi cahi
I miss my son	nheben opute cahi
I am your friend	une ubei xixi
I shall not see you again	nhan sên ehuame dhei une

197
171

The following table will facilitate comparison of the Mundurucu dialect with the three principal American languages:

[129]

197
171

COMPARATIVE OUTLINE

[English]	Quechua	Aymara	Tupi	Mundurucu
man	runa	hake	apgaua	anhocate
woman	huarmi	marmi	cunhã	aiatiate
head	uma	ppekeña	akanga	uiaâ
face	ceaklla	Nauna	rua or çuá	ueirupá
eye	nahui	nayra	tecá	uetá
ear	rinri	inchu	apiçaqua	oenhembóe
hand	maki	ampara	mbó	ubaranã
sun	inti	inti	guaraci	caxi
moon	killa	phakhi	jacy	caxi-âte
I	noca	na	ixé or xé	une
water	jacu	uma	y	iribi
he	pay	hupa	ahé	inhendhe
to eat	micumi	mankatha	u	uchecne

XXI

Funerary honors for warriors who die in battle

766 When a Mundurucu happens to die in the course of one of their frequent wars, his comrades cut off his head and mummify it in the accustomed manner.

Upon their return to the village, they put it in a special place along with the weapons, horn and ornaments which belonged to the dead warrior.

This relic becomes the object of public veneration.

765 If a Mundurucu from a neighboring tribe happens to come by, he goes to see it and pays it the proper respects, weeping and lamenting its fate. In the native village, public honors are paid to the late warrior; the time is settled in advance and invitations are made to neighboring villages.

When the time comes the people get together; the head is laid in a sort of basket or hamper, which is placed across the laps of the widow, mother and sisters of the dead man.

The other women sit around them in a circle. Several torches of resinous wood blaze near the funerary basket.

The warriors, bedecked with ornaments and armed with bows and arrows, dance around the group, blowing their horns and playing other musical instruments.

Other groups of men do likewise inside the ekçam while some dance and sing around the house where the head receiving these funerary honors is located. All the while they pronounce in loud voices the following lament:

"Thou hast died, my kinsman, we shall avenge thee; this is the [131] purpose for which we are on this earth, each to avenge the other who dies in battle. Our foes are no braver and no more manly than we."

In Mundurucu it runs as follows:

[539] "Ftean ari ubaripeinhaçan eted ei ue-gne ari utiede aipanme idie ôpe te atedeiame rupanhô be tean anhem parui áte bé. Uterupanhon ibeixi ame utie de utedie ute beixi."

These funerary celebrations last for longer than one day.

765 They are held once a year for the first four years following the warrior's death.

On the fourth year, the celebration ends with the burial of the head; on this occasion, the women as well as the men address it with the following words:

765 "My brother (or my son), we have come here to bury thee.
539 Thou hast died; to this end wert thou born. Thou hast died in war, because thou wert brave; to this end did our mothers and fathers nurture us. We must not fear our foe. Whosoever dies in war dies with honor; it is not as death from illness. We have come from all the malocas to weep and dance to the end of thy burial."

The Mundurucu version runs as follows:

"Uanhum inhaçan uté sõte écũ tchãme. Iménhame ari utiẽ bai utiẽ mai pãnme. Etẽã nanhum utẽ rupanhum bẽ anhocate ediẽ. Imenhame utiẽ xi utiẽ me pito utiẽ bai ari ué utiẽ ũebé anhocate epẽcupeidie ipi bé utiẽ parará ama utiẽ rupanhum bẽ-xime. Rupãnhum-bẽ tié a ãen anhocate ediẽ tutu uẽ-ẽ utié rupanhum bẽ-ibé pame une pite idiotié ma utié pa-ãme pai bẽxime cauxi pibõne. Idiõtié utiésote anhuncaxiri bẽũi caracuie cuié ãẽ uadime uté cabé ute racui axirau umãe iueipe iũé utiẽ uéné pam utié sote nhaçam achi-tutũne pre ibiman utié diepite diei." [132]

At the same time, around the funerary basket, the women speak as from the dead man's mouth:

"My mother (or my wife), thou wilt die in bed of illness. I died in war because I was brave."

534 In the course of these ceremonies the shamans blow on a
784 special instrument: it is a kind of horn which they call caruquẽ.

To this end the shaman hides in a small hut which is espe-
[349] cially built for the purpose, and where the women are strictly forbidden to enter.

On the other hand, these superstitious women avoid the sight of that sacred and mysterious instrument in every possible way. They are convinced that were they to glance at the caruquẽ but for an instant, they would commit a sacrilege that would cause them misfortune for the rest of their lives.

765 Finally, a vertical grave is dug inside the dwelling of the warrior's family, and the head in whose honor the ceremonies took place is buried there.

XXII

Hunting, fishing, and agricultural celebrations

796 224 Each Mundurucu village also carries out every year at the start of winter a public ceremony which celebrates hunting and fishing on alternate years.

To this end the village elects a ceremonial leader who is chosen among the most reputed warriors and who must also be a good singer. [133]

They accumulate beforehand ample quantities of game, beiju (a kind of manioc bread), sweet potatoes, and other foodstuffs.

The women paint themselves with genipap, urucu, and other highly effective colors.

Men and women, adorned with feather ornaments and necklaces of enemy teeth, assemble in groups wherever they please and begin to make music, to dance and to sing.

They gather the skulls of tapir, deer, and other species of game or fish, and offer them the best delicacies -- dau, taruba, maniqueira, and other foods.

At midnight the shaman retires to a special room, beyond the reach of unhallowed glances. There, in the midst of absolute darkness, he first calls in loud voices upon the tapir's "mother," if the ceremony is in celebration of hunting.

After a while, those who surround the mysterious hut hear within it the sharp scream of the tapir.

[325] It is the shaman imitating the cry of this animal to notify his audience that the spirit has answered his call and has come down to the hut.

There ensues a lively debate in loud voices between the tapir's "mother" and the shaman. He requests her to favor the

village hunters during the coming year by keeping their children close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

In addition to those ceremonies consecrated to the tutelary deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer. [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called ken; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers" of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way:

"Oh, 'mother' of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we entreat thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu runs as follows:

"Mucẽipixi eirũ beré bereme u tiedié imenedié diei chipanme mucẽ dẽ aipanem itabungue diẽé taraibote ama epõtepõte diẽe imenedié tutu utiẽ-die araiarai utẽcõpe ixi abime pame euatu abime eirũ berereme bate que mẽaipanhate uéré mon utie caroi diẽai panme tuman."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the lap of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

(69. 747 source of valiant complaints on the part of the leading citizens of the Itaituba District.

To give an idea of the obstacles the Government must face in its great endeavor to christianize [135] the aboriginal tribes, I shall relate here the history of the Mission of Bacabal, which managed to gather together five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe, indubitably one of Brazil's principal aboriginal groups.

So that I may not be accused of bias, I shall transcribe textually certain documents written by the citizens of the district and by the missionary, which bring out the animosity between the two sides.

The leading cultivators and tradesmen of the Itaituba District sent a petition to the Legislative Assembly of the province of Pará on the first of March, 1874, complaining that the missionary of Bacabal did no more than monopolize the labor of the peaceable Indians on the banks of the Tapajoz, without troubling to christianize the savage bands of the central villages.

This petition is here reproduced in full:

"To the members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. -- At the end of the year 1871, the missionaries Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva and Fa. Antonino came to the Upper Tapajoz to found a mission in a location more easily accessible to the aboriginal tribes which still inhabit, in large numbers, the interior of the region. This event was lauded by all, for it would ensure the growth and flowering of this part of the Empire, which lacks manpower in its dwindling agriculture and in other areas that underlie and maintain our trade. The missionaries chose the spot named Bacabal, the seat of a very old settlement of Indians who were already civilized, working in agriculture and the extraction of rubber, lending their skillful knowledge of canoe navigation, and bartering the products of their husbandry. The missionaries, ill-informed and reckless, [136] listening as they did to tramps and adventurers, immediately declared war on the tradesmen, calling them all without exception thieves and scoundrels. They advised the Indians not to pay their debts because they owed nothing, and prevented them from lending their skill to the dangerous canoe trips along the falls, thus causing terrible damage in the years 1872 and 1873, such as the loss of

[illegible] canoes with their loads and several hives. . . . These facts
were related to the Government in the columns of a newspaper published in the town of Santarem. Unhappily, it seems that the higher authorities have been deceived and do not believe the true accounts provided by the press. This evil waxes greater day by day, for the missionaries, protected as they are by a government that entertains the most laudable intentions toward the process of christianization, keep in Bacabal those Indians who resided there and suborn into their service many who were employed by the tradesmen, as well as Negroes who led an irregular life. They put these people to tasks that benefit only the missionaries themselves, to singing hymns, and to performing other acts which decency demands to pass over in silence. The enclosed documents will make clear the behavior of these missionaries, who to this day have contributed nothing to the cause of christianization. This has already moved the Municipal Chamber of Itituba to report to the Government the manner of behavior of these missionaries, which runs altogether counter to the ends of their mission and which to date has achieved no results whatever. -- The undersigned therefore request this illustrious body to recognize the growing evils which threaten the Upper Tapajos, and to authorize the president of the province to send a delegation of competent men to investigate the facts and uncover the truth, so that measures may be taken to abolish the distress [137] which forces us to present this petition to the elected rulers of the people. Itituba, March 1, 1874." (The signatures follow.)

The missionary father, on the other hand, does not bitterly indict all the citizens who signed the petition, but only those tradesmen named regatões [hucksters] who yearly penetrate the Upper Tapajos, carrying in small canoes a few articles to barter for rubber, sage, copaiba oil, and other natural products of the region.

In a letter dated January 20, 1876, the missionary Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva relates the following events to the president of the province of Pará:

"It was on July 10 of last year that Mr. Tocantins visited this Mission; a few days after his departure I had to come to the capital, as Your Exc. knows, for reasons concerning the welfare of the Mission.

648 "During my absence the public morality of the village was
797 thoroughly disturbed by some illicit peddlers.

. . . . . .

"These hucksters and their crews, having learned that the Mission was empty, made for the village one by one without delay and there committed excesses of robbery and licentiousness.

"According to their custom, they first intoxicated the Indians with cachaça [a kind of rum], thus depriving them of their reason, and then took from them everything they could -- manioc flour, ducks, chickens, etc. -- giving them in return nothing but the cachaça they could drink.

"They carried out public whoring day and night, in the harbor and in the houses; and, oh! Sir, in this respect they were truly [138] excessive! There was not one family of poor Indians whose dearest honor and decency they did not abuse horribly, and even the stones shed tears before such a clamity!

"The demoralization went so far that in their intoxicated state the Indians themselves copied the licentiousness of the hucksters, forgetting all they had learned and turning the Mission on those days into a veritable brothel!

"As a result of these unusual goings-on in the village during my absence, which lasted but 49 days, a notable retrogression took place.

"At that time also, ten Indians seized by some superstition (which possibly was also spread by strangers) kept saying that now that the missionary was gone the government had ordered them all to be killed, and that Mr. Tocantins had been sent here to this end; whereupon they fled into the depths of the woods.

"Others, numbering more than twenty, were deceived by the peddlers and left the village with them to help with the extraction of rubber.

"Several others contracted agreements with hucksters and rubber extractors, and were about to leave the Mission when I returned.

"Had the Mission remained abandoned a few days longer, it would have been completely destroyed.

"My unexpected return caused much perturbation among the Indians and much surprise to the enemy.

648
797 "Thanks to Divine Providence, public order was restored. Those Indians who had been led away from the Mission were sought out, and soon I was able to bring them all back [139] into the fold. I redoubled the discipline in accordance with the regulations, forbidding sharp dealing strangers to stop at the Mission or to contract agreements with the Indians in my absence and without my permission.

"The protection which the Government has so justly and wisely granted to the Mission has caused the despair of its enemies; and now that they are perfectly aware of this, they are slowly giving up the whole scheme.

"Following my return to the Mission there occurred only one unfortunate event, as follows:

"One of the greatest deceivers of the Indians, one Boaventura Alves Pereira, a licentious man who deals in cachaça and for this reason has often been expelled from the Mission, came one night secretly to some Indians, between December 10 and 15 of last year, and invited them to come and trade with him at a nearby harbor. The Indians, though somewhat wary, consented and accompanied him. The usual episodes were repeated: everything took place, though with greater moderation.

"As soon as I became aware of his presence, I immediately sent out some Indians in military uniform (who form here a sort of detachment), ordering them to bring me the huckster so that I might take back from him what he had stolen from them. They went; but on sighting soldiers the huckster untied his canoe from the dock. As the corporal attempted to hold the canoe and seize him, the huckster threatened to kill him with his gun.

"The disappointed corporal and his comrades ran to get a canoe and set out after him; but in order to avoid a conflict I did not allow them to do so.

"I punished the chiefs of the guilty Indians; and the huckster being a repeated offender, I denounced him to the subdelegate of Itaituba in accordance with mission regulations. [139]

"However, Sir, knowing the hostility which rules in Itaituba against the Mission, nothing is to be expected from those quarters. For this reason I turn to Your Exc. and request and beg

M 648 797

that two individuals who are highly injurious to the development of the Mission be ordered out of its territory.

. . . . . .

"I am certain that Your Exc. will rid the Mission of this human plague by ordering them to be expelled five leagues beyond the boundaries of the district, in accordance with the pertinent regulation."

XXIV

The Mundurucu attack a band of Parintintin -- The Parintintin attack some inhabitants of the Tapajoz river banks.

M C 648 726

Around that time,[1] a band of Parintintin appeared on the banks of one of the tributaries of the Tapajoz, not far from the Mission.

These poor savages, far from being greeted by Christians and invited into the pale of labor and into life in society, met only with executioners.

Some adventurers, of the kind that comes to those parts in the summer months to extract rubber, lost no time in warning the Mundurucu of the neighboring village. The latter immediately set out, met the Parintintin, defeated them, killed a few, set the others to flight, and returned to the village with several woman and child captives.

No wonder the Parintintin have never managed to settle in the valley of the Tapajoz, which they have roamed [141] incessantly for many years. But these barbarians, whose fate is a continuous state of alarm and dread -- pursued as they are into the deepest recesses of the forest and ever threatened with the forced abduction of their wives and children -- also nurture in their trembling hearts the thirst for vengeance.

Unable to strike at the enemy or at those frontiersmen who had joined the Mundurucu ranks in the wretched hope of obtaining a few Parintintin child captives, these barbarians nevertheless

1 [i.e., ca. January, 1876. -Author]

attempted to express as they could the profound rancor this infamous slaughter had awakened in them.

Here is how Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva described the Parintintin attack on the house of some frontiersman neighbors of the Mission, in a Report to the president of Pará dated August 14, 1876:

"The Parintintin -- another populous tribe that leads a savage way of life, roaming the woods and maintaining a state of continuous warfare with the Mundurucu -- would accept civilization without delay if the Mundurucu were to be all gathered together. Since the Mission was founded the Parintintin have been less fiercely attacked by their foe, and as a result have occasionally appeared around here in the course of their journeys. They were seen at various points of the Tapajoz riverbanks, and appeared last at the mouth of the Jauanchim River, a tributary of the Tapajoz, at the beginning of last July.

"At that very spot three people lived in a small hut by the stream -- two men and a woman who had come from Itaituba on the Upper Tapajoz to extract rubber. One day at the beginning of last July, around five o'clock in the afternoon, they saw filing through the woods by the hut a large band of savages -- naked, [142] armed with bows and arrows, some of them adorned with macaw feathers. The three alarmed individuals imprudently trusted that the savages would proceed on their way and that nothing would happen, as had sometimes proved to be the case elsewhere when these Indians made an appearance.

"But it was not to be so: around six o'clock in the morning of the following day, their house was surrounded by Parintintin who screamed and howled like ferocious beasts as they attacked. The three occupants defended themselves with firearms, and a close battle ensued. The Parintintin chief was killed and many others wounded; the two frontiersmen were severely wounded -- one of them was hit by six arrows, some of which went right through him.

"In the midst of the battle the Parintintin ran out of arrows and went to get some more from their women who waited a short distance away. The two frontiersmen, taking advantage of this short respite, took to flight; and the poor woman, who amid the general alarm failed to accompany them, was captured by the

C
648 savages. When the latter returned, they were furious on finding
726 the men gone, and they cut off her head with wooden knives and
[412] carried it with them, leaving behind the rest of the body, a large
number of arrows thrust into the roof of the hut and into a canoe,
[201] and others set in the form of a cross as a sign of vengeance.

"As a result of this episode, all the rubber gatherers who lived in those parts left for the islands, abandoning a stretch along the right bank of the Tapajoz some fifty leagues in length, from Apuí to Montanhas.

"When I heard about this at the Mission, I should have liked to fly out in search of those wretched aborigines; but after seriously considering the facts and the information [143] provided by the Mission Mundurucu, I realized that any such attempt would be futile. The thick impassable forests, the lakes, the dense network of streams branching all over the interior, all this makes the passage of a missionary altogether impossible."

XXV

Further antagonism between the missionary of Bacabal and the leading citizens of the Itaituba District.

M
648 The hostilities between the missionary and those he called
747 foes of the Mission were steadily maintained.

The Imperial Government has to heart the cause of Christianization and was eager to investigate the case, but it was difficult to determine the truth in those faraway parts.

The honorable president of the province of Pará, Commander Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, took it upon himself to visit the Mission of Bacabal in order to study all that pertained to the cause of christianization and to submit a detailed report to the Ministry of Agriculture.

I had the opportunity to observe that this mission which is one of the largest in the Empire, numbering as it does five hundred Indians, is in a position to perform great services by inviting to Christianity not only those Mundurucu who still live in the

648 jungle, far from the banks of the Tapajoz, but also the unruly
747 Parintintin and all the heathen bands that roam the valley of the Upper Xingu and the borderlands of the province of Mato Grosso. [144]

The grave accusation had been levelled at Fa. Pelino that by reason of his own private interests he paid more attention to commerce than to catechism.

It is true that the missionary carried out a significant amount of trade with the Pará market, selling rubber, sage, copaiba oil and other natural products of this rich territory which had been extracted by the Mission Indians, and in turn buying foreign goods.

The citizens who lodged the complaint against Fa. Pelino maintained that the greater part of this trade was carried out for his own account, and that he had actually remitted important sums of money to Europe.

But the missionary denied this, asserting that the trade was carried out not for his own benefit but for that of the Mission Indians, who extracted these products from the forest and to whom he submitted accounts.

Be that as it may, in the absence of convincing proof that the missionary actually was enriching himself at the expense of the Mission -- proof all the more needed in view of the gravity of the accusation -- the Government decided to uphold the missionary and the Mission and in fact did so.

Unfortunately, however, new events occurred which placed a heavy strain on the missionary's repute.

These events grew in consequence, the matter was widely debated in the daily press and on the rostrum of Pará's Legislative Assembly.

In the Chamber of Deputies, the authoritative voice of my distinguished friend, Dr. Cantão, rose in defense of the missionary.

The enlightened opinion of the nation, which is not indifferent to such matters, expressed itself strongly. [145]

It was unfortunately established beyond doubt that the missionary had not always lived up to the trust which the Imperial Government had invested in him.

648 797 The Minister of Agriculture, in an order dated December 22, 1876, excused Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva from his duties as head of the Mission of Bacabal; at the same time, immediate and equitable measures were taken to maintain the Mission and to serve as vigorously as heretofore the cause of christianization in those remote parts.

XXV

Trade between the hucksters and the Indians of the Upper Tapajoz.

648 797 439 The bitter fight waged between the leading citizens of the Itaituba District and the missionary of Bacabal had no other cause than the Indian trade.

I refer here to those Indians who live at the Mission of Bacabal and at other points of the Upper Tapajoz riverbanks, and [184] not to the Mundurucu of the central villages, such as Necodemos and others, which are called villages of the plains.

The latter, who are truly savage, carry out no trade whatever, and indeed appear to avoid contact with both missionaries and petty tradesmen.

The missionary of Bacabal held the combined functions of director of the settlement, head steward, schoolmaster to both male and female pupils, and parson. He was not eager to obtain assistants from the government to help him in his various tasks, and kept the Mission totally isolated from any contact with the inhabitants of the district and especially with the hucksters. [146]

All the Indian trade in Bacabal was carried out through him directly with the Pará market, and he gave no account whatever of these transactions to the government.

We shall now endeavor to provide a general idea of the manner in which trade is carried out on the Upper Tapajoz.

The district of Itaituba, which stretches beyond the Mission of Bacabal to the borders of Mato Grosso, is one of the richest in natural resources in the valley of the Amazon.

Mu

648 It produces excellent rubber in large quantities, and the
797 provinces of Pará and Amazonas owe the rapid development of
439 their export and import trade to this commodity.

Rubber sells on the Pará market for $1.50 to $2.00 a kilogram; the Tapajoz alone yearly exports some 150,000 kilograms of it, and this amount would be larger if there were sufficient manpower to gather all the natural resources of the soil. The
Ma 249 district also produces guaraná, a highly precious commodity of
278 acknowledged medicinal worth.
439 The Maué Indians alone cultivate this plant and prepare the product, which they usually make into cylindrical loaves, sometimes, however, they mold it into the shape of animals native
Ma [532] to the region, such as tapir, snakes, turtles and others, lending to this task considerable intelligence and artistic taste.

Ma Guaraná sells on the Pará market for $4 to $5 a kilogram;
[435] and in Mato Grosso, where it is in great demand, the price is four times higher.

Each crew member of the canoes that sail in those parts takes a guaraná decoction every morning and even several times a day as a fever preventive. The results are positive.

Mu The district also furnishes copaiba oil, sarsaparilla, [147]
439 and other natural products which are priced high and esteemed greatly on all markets.

On this very day I find the following notice in a reputable newspaper of the capital of Pará [Belém]:

"Indians -- Sixteen Mundurucu Indians from the Mission of Bacabal, accompanied by their chief, have arrived in this capital to appear before the Presidency and to promote the sale of 292 arrobas (over 4,000 kilograms) of rubber.

"The chief's attire and the face paintings of these Indians have attracted public curiosity."

Commerce on the Upper Tapajoz is carried out by tradesmen known as regatões [hucksters or traders], who appear in those parts in small canoes loaded with goods during the summer months and the rubber harvest. Navigation through the falls is difficult
Mu [505] and risky; it is often necessary to unload the canoe and carry the burden on land for several kilometers; then the canoe in turn has to be carried and reloaded; and farther on the whole procedure

439 is repeated, with the additional danger of foundering on one of
[505] the innumerable rocks which obstruct the course of the stream. To this must be added privations, fevers, and possible attack by fierce Indians such as the Parintintin. Some of these peddlers, setting out from Itaituba, course upriver through the region for a month and sometimes two.

They find no one to trade with but the Mundurucu and a few Maué savages, who go naked or nearly naked, who have not the slightest notion of our language, of our alphabet, of our system of weights and measures, or of the current price of the goods they sell and the commodities they purchase.

Incredible as it may seem, the traders sell on credit [148] to savages who own no capital other than a hatchet to bleed the rubber trees, commodities which add up on running accounts to such enormous figures as 5, 6 or 7,000,000 reis or even more! Possibly every Indian in those parts is indebted to a considerable extent. When asked how much they owe, these Indians always reply: "Who knows! Only the patron can tell!" They always call their creditor "patron" [patrão].

439 The trader, himself a creditor [sic], regards his Indian
648 debtors as serfs: as best suits his needs, he sends them into the forest to gather rubber, forbidding them expressly to sell it to other traders; or makes them paddle his canoe; or takes them to his home when the harvest is over and puts them to work under his very eyes. He carries this odious exploitation practically to the point of slavery; denies them the right to go where they wish; and if by chance they secretly run away, he sets out after them and captures them by sheer force.

Many cultivators also have a certain number of Indians at their service and under their rule. I have seen many of these savages -- men, women and children -- forcibly retained in the homes of cultivators. When one of these creditors passes away, the Indian moves to the home of whoever happens to inherit his share of the debt. Once on the Upper Tapajoz I asked to whom an Indian "belonged" who interested me, and got the following reply: "We don't know yet, because the household of his former master, who died a short time ago, has not yet been parcelled out."

439 797 Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva, who called those wretched Indians to the Mission in large numbers, used to tell them: "My sons, you owe nothing to these illicit tradesmen; from [149] now on, work only for yourselves, for your wives and for your children."

XXVI

Trade between the Indians and the traders --
Strange and fabulous running accounts.

439 The missionary of Bacabal showed me several running accounts made out to the Indians by the peddlers, in which the former always owed the latter very large sums of money.

We will reproduce below the running account between the petty tradesman Manoel Quirino Paes and the Indian chief Joaquim Correia Piampé. Then we will outline the same running account, figured out in terms of cash and listing the respective prices.

This will demonstrate that even if we assume an honest and exact listing of the commodities sold as to quantity and quality, and of the rubber purchased as to weight, the goods were dealt out to the Indian at 400 per cent of their cost value.

There follows another running account, indicating that the chief José Francisco owes the trader Jose Domingos de Oliveira the tremendous sum of 6,876,282 reis!

It looks like a transaction between two wealthy parties; yet José Domingos de Oliveira is but a poor trader living in a simple hut on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and the chief José Francisco is a half-naked and illiterate savage. [150]

RUNNING ACCOUNT

"The chief Joaquim Corrêa Piampé owes Manoel Quirino Paes to March 28th:

2 cuts thick americano, 80 yards	5 arrobas rubber
2 cuts strong gingham [riscado], 80 yards	5 "

439

1 cut plaid gingham, 3[illegible] yards	1 arrobas and a half
4 cuts fine broad gingham, 80 yards	4 arrobas
2 cuts handkerchiefs	1 "
10 alqueires salt	6 "
2 barrels gunpowder, 50 lb.; 3 arrobas lead	10 "
8 flasks [frasqueiras] cachaça, with large bottle	10 "
6 thousand percussion caps [espoletas]	2 "
1 box soap, 42 lb.	1 "
1 lb. balls of thread	1/2 "
5 firearms	5 "
1 fine black hat	3 "
2 doz. American hatchets [terçados]	7 "
1 doz. American axes [terçados grandes]	3 "
9 strike-a-lights [isqueiros] with flintlock [fuzil]	1 " & 4 lb.
100 gunflints [pederneiras de fogo]	11 " & 8 lb.
4 cutlasses [facas Pampa]	2 arrobas
Balance on 1870 account	11 "
Total	76 1/2 arrobas

"On February 16, 1872, I received twenty-five arrobas of rubber, two arrobas of sernamby and five arrobas of pitch. This leaves [?] fifty arrobas."

To provide a clearer idea of this transaction, we will now outline the same running account, but in terms of our currency and of the prices current on the Para market in the year when the transaction was carried out.

This shows that the goods were sold to the Indian at more than 400 per cent of their cost value. [151]

COMMODITIES SOLD IN EXCHANGE FOR RUBBER	RUBBER TO BE RECEIVED							
	Cost*	Total	Plus 100%	Against	@	lb.	Price	Total
2 cuts genuine thick americano, 80 yards	$ 440	$35,200	$70,400	against	5	"	$25,000	$125,000
2 cuts genuine strong gingham [riscado], 80 yards	660	52,800	105,600	"	5	"	"	125,000
1 cut genuine strong gingham, 80 yards	260	9,100	18,200	"	1	10	"	32,814
4 cuts broad gingham, 85 yards	400	34,000	68,000	"	4	"	"	100,000
2 cuts handkerchiefs	5,000	10,000	20,000	"	1	"	"	25,000
10 alqueires salt	1,600	16,000	32,000	"	6	"	"	150,000
2 barrels with 50 lb. gunpowder	1,000	50,000	100,000	"	10	"	"	250,000
3 arrobas lead	4,400	13,200	26,400					
8 flasks [frasqueiras] cachaça, with large bottle	6,000	48,000	96,000	"	10	"	"	250,000
6 thousand percussion caps [espoletas]	1,000	6,000	12,000	"	2	"	"	50,000
1 box soap (42 lb.)	400	16,800	33,600	"	1	"	"	25,000
1 lb. balls of thread	1,500	1,500	3,000	"		16	"	12,500
5 second-rate guns	15,000	75,000	150,000	"	5	"	"	125,000

(continued)

RUBBER TO BE RECEIVED

COMMODITIES SOLD IN EXCHANGE FOR RUBBER	Cost*	Total	Plus 100%	Against	@	lb.	Price	Total
6 [sic] fine black hats	$ 4,000	$24,000	$ 48,000	"	3	"	$25,000	$ 75,000
2 dz. genuine American hatchets [tercados]	25,000	50,000	100,000	"	7	"	"	175,000
1 dz. genuine large axes		32,000	64,000	"	3	"	"	75,000
9 strike-a-lights [isqueiros] with flintlocks [fuzil]		4,000	8,000	"	1	4	"	28,124
100 gunflints [pederneiras]		2,000	4,000	"		8	"	6,250
4 cutlasses [facas Pampa]	500	2,000	4,000	"		20	"	15,624
		$481,600	$963,200		65	26		$1,645,312

*in Reis

He balanced the old account, and credited the current account as follows:

9 arrobas rubber at $25,000	$225,000	
2 arrobas sernamby at $16,000	32,000	
5 arrobas pitch at $2,000	10,000	267,000
		1,378,312

[152]

ANOTHER RUNNING ACCOUNT

439 Chief José Francisco da Boa-Vista has bought from José Domingos de Oliveira Bahia the following goods and

		OWES
Amount owed from August 11, 1870 to June 8, 1871		$3,996,815
June 9, 1871		
1 gun inxó		5,520
3 dz. lead spoons	$ 1,600	4,300
24 copper graters	1,325	31,800
16 fine small scissors	550	8,800
1 25-lb. barrel gunpowder	1,980	49,500
1/2 arroba lead	10,830	16,245
2 gallons kerosene	6,500	13,000
12 bunches [massos] coral	1,000	12,000
13 bunches [massos] fine white glass beads	520	6,700
6 flasks [frasqueiras] cachaça	13,320	73,920
12 American hatchets [terçados]		56,207
2 three-span trunks	12,000	24,000
2 boxes soap with 90 lb.	360	32,400
1/2 arrobas sugar	12,000	18,000
1/2 arrobas aged coffee [? café velho]		9,525
2 containers Philantropico ointment	19,000	3,800
2 containers Bristol sarsaparilla	400	2,800
2 containers Opodeldocc	1,200	2,400
1 bottle sweet almond oil	5,480	10,960
8 1/3 covados scarlet baize	800	1,600
1 box Altona ginger		13,500
6 fine felt hats	5,000	30,000
6 stone cups [copos de pedra]		3,000
120 gunflints [pederneiras]	1,600	2,400
5 alqueires salt in bags	5,000	25,000
2 arrobas rice	7,680	15,360

		OWES
439 June 9, 1871 (continued)		
20 touchholes for firearms	$ 300	$ 4,000
2 bundles tobacco, or rather one 4-lb. bundle	7,000	14,000
100 nails [pregos meio forros]		1,540
4 cans small soda biscuits	1,500	6,000
2 American axes	3,700	7,400
March 23, 1871		
12 lb. soap	400	4,800
1/2 gross buttons		600
2 alqueires salt	5,000	10,000
June 9, 1871 [sic]		
10 fine firearms	28,000	280,000
2 cuts americano, recent make, 83 yards	656	54,448
[153] 2 cuts inglez, 68 yards	560	38,080
1 cut white dril, 42 1/2 yards	800	33,600
2 cuts broad dyed dril, with 80 yards	660	52,800
2 cuts narrow dyed dril, 80 yards	385	30,880
1 cut blue dril, 42 yards	127	50,694
1 cut thick gingham [riscadão Francisco], 34 yards	1,100	37,400
1 cut strong, superior gingham, 39 yards	1,225	47,770
1 cut blue chintz [rapão], 41 yards	332	35,212
2 cuts thick plaid gingham, 70 yards	450	31,500
1 cut thick blue and white gingham, 34 yards	450	13,525
3 cuts superior quality [sic], 72 yards	500	3,600
2 cuts fine color print calico [chitas], 7 1/2 covados	480	35,680

		OWES
139 June 9, 1871 [sic] (cont'd)		
2 cuts of same, purple 74 covados & 2/3	$ 400	$29,783
2 cuts of same, blue, 74 covados & 2/3	400	29,783
2 cuts of same, scarlet, 74 covados & 2/3	4,800	35,680
6 cut-out dril trousers	3,620	21,720
3 pairs fine color handkerchiefs	6,600	17,800
1 large saw		6,000
3 dz. large cutlasses [facas Pampa]	9,530	28,580
2 dz. high rubber [-tapping?] combs, no. 32 [pentes de seringa]	2,950	41,900
2 lb. small balls of thread	2,900	5,800
3 dz. small spools of thread	600	1,800
2000 anias	2,100	4,200
24 cuts color clastros	1,920	3,840
3 gross shirt buttons	400	1,200
6 gross marking tags [marca]	400	2,400
7 lb. fishing line	2,800	19,600
July 16, 1871		
.5 thousand percussion caps [espoletas]	2,400	12,000
4 dz. itassumbas	1,600	6,400
2 cuts fine color print calico [chitas], 74? 2/3 covados	400	29,600
2 cuts americano, recent make, 83 yards	750	62,250
3 cuts of same, wide, dyed, 6 yards	580	34,800
16 containers ointments	450	7,200
2 flasks vinegar	1,800	3,600
6 flasks red wine	3,600	19,200
4 dz. bowls	3,500	14,000
6 pair drinking cups	020	7,920

		OWES
439 July 16, 1871 (continued)		
1 flask [frasqueira] cachaça		$13,200
1 dz. fine white dishes		3,500
4 bottles Florida water	$ 1,700	6,800
October 2, 1871		
300 nails [pregos de forro]		12,000
2 flasks [frasqueiras] cachaça	13,200	26,400
1 cut genuine americano trançado, 42 yards	990	41,500
2 bottles liquor	7,200	2,400
[154] 1 dz. large cutlasses [facas Pampa]	11,040	11,749
Money you asked me		4,000
1 skein guitar string		500
24 copper graters	13,200	26,400
1 bundle tobacco		12,000
18 lb. sugar	320	5,760
December 2, 1871		
1 thousand percussion caps [espoletas]		1,500
March 2, 1872		
1/2 flask [frasqueira] cachaça		6,600
1 bundle tobacco		10,000
Sum I paid to Paulo Christo		41,040
Plus 10% of said [?] amount		84,144
Total		$6,876,282

CREDIT:

3 arrobas sernamby	$ 800	$ 24,000
45 arrobas fine rubber, shipped to the capital at your own risk and expense [?]		

Jacu-coara, March 9, 1872

José Domingos de Oliveira Bahia

1: Tocantins--73 C-S (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu
Brazilian Indians, 54

XXVIII

Present situation of the aborigines in the valley of the Amazon.

The higher powers of the State are not unconcerned with the fate of the aboriginal populations still roaming the jungle like wild animals, and the national budget yearly grants a considerable sum to this branch of public service.

But in the realization of this noble task the Government encounters great difficulties, one of the main ones being the shortage of missionaries and of capable and dedicated personnel.

The facts have unfortunately proved that it is not possible to rely on the cooperation of the national clergy.

The aboriginal population of the Amazon Valley may be considered as being divided into two distinctive groups. One consists of the descendants of former savages, brought out of the bush by the missionaries of old. These Indians are now baptized, though I would not call them either Christians or Catholics. They live in flimsy huts on the banks of the river; they hunt, fish, and extract the natural resources of the jungle which they sell to traders.

The children taken to the parson to be baptized return to the parental hut to grow and live according to the laws of nature; yet they are considered Catholics and listed as such in the statistics. But they are indifferent to the precepts of Christianity, of which indeed they know nothing, and remain faithful to the ancient superstitions of their mythology.

Most of these Indians do not hear even once in the course of their existence an explanation of Christian doctrine. [156]

The aborigines of the other group remain altogether savage. They have been moving ever farther away from the banks of the Amazon and prefer to seek out the upper course of its tributaries. They have thus placed between themselves and the baptized groups a wide stretch of waterfalls.

This sort of neutral territory, however, is constantly invaded by the petty traders who penetrate with unbelievable boldness

231 into the farthest recesses of the interior; defying a thousand perils, they go to the savage and invite him not to the practice of agriculture, but to the extraction of rubber, sage, and other bartering commodities. It thus happens that the traders draw the inhabitants of the jungle one by one into the pale of labor.

It is plain that the aboriginal populations of the Amazon Valley have received but a meager share of that treasure of prosperity which civilization and Christianity were to bring them. As far as they are concerned, it seems that Columbus never discovered America and Christ never came to this world.

I shall now sketch out briefly another episode -- the last -- in the life of these stepchildren of fortune.

On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the midst of the stretch of waterfalls, not far from Bacabal and between this mission and the important town of Itaituba, I came upon the ruins of an old trading post.

They consisted of the remnants of four large houses, roofed with palm thatch, which had belonged to a bold frontiersman by the name of Manoel Quirino Paes. He had been murdered not long previously and his memory enjoyed considerable renown.

He was a mulatto who had come down from the province of Mato Grosso as a simple canoe paddler, earning a meager salary for long hours of hard labor.

But he abandoned master and canoe, and settled in those parts to devote himself to the extraction of rubber. [157] Later he chose a Maué Indian as his companion and partner, and then another, and another, until he eventually lived with about one hundred Indians of both sexes.

Endowed with great energy and working ability, he claimed an extensive piece of land on either side of the stream and a large island which lies in the middle, all of it forfeited government land.

This land must have held some five thousand rubber trees. At daybreak the lively frontiersman would send out in every direction to his trees, a fleet of light canoes. Each Indian would return in the evening, bringing with him some five kilograms of rubber. Needless to say, all the Indians labored for

the benefit of the hard-working mulatto, who could earn without undue effort during the rubber harvest a daily sum of more than $150,000 [reis].

The amount of rubber he exported was indeed considerable, and I heard it appraised by several Itaituba tradesmen at more than $200,000,000 [reis] a year. Thus turned prosperous, the mulatto kept the Indians in veritable and rigorous captivity. Woe to the one who should attempt to leave the trading post!

The women were put to work in the household and did not have to go out into the woods and gather rubber. But their bondage was no less cruel.

The captive women included a girl from the Maué tribe by the name of Francisca, who angrily rebelled against the despotism and lewd caprices of the petty tyrant. Twice she attempted to run away, and twice she was captured and severely punished.

She firmly resolved to avenge herself, and entrusted this just vengeance to a young boy of the Apiacá tribe who went [158] by the name of José Apiacá. She gave him a loaded shotgun and they waited in ambush one night near a door which the frontiersman was due to enter. When the latter appeared, José Apiacá wavered, but the girl, who remained by his side, attempted to wrench the weapon from his hand, calling him weak and cowardly. Then José Apiacá pressed the trigger, and the tormentor fell dead amid a stream of blood.

They were taken to court in Santarém, and Francisca Maués [sic] proclaimed herself the sole author of the crime. Lifting her short skirt before the court, she bared the marks of the irons which she had long endured.

Before a large audience transfixed with wonder, the angry girl described the scenes of cruelty and horrible licentiousness which had taken place in that fierce man's trading post, with herself and her unfortunate fellow captives as victims. The court absolved her.

José Apiacá, a boy of gentle and attractive mien, declared that he had killed the tormentor in order to free his friends and to avenge Francisca Maués, whom he loved.

S 439 698 The court found him guilty, and the poor boy is now carrying out his sentence in the penal institution of Bahia.

The other Indians immediately abandoned the trading post. It is now four years since they regained their freedom at a time when they least expected it, and the heroic child who broke their fetters lies forgotten in prison, away from his people, and not yet of age. [159]

XXIX

I return from the maloca of Necodemos to the headwaters of the Cadereri -- The cry of the anhangá -- Farewell.

M 484 M [411] When the day of my departure finally came, I went from house to house and took leave of the inhabitants of Necodemos.

At this time thirteen Mundurucu, among them the boy who gave me the Parintintin head, seized their bows and arrows and prepared to go with me, although they had told me nothing of their decision. I must confess that I was not in the least eager to travel for eight days in the company of these barbarians through dense and deserted jungles; I was hoping instead that they would remain peacefully in their molaca.

I told them that I had no more flour or other supplies, and that it would be impossible for the twenty-odd men we would number to walk that far without provisions.

But this matter was of no concern to them; they merely prepared to take with them a few sweet potatoes, which at best would suffice for a frugal luncheon.

In fact I do not know exactly what these men ate during the journey. They were constantly hunting, catching birds and lizards and gathering wild fruits on which they fed.

M [515] Every once in a while we would come upon a limpid and delightful stream, and the savages never missed the opportunity to leap into the fresh waters, unfettered as they were with the task of undressing and dressing again. At night we would all gather at the sound of the horn, and we always stopped by a [160]

Ma 484 brook that winds every which way through the fields and through the shade of the virgin forest.

Ma [162] Following the evening meal, each would string his hammock; those who had not brought one would prepare couches Ma of branches and leaves.

Ma 648 The Maué and the Mundurucu, formerly implacable enemies who could not meet without fighting, now slept peacefully side by side.

I have often been told about the profound silence of the desert. But in these parts, during the night, there is not a single instant of absolute silence. A thousand small voices, now near, Ma now far, hoarse or sharp, shrill or mellow, form a strange orchestration: the creaking of branches, the chirping of insects, the 825 hissing of reptiles, the mournful cries of nocturnal birds.

776 And in the midst of these discordant sounds a cry echoes, piercing and plaintive, which appears to move constantly about.

The Maué, heathens of the Tupi nation, said that it was the "cry of the anhangá." Yet although I questioned them repeatedly on the subject, I was unable to find out whether they attributed the cry simply to the small white deer they call anhangá, or to the evil spirit which according to their beliefs is wont to take the form of a deer in order to deceive them and lead them astray when they go hunting. When they spoke of the anhangá, however, they showed no signs whatever of superstitious fear.

Indeed, Tupi mythology portrays the principle of evil simply as a cunning deer that invents ingenious tricks to lead the hunters astray.

It is not Siva, portrayed by the oldest Sanskrit [161] civilization as forever thirsty for blood; nor is it the Aritman of the Persians.

It is also very remote from Satan, that combined figure of dread and masquerade which the missionaries of old so often mentioned in their sermons and in their chronicles.

At the headwaters of the Cadeneri I spent my last day and night with the Mundurucu who had come with me from Necodemos.

I gave them all I had in my canoe, including those personal possessions which were not indispensable to me, and deeply regretted my inability to do more.

At the last minute I pressed them once more to come and see our cities or at least to send us some of their children, whom I promised to return later to their parents.

A few merely responded with a negative sign, and others did not even answer, as if they did not consider the invitation worthy of consideration.

The terrible curse of the Holy Scriptures seems to have descended upon these pitiable savages and their children with merciless fatality: Vagus et profugus eris super terram.

1: Tocantins SQ13 Mundurucu

REVISTA TRIMENSAL

DO

INSTITUTO HISTORICO

Geographico e Ethnographico do Brasil

FUNDADO NO RIO DE JANEIRO

DEBAIXO DA IMMEDIATA PROTECÇÃO DE S. M. I.

O Sr. D. Pedro II

TOMO XL

Parte segunda

Hoc facit, ut longos durent bene gesta per annos
Et possint serâ posteritate frui.

RIO DE JANEIRO
B. L. Garnier — Livreiro-editor
65 Rua do Ouvidor 65

1877 [Title page]

1: Tocantins SQ13 Mundurucu

ESTUDOS

SOBRE A

TRIBU « MUNDURUCU' »

MEMORIA

ESCRIPTA E LIDA PERANTE O INSTITUTO HISTORICO GEOGRAPHICO BRASILEIRO

Pelo engenheiro

ANTONIO MANOEL GONÇALVES TOCANTINS

Socio correspondente do mesmo Instituto.

I

Viagem ás aldêas centraes dos *Mundurucus*, situadas no valle do Alto Tapajoz.—Itinerario de Belem, capital da provincia do Pará, até essas aldêas.—Scenas da vida selvagem.

A 18 de Junho de 1875 parti de Belem, com destino ao Alto Tapajoz.

A viagem de Belem a Sántarem pelo rio Amazonas, e de Santarem á Itaituba pelo Tapajoz, é feita em cinco dias, em um dos grandes vapores da companhia do Amazonas.

Em Itaituba embarquei em uma pequena canôa, tripolada por oito indios, quasi todos da tribu *Maués*, e penetrei pelas cachoeiras do Alto Tapajoz.

Com dez dias de viagem cheguei á Missão do Bacabal, que o governo imperial mandou fundar, e que foi effectivamente fundada á margem direita do Tapajoz em 23 de Fe-

[pp. 1-73 not processed]

vereiro de 1872 por Fr. Antonino e por Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva. Esta missão contém cerca de quinhentos indios da tribu *Mundurucú*.

O missionario Fr. Pelino, unico que então ahi se achava, pois que o seu companheiro já se havia retirado do Bacabal, cedeu-me para interprete um indio *Mundurucú*, que, além do seu dialecto, tambem comprehende e falla as linguas portugueza e *tupí*.

Continuei minha viagem pelo Tapajoz acima, e com cinco dias, a contar da Missão do Bacabal, cheguei á foz do rio Caderery, affluente, pelo lado direito, do mesmo Tapajoz.

Ahi devia eu encontrar, segundo se me havia dito, um audaz sertanejo, que conhece o caminho que leva ás aldêas centraes. Infelizmente, porém, não o encontrei. Ninguem de minha tripolação conhecia ao menos o curso do rio Caderery.

Estava eu embaraçado, por falta de guias e de informações, quando vimos por acaso apparecerem na praia dois selvagens *Mundurucús*.

Perguntámo-lhes, por intermedio do interprete, que tempo nos seria necessario para chegarmos ás fontes do Caderery.

O mais idoso dos dois selvagens respondeu pelo seguinte signal: com o dedo indicador apontou para o nascente, descreveu uma semi-circumferencia na direcção do curso apparente do sol até o poente, acompanhando este movimento com o olhar, gestos e vozes expressivas, e repetiu pausada e distinctamente seis vezes a mesma mimica de tal sorte, que, antes que o interprete o houvesse traduzido, já eu comprehendêra que o selvagem queria dizer que seriam necessarios seis dias.

Disse-nos mais que, ás cabeceiras do Caderery, encontrariamos outros indios, que nos poderiam guiar até a aldêa de Necotemos, de onde elle e seu companheiro vinham.

Este nome de Necodemos, que os *Mundurucús* déram a uma de suas principaes aldêas, impressionou-me, pois é o appellido do judeu generoso e compassivo, que fez modestas honras funebres a Christo, dando-lhe um lençol para amortalhar-lhe o cadaver e um sepulchro para o guardar.

Porque deram os *Mundurucús* este nome á sua aldêa não o sei dizer. Presumo que a identidade de nome nada mais seja do que o effeito de méro acaso.

Como quer que seja, resolvi-me a procurar a aldêa de Necodemos dè preferencia a qualquer outra.

Alguns guerreiros d'essa aldêa, segundo referiu ainda o mesmo informante, tinham chegado, poucos dias antes, de uma guerra, e conservavam duas cabeças de inimigos mumificadas, collares de dentes humanos e outros trophéos.

E não tive de arrepender-me d'essa preferencia, porque em Necodemos fui bem recebido, e encontrei mais viva do que em outra qualquer parte a tradição da genesis *Mundurucú*, que considera justamente esta *maloca* ou aldêa como o berço do genero humano.

Segui pelo Caderery acima. Rio singular! Todos os dias tinhamos de passar á força de braços nossa ligeira embarcação por cima de bancos de arêa. Aqui confirmei a opinião que havia formado de que o Caderery, assim como o Araguaya, Juruena, Mamoré, e outros affluentes superiores que alimentam os grandes tributarios meridionaes do Amazonas, taes como o Tocantins, o Tapajoz, o Madeira e outros, se esgotariam totalmente durante o verão, ficando os alveos a sêcco se não fossem as cachoeiras do curso médio, que servem de comportas a tão impetuosa corrente. O declive geral do curso médio d'esses grandes affluentes do Amazonas, que descem do planalto central, é maior do que convem para constituir um curso d'agua nas condições normaes de um rio.

Emfim, ao amanhecer do sexto dia calculado pelo indio, encontrámos uma arvore atravessada sobre o rio, em fórma de ponte, e á margem uma tosca cabana. Não havia pessoa alguma. Tocámos buzina para chamar á falla o proprietario da cabana, que devia achar-se caçando nas matas vizinhas. Não apparecendo ninguem, seguimos viagem, deixando eu alguns insignificantes presentes para annunciar a passagem de pessoa amiga.

Julguei dever proceder d'este modo lembrando-me que o capitão-tenente Soares Pinto fôra atacado e morto pelos selvagens por haver destruido pontes que elles haviam lançado sobre o rio. Ora, não se póde fazer esta navegação sem destruir as pontes, e nem sempre é possivel restaural-as.

Por isso, todas as vezes que eu não podia collocal-as de novo sobre os mesmos lugares, pois que ainda encontrámos n'esse dia mais quatro pontes, deixava presentes para de alguma sorte compensar o prejuizo que causava ao selvagem. No fim d'esse dia tornou-se o rio totalmente innavegavel: era-nos impossivel levar nossa canôa mais adiante. Felizmente, n'esta apertada conjunctura, encontrámos uma outra ponte sobre o rio e uma cabana á margem; tocámos buzina com persistencia, e vimos por fim apparecer um velho indio, acompanhado de uma india, que teria trinta annos de idade, e cinco crianças menores, uma das quaes ainda de peito. Chegaram em seguida dois robustos rapazes.

Escusado é dizer que todos os indios que encontrámos n'essas alturas, homens e mulheres, velhos, moços e crianças, estavam inteiramente nús.

Facilmente reconhecemos que esta familia pertencia á tribu *Mundurucú*, porque a moça, os rapazes e o velho, estavam todos pintados no rosto, no peito e em todo o corpo. com os losangos e outras figuras caracteristicas da tribu

O velho *Mundurucú*, maior seguramente de setenta annos e já quasi surdo, recebeu-nos com indifferença, assim como os dois rapazes. A moça e as crianças pareciam transidas de susto e de espanto.

Aqui pousámos e passámos a noite.

II

Trajecto da cabeceira do Caderery á aldêa de Necodemos, nas campinas.

Na madrugada do dia seguinte, por um estreito e tortuoso trilho, partindo da cabeceira do Caderery, onde deixámos nossa canôa, embrenhámo-nos por estas matas seculares, cujos troncos carcomidos parecem ainda cobertos das vasas de um diluvio universal. Um dos dois rapazes servia-nos de guia.

Não tinhamos caminhado muito, quando ouvimos latir de cães, e logo depois encontrámos um lindo rapaz de dezeseis a dezesete annos de idade. Ao avistar-nos não manifestou a menor sorpresa; pelo contrario, sua physionomia risonha exprimiu alegria infantil.

Parecia que já nos esperava e que eramos amigos de longa data, pois elle tomou logo a dianteira de nossa caravana, e guiou-nos á sua cabana situada á beira do caminho, na margem de um lindo regato. A cabana era coberta e cercada de folhas de palmeira; dez cães gordos annunciavam que ahi reinava a abundancia.

Sobre os madeiros do tecto estavam suspensas dez rêdes, arcos, flechas, cuias e outros objectos. O rapaz offereceu-nos uma cuia cheia de fructos da palmeira muruty (*mauricia venifera*); mostrava os maiores desejos de nos

obsequiar, e declarou-se prompto a nos acompanhar até Necodemos se seu pai consentisse. Tocámos buzina para chamar o pai, e após uma hora de espera, vendo que ninguem acudia ao chamado, resolvi seguir adiante, e segui effectivamente, deixando com pezar este sympathico selvagem, que em sua cabana me recebêra com tamanha alegria.

A' tarde, tendo atravessado a mata, caminhando sempre a pé, sahimos em uma vasta campina, e avistámos sobre o cume de uma collina a *maloca* ou aldêa de Absenanty.

O que, porém, eu achava singular é que faziamos esses encontros quando menos esperavamos, pois nunca consegui do guia que dissesse de antemão o caminho que deviamos seguir, nem quaes as habitações que deviamos encontrar.

A aldêa de Absenanty estava em construcção; constava ainda apenas de uma vasta casa nova, com o tecto coberto de palha, o qual consistia em um simples lanço baixo para o lado do poente e elevado para o lado do nascente.

Não encontrámos pessoa alguma n'esta casa, mas um crescido numero de rêdes, arcos e flechas, que vimos suspensos do tecto, indicava que era ella habitada por varias familias.

O fogo estava acceso; como de costume tocámos buzina para chamar os donos da casa.

Não tardou muito, que appareceu com ares de desconfiado um rapaz de fórmas esbeltas, trazendo á mão uma criança de menor idade, que estava muito assustada e agitada.

Esse rapaz teria cerca de vinte annos de idade; a pintura do rosto ainda não estava concluida; continha apenas os losangos; na parte que consiste em uma camada unida de tinta negra, usada pela tribu, ainda não estava feita. Estes traços, com uma regularidade toda geometrica, e com

1: Tocantins SQ13 Mundurucu

côres frescas e vivas, sobresahindo sobre a tez ainda com o viço da mocidade, davam á physionomia do selvagem certa graça bastante original.

Quando estava para anoitecer disseram-me que algumas mulheres, crianças e homens, que vinham das matas circumvizinhas recolhendo-se á *maloca*, haviam parado junto a um ribeiro vizinho, e hesitavam em vir para casa, porque nós ahi estavamos.

A' vista d'isto levantei acampamento, e fui pousar uma milha distante, deixando o interprete para passar a noite em Absenanty e convencer aquella gente desconfiada de que não tinhamos o menor proposito de lhe fazer mal. Continuámos nossa viagem na madrugada do dia seguinte, atravessando successivamente matas e campinas.

Ao atravessar uma d'estas matas vi um dos quadros mais tocantes da vida selvagem. Encontrei junto a um d'esses numerosos regatos que correm em todos os sentidos, e que constituem as fontes do Caderery, uma joven familia. O chefe não tinha mais de dezoito annos, e sua companheira não tinha mais de quinze ou dezeseis, e já trazia nos braços uma criança de poucos mezes. Estavam acompanhados por uma india idosa. O joven casal não tinha ainda o rosto nem o peito pintado com as tintas indeleveis da tribu ; mas a moça, que sahia do banho no regato, havia pintado as faces com tinta de urucú, que lhe dava a graça infantil. Esse interessante casal, ao vêr-nos passar, deu mostras visiveis de sorpresa e de susto.

Cançado, e com pressa de chegar ao termo da viagem, nem mesmo me foi possivel deter-me alguns minutos para dirigir palavras de sympathia a esses pobres selvagens, mesmo porque na occasião não se achava presente o interprete.

Uma toalha ao menos desejava eu offerecer para ampa-

rar dos raios ardentes do sol aquellas duas crianças, mãi e filho, que tinham de atravessar vastas campinas desabrigadas; mas nossa gente, aliás insubordinada, como são os indios *Maués*, apenas levava o estricto necessario para nossa subsistencia.

Esboçámos com tudo aqui este tocante quadro para mover a sympathia pelos miseros selvagens, sobre os quaes pesam grandes infortunios.

III

Chego á aldêa de Necodemos.—Os *Mundurucús* me offerecem agazalho e boa hospitalidade.

Após cinco dias de incessante caminhar, a contar do ponto onde haviamos deixado a canôa, á cabeceira do Caderery, avistámos, emfim, ao longe, uma columna de fumo, que se erguia da *maloca* de *Necodemos*.

A' tarde vi-me quasi perdido nos trilhos que conduzem ao aldêamento. Os indios *Maués* que me acompanhavam, o proprio guia e o interprete, seguindo adiante, me haviam deixado atraz, com dois companheiros, e tinham já chegado á *maloca*, emquanto eu ainda procurava a custo acertar com o caminho, guiando-me apenas pelo som de uma buzina que ouvia tocar diante de mim.

Era um indio *Mundurucú* de Necodemos, que viéra generosamente a meu encontro, e tocava seu instrumento justamente para guiar-me.

Grande foi minha satisfação quando, já quasi noite, encontrei este selvagem, que teria de trinta e cinco a quarenta annos de idade, e era baixo, gordo, escuro e feio, mas tão alegre e tão risonho que parecia uma criança.

1: Tocantins SQ13 Mundurucu

Cheguei a Necodemos ás 7 horas da noite.

Realizava, emfim, um dos maiores desejos que sempre tive, isto é, vêr uma tribu selvagem em seu estado primitivo, exactamente como devêra estar antes da descoberta do Brasil, vivendo a lei da natureza, sem contacto algum de idéa com outros povos, que lhe alterasse as crenças e tradições.

Pensadores ha, que não admittindo as tradições biblicas, entendem que o genero humano começôu sua peregrinação sobre a terra partindo das trévas, e d'este estado de nudez e selvageria, que eu via diante de mim, para, guiado pela luz da razão e pela Providencia, elevar-se até o actual estado de civilisação. Esta doutrina é mais consoladora do que a que representa o homem decahido de um paraiso de luz e de bemaventurança; decahido por ligeiras faltas que não commettêra, até o extremo de miseria em que jazem estes infelizes selvagens.

Quando cheguei, estavam de pé no terreiro cerca de oitenta robustos *Mundurucús*, que me esperavam e me receberam com mostras de não dissimulada curiosidade.

Para mim não era menos curioso o aspecto d'estes homens, pintados todos com desenhos tão identicos, que pareciam guerreiros vestidos de rigoroso uniforme. Dezenas de fogueiras, que ardiam no terreiro, davam a este quadro um aspecto sinistro, lançando reflexos sobre estes largos peitos nús, côr de bronze.

Cumprimentei-os, dando-lhes a boa noite com uma das poucas palavras da lingua, que eu havia para este fim estudado: « Chipate. » Todos me responderam: « Chipate. » Um d'elles dirigiu-se a mim e offereceu-me cêa por outra palavra, que eu tambem já conhecia: « Cobicobi. »

Dirigi-me em seguida para uma das extremidades da vasta casa, onde habitam os homens sómente, e ahi fixei o meu aposento.

Os *Mundurucús*, que tinham para este lado as suas rêdes, e cuja vizinhança me poderia incommodar, cederam-me graciosamente o lugar, levando-as para outro lado.

Devo deixar bem patente a generosa hospitalidade que recebi em Necodemos, tanto mais de sorprender, quanto procedia de barbaros, inteiramente estranhos a nosso trato social. Tudo foi posto á minha disposição; nada fizeram que podesse enfadar-me ou contrariar-me.

Velhos e moços fizeram um circulo em torno de mim. Não havia ahi uma só mulher nem mesmo criança do sexo feminino. No extenso casarão, onde me alojei, situado no meio da aldêa e chamado « ekçá, » só são admittidos homens.

Minha visita foi uma festa para os selvagens; admiravam com curiosidade tudo quanto viam: a vela de spermacetti que accendi, o relogio, a mala de viagem, a carteira; tudo examinavam, passando de mão em mão, no meio de ruidosas gargalhadas.

Assim levámos até meia-noite; os *Mundurucús* apreciavam muito esta diversão, unica em sua vida, quando me nos, o esperavam. Por fim disse-lhes que estava cançado, e elles me reponderam: « Pois então dorme. » E immediatamente cada um retirou-se para sua rêde, dizendo-me: *Até amanhã*—« Cuia dhê. »

Mas estes barbaros têm o costume de tocar buzina durante toda a noite no seu quartel ou *ekçá*. Parece um signal de alerta. Ora um, ora outro, que na occasião desperta, tira-se de seus cuidados, lança mão da buzina, que tem sempre suspensa ao tecto sobre a rêde, e leva a tocal-a durante o tempo que lhe parece. Após este, outro faz o mesmo. E esta musica monotona e tristonha echôa lugubremente pelas matas circumvizinhas. E' gosto puramente selvagem.

IV

Um *Mundurucú* me faz presente da cabeça mumificada de uma moça da tribu *Parintintin*, e conta-me como e por que matára esta moça.

Um d'estes barbaros, de vinte e cinco a trinta annos de idade, expansivo e desembaraçado, orador verboso, no dia seguinte me fez presente da cabeça mumificada de uma moça da tribu *Parintintin*. Esta cabeça, que se acha

actualmente no museu nacional, conserva sua abundante cabelleira; na frente está raspada, como se fôra á navalha. Assim, a fronte parece prolongar-se sobre a cabeça até quasi o meio; no centro d'essa fronte artificial destaca-se uma mecha circular de cabellos negros. Trazia um ornato

de pennas de brilhantes côres. Devêra ser de uma moça da moda em sua tribu, que foi morta em guerra.

Mas aqui devo observar que os *Mundurucús* fazem frequentes guerras a outros gentios seus inimigos, com o fim precisamente de aprisionar mulheres moças e crianças, e não de matal-as. Matam sim os homens, cujas cabeças conservam como trophéos. Quando se preparam para estas correrias dizem francamente: « *Eu vou porque preciso de uma mulher para me casar, ou preciso de um pequeno para filho de minha mulher.* »

Qualquer guerreiro *Mundurucú* devia, pois, ter o maior empenho de aprisionar, e não de matar uma rapariga como aquella, cuja cabeça me era offerecida.

Com effeito disse-me o barbaro que só por engano a matára no ardor do combate, que lhe não permittira distinguir o sexo. Ella sahia correndo da cabana, que elle e seus companheiros haviam sorprendido pela madrugada, e elle lançára-se atraz d'ella e a atravessára pelas costas com a sua formidavel taquára. Quando a reconheceu mulher e moça teve pezar. Comtudo cortou-lhe a cabeça, extrahiu-lhe o cerebro, expôl-a á fumaça de lenha verde até mumifical-a.

E' singular, porém, a extrema ternura com que o barbaro tratava a cabeça de sua inimiga. Entre as tribus *Mundurucú* e *Parintintin* reina desde longos annos odio de morte, e fazem-se guerras de exterminio.

Mas este *Mundurucú* estava como louco pela cabeça *Parintintin*. Não a deixava um só momento. Quando chegou a occasião de eu retirar-me de Necodemos, como adiante direi, elle, bem como doze outros indios, acompanhou-me durante oito dias de viagem, através das matas, até as cabeceiras do Caderery. Durante este trajecto, quando se approximava a noite e tinhamos de pousar, o indio fincava em terra, junto á sua rêde, uma haste que trazia expres-

samente para isto, e sobre ella suspendia a cabeça, como em um cabide, cobrindo-a cuidadosamente com uma toalha que eu lhe havia dado.

Ao amanhecer, seu primeiro olhar era para ella: punha-a sobre o collo, penteava-lhe com os dedos os longos cabellos e acariciava-a, como se fosse uma filha querida.

Só me fez entrega d'esta reliquia no ultimo momento, quando eu já estava embarcado para descer o Caderery, e n'esta occasião disse ainda: « *Mas eu a queria para mim!* » Tambem eu lhe tinha feito presente de uma espingarda de dois canos, de polvora, chumbo e outros objectos. Assim mesmo nos acompanhou com a vista até a canôa desapparecer pelo rio abaixo.

Em Necodemos havia ainda outra cabeça mumificada. Fôra de um guerreiro *Parintintin*. O *Mundurucú* que a possuia, já bastante idoso, não quiz mostrar-m'a nem conversava sobre ella. Tambem eu não insisti. Alguns traziam collares de dentes de inimigos mortos por elles.

Vi meninos que o meu interprete me disse serem prisioneiros da ultima guerra. Os da aldêa não tocaram sequer n'este assumpto; receiavam talvez que lhes quizessemos tomar os seus prisioneiros.

V

Genesis *Mundurucú*.—Crenças e tradições.—Apparição de « Caro-Sacebé. »—Ingratidão dos habitantes de Aropary.—Castigo.—Necodemos berço do genero humano.

Pareceu-me vêr n'este povo singular, traços de uma civilisação antiga. Os *Mundurucús* vivem em republica fortemente organisada; de longa data movem guerra a seus inimigos, quando bem lhes parece; fulminam sentenças de

morte contra os feiticeiros; têm uma genesis propria, e possuem crenças e tradições que vão passando de geração em geração.

Não será este povo, pensava eu, oriundo dos *Quichuas* ou dos *Aymaras*, que, descendo dos Andes, se fixaram sobre estas vertentes? Por isto investiguei com a mais detida attenção as tradições, interrogando repetidas vezes os mais antigos da *maloca*, para que me dissessem, se seus avós não vieram de terras longinquas e elevadas, que demoram do lado onde o sol se esconde todas as noites? Mas elles me respondiam invariavelmente que não; que os primeiros homens que appareceram sobre a terra fundaram a *maloca* de Acupary. Caru-Sacaebé appareceu entre elles e lhes ensinou a caçar: até então só havia caça inferior; Caru-Sacaebé fez apparecer caça maior.

Não teve pai nem mãi; teve um filho de nome Carutaú e um companheiro de nome Rayrú, que o reconhecia por mestre.

Um dia Caru-Sacaebé foi infeliz na caça. Voltou á Acupary, e mandou seu filho Carutaú que fosse pedir alguma ave, inambú ou perdiz, aos caçadores, que as tinham morto em abundancia.

Os caçadores, porém, recusaram, e por escarneo atiraram a Carutaú as pennas das aves, dizendo: « *Teu pai tambem é bom caçador.* »

Tres vezes Caru-Sacaebé repetiu o pedido; tres vezes os caçadores recusaram.

Então Caru-Sacaebé colheu as pennas que elles haviam atirado por escarneo a Carutaú, e fincou-as uma por uma em torno da *maloca*. E subito, com um gesto, converteu em porcos bravios todos os habitantes de Acupary, homens e mulheres, velhos, moços e crianças.

Estes animaes voraes iam esbravejando extramalhar-se

e dispersar-se, quando Caru-Sacaebé, com outro genio, transformou as pennas em elevados morros.

Junto da actual maloca de Acupary existe com effeito uma vasta caverna. Dizem os *Mundurucús* que ainda hoje ouvem-se ahi grunhidos de porcos selvagens e accentos de agonia.

Outros affirmam que á entrada da caverna encontram-se ornatos de mulheres, como braceletes feitos de ouriço de castanha, e outros vestigios da tremenda catastrophe. Os *Mundurucús* não ousam penetrar na caverna de Acupary.

Então Caru-Sacaebé retirou-se acompanhado de Rayrá, unico que sobreviveu ao desastre de Acupary.

Chegando ao logar, onde está Necodemos, bateu com o pé a terra, e de uma larga fenda que se abriu tirou um casal de *Mundurucús*, um de casal brancos, um de indios e um de pretos.

O casal de *Mundurucús* Caru-Sacaebé pintou pela mesma forma por que elle proprio estava pintado, e foi o principio da maloca de Necodemos e o tronco da tribu, que se tornou numerosa e pujante, a ponto de fazer estremecer a terra quando marchava para a guerra.

Os brancos, os indios e os pretos, dispersaram-se e foram povoar outras terras.

Em Necodemos Caru-Sacaebé preparou um campo, semeou-o, e quando cahiram as primeiras chuvas brotou a mandioca, o milho, a batata, o cará, o algodão, e outras plantas alimenticias e medicinaes.

Ensinou a construir fornos e a preparar a farinha.

Fez uma pequena estatua de madeira, animou-a e chamou-a Banho-Acauãte, que foi seu segundo filho.

Para servir de mãi á Banho-Acauãte, Caru-Sacaebé adoptou por companheira uma donzella da tribu, chamada Chiriñhã.

Crescera Hanho-Acauhte; mas algumas mulheres illudiram a vigilancia de Chicridhá e abusaram da innocencia de Hanho-Acauhte.

Caru-Sacaebé converteu Hanho-Acauhte em anta, e Chicridhá e as mulheres culpadas em peixes.

Necodemos estava já poderosa e forte.

Caru-Sacaebé traçou sobre um rochedo elevado, entre Acupary e Necodemos, os caracteres symbolicos, que ainda hoje se vêm nos muros de Arencré. Fez com que Rayrú fosse arrebatado pelas nuvens, e desappareceu de Necodemos, seguindo o curso do Tapajoz, á margem esquerda do qual, em altura onde não pôde chegar a mão do homem, traçou tambem os caracteres da barranca do Cantagallo.

E desde então nunca mais se soube para onde fôra. Os *Mundurucús* guardam fielmente memoria de seus feitos, e pintam-se rigorosamente a si, suas mulheres e filhos, pela mesma fórma por que Caru-Sacaebé era pintado.

VI

Apparecimento do cão em Necodemos.—Lenda.

Entre todos os povos o cão é considerado como amigo fiel. Os *Mundurucús*, selvagens caçadores, o têm em suas lendas por oriundo de uma donzella da propria tribu com um guerreiro desconhecido, que apparecêra na *malocca* e desapparecêra sem que ninguem nunca soubesse quem era, de onde tinha vindo nem para onde fôra. Era um deus ignotus.

O caso deu-se do modo seguinte. Depois que Caru-Sacaebé desapparecêra, os *Mundurucús* de Necodemos conti-

1: Tocantins SQ13 Mundurucu

suaram a caçar, devassando em todos os sentidos os campos e as florestas. Um dia, que estavam na caça, appareceu na *maloca* um guerreiro desconhecido, chamado Caru-Pitubê.

Dirigiu-se para o *ekçá*, deitou-se em uma « hamaca, » tirou do tecto uma buzina e começou a tocar de modo desusado. Uma donzella da *maloca*, de nome Iracheru, acudiu ao chamado e offereceu *dahú* ao guerreiro em signal de boa hospitalidade.

Caru-Pitubê chegára quasi ao anoitecer.

Não havia ninguem mais em Necodemos.

Ao amanhecer do dia seguinte Caru-Pitubê disse á donzella:

« *Darás á luz séres que farão o espanto dos guerreiros de tua tribu. Não os mates.* »

E desappareceu.

Grande foi com effeito em Necodemos o terror, o espanto e a indignação, quando viram Iracheru dar á luz um casal de cães.

Os irmãos de Iracheru e sua propria mãi foram os primeiros em proferir contra ella sentença de morte.

Mas Iracheru, quando os algozes se approximavam para matal-a, a ella e a seus tenros filhos, rapida como a ema, desppareceu nos bosques, arrebatando em seus braços tremulos os fructos de seus mysteriosos amores.

Errante pela floresta Iracheru pousou, emfim, exhausta de cansaço junto á fonte de um limpido regato.

Não tardou, porém, que a joven mãi visse crescidos os filhos que tanto a custo amamentára, aquecendo-os á noite em seus seios ardentes.

Por fim os viu já percorrendo as matas e os campos, caçando, e trazendo inhambús e perdizes, e então Iracheru viveu no seio da abundancia.

A' noite seus filhos eram-lhe formidaveis guardas, que velavam sem cessar pelos seus dias. As proprias onças se afastavam medrosas.

Um dia Irachéru dirigiu-se a Necodemos e contou estas maravilhas.

Irachéru bem sabia que, se os guerreiros de Necodemos não revogassem a sentença de morte, ella só morreria: seus filhos punham-se facilmente fóra do alcance dos algozes.

Se, porém, a revogassem, a tribu *Mundurucú* seria a senhora dos campos e das florestas; seria vencedora de todas as outras tribus; dominaria sem rivaes.

Mas os filhos de Irachéru foram recebidos com geral applauso; a tribu inteira os reconheceu como proprios filhos.

O *Mundurucú* com effeito trata o cão verdadeiramente como filho; as mulheres os amamentam quando recem-nascidos em seus proprios seios, e lhes dão agasalho em suas « hamacas, » ao lado dos proprios filhos, como se foram nascidos do mesmo ventre.

Quando morre um cão é largamente pranteado e seu corpo cuidadosamente dado á sepultura, pois teriam por impiedade abandonal-o á voracidade dos corvos.

VII

Fama antiga dos *Mundurucús*.—Recordações historicas.

O caudaloso Tapajoz em cujo valle estão situadas as aldêas dos *Mundurucús*, ha apenas 130 annos foi descoberto, pois sómente em 1748 desceu por elle do Matto-Grosso até o Pará o mineiro João de Souza de Azevedo, trazendo sessenta e quatro oitavas de ouro, extrahido do affluente, que denominou *Rio das Tres Barras*.

Em 1817 Ayres de Cazal, dividindo em sua *Corographia Brasileira* a provincia do Pará em quatro grandes comarcas, naturalmente limitadas pelos quatro grandes affluentes do Amazonas, o Tocantins, o Xingú, o Tapajoz e o Madeira, deu o nome de Mundurucania, naturalmente porque era ahi preponderante a tribu *Mundurucú*, aquella que foi comprehendida entre o Tapajoz, pelo lado do nascente, o Madeira pelo lado do poente, ao norte pelo Amazonas e ao sul pelo Juruena. Descrevendo a Mundurucania diz aquelle autor que, á excepção de alguns pedaços sobre as margens dos rios que a limitam, tudo o mais estava dominado por varias nações selvagens, das quaes as mais conhecidas eram os *Juruas*, os *Maués*, os *Pamas*, os *Parintintins*, os *Muras*, os *Andirás*, os *Arára* e os *Mundurucús* que dão o nome ao paiz.

« Os *Mundurucús*, diz ainda Ayres de Cazal, que costumam tingir o corpo de negro com genipapo, são numerosos, apessoados, guerreiros e temidos de todas as outras nações, que lhes dão o appellido de *Pay-quicé*, que significa *Corta-cabeça*, porque costumam cortal-a a todo inimigo que lhes cahe em poder, e sabem embalsamal-as, de sorte que se conservam largos annos com o mesmo aspecto do momento em que foram cortadas.

« Ornam as suas toscas e mesquinhas cabanas com esses horrendos trophéos. Aquelle que mostra dez está habilitado para poder ser eleito chefe da horda. Conhecem a virtude de varios vegetaes, com cujo uso curam algumas molestias perigosas.

« Quasi todas as hordas *Mundurucús* estão, hoje nossas alliadas e algumas já christãs.

« A desumanidade dos que ainda vagueiam pelos mattos, porquanto não dão quartel á sexo nem á idade, tem obrigado grande parte das outras nações a refugiarem-se junto

das povoações dos christãos, onde, á sua sombra e de paz, vivem seguros d'aquelles desalmados inimigos.

« Os valorosos *Mundurucús* são periécos dos *Macassares*, das Ilhas Celebres, que passam pelos mais esforçados d'entre os povos do grande archipelago oriental. »

VIII

Situação actual dos indios oestres das campinas. — Desapparecimento dos bardos do valle do Tapajoz.

Pois toda essa grande população selvagem, que, segundo refere Ayres de Casal, ainda ha sessenta annos vagava pelo territorio da Mundurucania, não apparece mais por essas regiões.

Vêm-se no Baixo-Tapajoz os indios baptisados, oriundos dos antigos selvagens; e no Alto-Tapajoz apenas se encontra a *maloca Maués*, denominada do Acará, e outra *maloca* de *Apiacás*, que mantêm relações de mesquinho commercio com os raros sertanejos que por alli penetram. Além d'estas duas *malocas* apparecem tambem de quando em quando, ás margens do Tapajoz ou de seus affluentes, levas de *Parintintins*; mas não se fixam em parte alguma, porque os *Mundurucús* lhes movem perseguição implacavel e sem tregoas.

Note-se que os *Maués* e os *Apiacás* tambem já foram em outros tempos muito perseguidos e batidos pelos *Mundurucús*, que só os deixaram em paz depois que estabeleceram relações com os christãos. Os *Maués* já não pintam o rosto; os *Apiacás* têm apenas um traço negro-azul, que, partindo do angulo exterior de cada olho e descendo até a barba, muito se parece com um sulco de lagrima.

Convem tambem notar que as aldêas centraes dos *Mundurucús*, designadas no Alto-Tapajoz pela denominação de *Maloca das Campinas*, não estão situadas no territorio a que Ayres de Cazal deu o nome de Mundurucania. Estão no territorio que este geographo chamou Tapajonia, entre o Tapajoz e o Xingú, e proximas ás fontes dos affluentes orientaes do Tapajoz, de nomes rios das Tropas (que os *Mundurucús* chamam Pitunzy), do Crepury, Caderery, Cabetuiam e Cururú.

Eu encontrei em minha excursão grande numero de riachos, fontes do Caderery, affluentes do Tapajoz.

Se caminhasse alguns dias mais no mesmo rumo que levava, além de Necodemos, encontraria certamente as fontes dos tributarios do Xingú.

IX

Guerras dos *Mundurucús*.—Modo de as fazer.—Fim d'estas guerras.

Já dissemos que as guerras d'estes barbaros não têm outro fim senão fazer captivas mulheres moças e crianças de ambos os sexos. Os captivos, porém, são tratados na tribu sem differença dos *Mundurucús* natos. São pintados com os mesmos arabescos de côres indeleveis; a mulher encontra logo marido, e o menor encontra pai adoptivo, que quasi sempre é o proprio indio que o aprisionou. Quando se fazem os preparativos para estas excursões, a irmã, mãi ou qualquer parente do guerreiro lhe faz encommenda de uma criança, dizendo: « *Traze-me um menino para meu filho.* »

As principaes victimas dos *Mundurucús* são os *Parintintins*, porque, além do interesse de fazer captivos, o odio

mortal, que existe de longa data entre estas duas tribus, tambem serve de movel para frequentes ataques.

Tanto que consta que uma leva de *Parintintins* apparece em alguma parte, immediatamente os *Mundurucús* marcham-lhes ao encalço. Para com as outras tribus, porém, não me consta que haja este odio inveterado. Entre os *Mundurucús* corre o boato, provavelmente inexacto, de que, quando um d'elles cahe prisioneiro dos *Parintintins*, estes o devoram vivo, ás dentadas, « *como se foram onças e não veados*, » dizem elles.

Inexacto ou não, este conto contribue para accender ainda mais o desejo de vingança.

Isto, a que temos chamado guerras, em geral são simples correrias.

Quando chega o verão um certo numero de *Mundurucús* combinam entre si, preparam seus arcos, flechas, buzinas, provisões, e põem-se em marcha.

Sempre que é possivel, cada guerreiro é acompanhado pela mulher ou por uma irmã. O officio d'esta vivandeira, que ás vezes não tem mais de quinze a dezeseis annos, consiste em armar a rêde do guerreiro nos ramos das arvores, preparar para elle a castanha, transportar qualquer carga, ajudar a preparar a cabeça do inimigo e a trazer os captivos ; emfim, ella encarrega-se de tudo quanto é necessario, afim de deixal-o inteiramente desembaraçado para o ataque.

Assim, vão caçando tranquillamente, de sorte que n'estas correrias, consomem muitas semanas e mesmo mezes. A' noite reunem-se para pousar.

Se encontram algum trilho na espessura do mato, ou outro qualquer vestigio que indique a passagem de um ser humano, elles o estudam com tino e cautela admiravel. Se apercebem uma cabana ou uma aldêa, fazem o reconheci-

mento no maior silencio possivel ; e marcham com tal destreza, que não se ouvem o ruido da folha sêcca que esmagam debaixo dos pé. Parece que andam sobre espesso tapete. Cercam a cabana e esperam em silencio a madrugada. Então, com longa haste, cuja extremidade está impregnada de breu inflammado, lançam-lhe fogo e postam-se de emboscada á porta.

Despertando em sobresalto, os sitiados soltam logo este grito terivel : *Mundurucú !*

Os homens que, perturbados, pretendem romper o cerco são logo traspassados por tremendos choços.

As crianças, conhecendo que estão sob a taquara inimiga, rendem-se ao captiveiro

As mulheres quasi sempre resistem, lutam e só são feitas prisioneiras á viva força.

E então os *Mundurucú* se põem em retirada á marcha dobrada. As cabeças inimigas são cortadas e preparadas ás pressas. Quando sentem ou receiam que são perseguidos caminham dia e noite. A' noite guiam-se com archotes feitos de fragmentos de uma madeira resinosa, a que chamam *ouichique-faque*, e queos indios do Baixo-Tapajoz conhecem pela denominação de *páo-cunéta*. Esta madeira, estando sêcca, inflamm-se facilmente, dando labaredas quando o indio corre com ella na mão.

Quasi sempre estas excursões são tão longas, que as provisões se acabam, e porfim os indios sustentam-se de castanhas em falta de farinha e de batatas. Soffrem longas privações ; alguns voltam magros.

Affirma-se que todos os annos os *Mundurucú* fazem d'estas correrias e sempre trazem captivos.

Uma india muito idosa, provavelmente oriunda da interessante tribu dos *Tapaxs*, que deu nome ao rio, hoje extincta, referiu-me que na sua mocidade mais de uma vez

os *Mundurucús* desciam pelas margens do Alto e Baixo Tapajoz, batendo cruelmente as muitas *malocas* que então existiam, cortando cabeças dos inimigos e causando immenso terror por toda esta extensa região.

A tradição bem averiguada tambem registra o caso de terem estes barbaros chegado até a foz do Tapajoz, e posto em sitio a fortaleza que os portuguezes fundaram no aldêamento christão dos indios *Tapajoz*, hoje florescente cidade de Santarem.

X

Noticias de algumas tribus indigenas a quem os *Mundurucús* fazem guerra e que andam errantes pelo valle do Alto-Xingú e para as fronteiras de Matto-Grosso.

Dizem os *Mundurucús* que ainda encontram muitas hordas gentilicas nas extensas regiões que percorrem, e que para o lado do nascente corre um rio largo, caudaloso, encachoeirado, a que chamam Caruntunzy, cujas margens são povoadas de muito gentio.

Deve ser o Alto-Xingú que é realmente um dos maiores affluentes do Amazonas e um d'aquelles que mais proximos se acham da capital do Pará. Seu curso superior é entretanto ainda inteiramente desconhecido.

Em 1842 o principe real da Prussia, Adalberto, acompanhado do conde Oriolo e do conde de Bismark, seguiu de Belém do Pará em canôa, percorreu o curso inferior do Xingú até ás primeiras cachoeiras, e as *malocas* dos indios *Jurunas*. Foram estes cavalheiros, creio eu, que deram o primeiro esboço para o traço do Baixo-Xingú.

Entretanto o curso superior é até hoje desconhecido.

Os *Mundurucús* têm muitas vezes passado do valle do

Alto-Tapajoz para o do Alto-Xingú, pois residem quasi junto á linha de divisão d'estes dois valles. Elles dão noticias dos gentios que encontram n'estas excursões, não sómente pelas margens do Alto-Xingú, mas tambem pelo lado das frouteiras do Matto-Grosso.

Os principaes são os seguintes :

Puparurúes.—Têm por distinctivo um traço escuro que desce do angulo exterior de cada olho até a barba, parecendo sulco de lagrimas. Ha cerca de tres annos appareceram á margem do Baixo-Tocantins, perto das cachoeiras, cerca de quinhentos selvagens, exactamente com este distinctivo; foram depois dizimados pelas bexigas ; os que sobreviveram ainda ahi permanecem.

Biche-Iramerun.—Só têm o beiço inferior pintado de negro.

Ipitiudte.—Não são pintados, raspam a cabeça em roda, são corpolentos, barbados, bravos, temidos dos proprios *Mundurucús* ; não usam de redes, dormem em esteiras, e servem-se de formidaveis tacapes.

Pararaodte.—Possuem canôas, são pintados pelas fontes em fórma de caracóes.

Uirarodte.— Que os *Mundurucús* chamam nação de onças, porque, dizem, urram como este animal.

Peren-an-an.

Parinrinrin.

Tititudte.

Jurupad.—Corpolentos e ferozes.

Tupoiunas.—Pintam-se de negro.

Paribitat.— Habitam campos na direcção de Cuyabá.

Paribitit.—Habitantes das cabeceiras do rio D. Manoel, affluente do Tapajoz.

Em outros tempos habitam tambem os *Bacahiris*, a que

chamam *Mureufuâtes*, e os obrigaram a sahirem para Matto-Grosso onde foram aldêados.

Batiam os *Apiacás*, e só os deixaram depois que estes gentios fixaram-se no Juruena, ao pé do Salto-Augusto. Ainda hoje aquelles têm muito medo dos *Mundurucús*; e quando estes vão para suas guerras e passam pelas *malocas Apiacás*, estes lhes fornecem farinha e outras provisões.

Itiuâtes.—Já se têm retirado para o lado de Cuyabá. São barbados.

Tuparurâtes.—Estão do lado do Xingú.

Nhauanhen.—Horda pertencente á tribu *Parintintin*, e que habitam as cachoeiras do Jauanxin, affluente do Tapajoz.

Os *Mundurucús* de Necodemos conhecem Cuyabá; mas dizem que para este lado erram muitas hordas de gentios ferozes.

Encontram ainda em suas excursões levas de outros selvagens, cujos nomes não sabem.

E' de suppor que parte das populações indigenas, que têm desapparecido das margens do Tapajoz e do Tocantins ande agora errante pelo valle do Alto-Xingú.

Talvez fosse de interesse scientifico estudar o movimento d'estas populações selvagens e desconhecidas.

XI

Apparece nas malocas um *Mundurucú* elegantemente vestido, que diz ter sido baptizado no Rio de Janeiro.

Era natural que eu convidasse os *Mundurucús* a virem partilhar comnosco das vantagens da vida social, e sobre-

tudo a mandarem seus filhos para serem convenientemente educados, e depois voltarem ás *malocas* sabendo construir casas, arcos, fornos, e outros objectos que lhes seriam de grande utilidade.

Procurava por todos os meios convencêl-os de que entre nós encontrariam amigos dedicados, quando me responderam que Teiú Burubê lhes havia dito que S. M. o Imperador éra amigo dos *Mundurucús*.

Teiú Burubê era um *Mundurucú* que desapparecêra das aldêas ha muitos annos, e após longa ausencia regressára. Apresentou-se na *maloca* de Cabroá elegantemente vestido á nossa moda. Os parentes o receberam com extrema satisfação.

Então contou que se baptizára no Rio de Janeiro, que se ficára chamando Martinho de Alcantara, e que S. M. o Imperador lhe servira de padrinho e de protector. Encontrou na *maloca* de Cabroá parentes, e particularmente uma irmã, que o tratou com extrema dedicação. Quando deixou a aldêa natal, ainda muito moço, fôra acompanhado por um irmão, e ambos desceram pelo rio Canumá.

Este *Mundurucú* descrevia com vivas côres as vantagens da vida civilisada, sem comtudo mover os seus parentes a abandonarem a vida selvagem.

Por fim estranhou a mudança de regimen e cahiu doente de violentas febres.

Dizendo-se na *maloca* que estava enfeitiçado por causa dos elegantes vestidos que possuia, a irmã, indignada, reuniu-os no terreiro e lançou-lhes fogo.

Convalescendo, ainda em maiores privações se achou, pois estava nú.

Por fim falleceu; a irmã, que o não abandonára um só momento, enterrou-o embaixo de sua propria rêde.

XII

População das *malocas* centraes dos *Mundurucús*.

E' mui difficil, ou antes impossivel, dar um recenseamento exacto d'esses indios, que têm suas *malocas* situadas em brenhas inaccessiveis.

Accresce que, durante o verão, grande numero de familias deixam as *malocas* e vão construir ligeiras cabanas no meio das florestas, onde, assim isoladas, encontram mais abundante caça.

E' certo, porém, que essa tribu é uma das mais possantes e numerosas do valle do Amazonas. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitou se a devia considerar uma simples tribu ou uma nação. De longa data ella fórma uma republica fortemente organisada. As *malocas* centraes, situadas fóra do alcance da acção de nossas autoridades, gozam de liberdade sem limites, como se foram um Estado independente.

Na impossibilidade de proceder por mim mesmo a um recenseamento rigoroso, tenho de louvar-me na opinião de um cidadão residente na villa de Itaituba, que eu julgo muito competente n'esta materia. Refiro-me ao Sr. tenente Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, abastado commerciante, que, por nomeação feita pelo conselheiro Sebastião do Rego Barros, presidente do Pará, em Setembro de 1853, exerce desde esse tempo o lugar de director dos indios do rio Tapajoz.

Posto que este prestante cidadão nunca tenha ido ás aldêas centraes, comtudo entretem estreitas relações com os *Mundurucús* das margens d'esse rio.

Eis-aqui o quadro da população, que me foi ministrado pelo Sr. tenente Joaquim Caetano Corrêa.

Nomes das malocas.	*População.*
Danapone	1.500
Caracupy	2.300
Dairy	2.600
Capipique	2.000
Necodemos	2.100
Aikã (Samuuma)	1.500
Acupary	800
Areucré	700
Arebadury	400
Teia Curupy	500
Ipsananty	600
Cererepçã	500
Cabroá	500
Imburariry	350
Macapá	360
Ucubery	250
Cabetutum	350
Chacorão	700
Airy	300
Bacabal (Missão)	500
Boburé	100
	18.910

Talvez que este calculo seja um tanto exagerado, ou pelo menos a população d'estas *malocas* tenha soffrido sensiveis modificações. A aldêa de Chacorão, por exemplo, está actualmente abandonada; a de Boburé quasi extincta. Se é certo que a população *Mundurucú*, propriamente selva-

gem, não attinge actualmente a cifra de 18.000 almas, por outro lado estou convicto que as antigas povoações d'essa tribu, fixadas em outro tempo nas margens do Alto e Baixo-Tapajoz, excediam muito por si sós d'este algarismo. Estas ultimas populações de que acabo de tratar fixaram-se nas antigas missões, ou fundiram-se pouco a pouco com a população christã, de tal sorte que seus descendentes não comprehendem hoje sequer o dialecto da tribu.

XIII

Maloca de Necodemos.—Disposição das maloca dos Mundurucús

Necodemos está situada sobre uma collina, no meio de uma vasta campina, pouco distante das matas.

No centro da *maloca* está o *ekpá* ou o quartel dos guerreiros.

O *ekpá* consiste em uma longa casa, de cerca de cem metros de comprimento, coberta de palha, e em toda sua extensão aberta para o nascente. N'esta situação está perfeitamente ventilada, e isenta da invasão dos carapanás e de outros mosquitos insupportaveis, que constituem o supplicio dos que vivem no meio das matas ou á margem dos rios. Os raios do sol ao nascer penetram livremente e debelam o frio da madrugada, que ahi é muito intenso. No *ekpá* moram somente os homens validos, os guerreiros e seus filhos maiores de oito annos.

Cada guerreiro arma no *ekpá* sua rede no lugar que bem lhe parece.

No terreiro, tambem para o nascente estão tres linhas de esteios unidos por travessas, onde os guerreiros armam suas redes nas bellas noites de verão.

Suspenso ao tecto do *ekçá*, sobre a rede tem o guerreiro á mão tudo quanto possue—arcos, flechas, tacápe e buzina.

Todos dormem em redes tecidas de fios de algodão e tão pequenas que é preciso estar immovel para não cahir no chão.

O algodão é plantado pela india ; o fio e a rede por ella fabricados.

No *ekçá*, por entre as redes dos guerreiros, ardem muitas fogueiras durante a noite.

Em torno do *ekçá* estão as casas das mulheres, onde tambem habitam as crianças de ambos os sexos, os velhos decrepitos e os doentes.

Em Necodemos estas casas são em numero de cinco, bastante vastas, construidas com mais cuidado, mais altas, fechadas por todos os lados, tendo por entrada uma abertura apenas, e ás vezes duas. Não tem divisão alguma interior: é toda commum ; mas cada mãi de familia, com suas crianças, seus velhos decrepitos e seus doentes, tomam conta de um lado da casa, e ahi armam suas redes. Junto d'ellas estão seus utensilios, a saber : balaios, teares, peneiros, etc. No meio da casa estão um ou dois fornos de fabricar farinha : não são mais do que toscas pedras, mais ou menos planas, collocadas sobre outras pedras. Por baixo do forno arde a fogueira. Nas casas das mulheres os guerreiros podem entrar quando lhes parece ; mas as mulheres nunca penetram no *ekçá*. N'essas casas das mulheres elles guardam os objectos mais preciosos, taes como ornatos de pennas, collares de dentes humanos, cabeças inimigas, etc.

Todas as vezes que tive occasião de entrar n'estas casas encontrei sempre as mulheres trabalhando ; umas teciam a rede, outras fabricavam farinha, outras moqueavam caças, outras coziam, outras preparavam mingau de bananas, etc.

Nunca ahi fui que não me offerecessem alguma cousa para comer : ora batata cosida, ora mingau de bananas.

Uma india risonha e alegre, com o rosto todo pintado de urucú além de suas pinturas do costume, offereceu-me uma enorme lagarta que trazia sobre o dedo. Era uma lagarta repugnante, que se contrahia e alongava convulsivamente; e a india queria por força passal-a para minha mão, dizendo-me que era para comer: «*Cobi-cobi.*»

XIV

Caracteres symbolicos traçados na barranca de Cantagallo, á margem do Alto-Tapajoz, e nos morros de Areo-cré entre Acupary e Necodemos.

A' margem esquerda do Alto-Tapajoz no lugar conhecido pela denominação de Cantagallo, vêm-se desenhadas sobre a superficie de um morro, de cerca de cem metros de altura cortado a prumo pelo rio, quinze figuras.

Ellas ahi estão de tempo immemorial: os mais antigos sertanejos, que têm penetrado pelo Alto-Tapajoz, e os mais idosos *Mundurucús*, já as encontraram taes quaes estão, mas não lhes conhecem a significação.

São de côr vermelha-escura, como de ocre, e estão cerca de oito metros acima do nivel maximo das aguas no tempo das cheias do inverno.

Hoje seria impossivel a um homem traçal-as n'aquella altura, ainda mesmo com o auxilio de andaimes, pois á base do morro o rio fórma uma especie de enseada, onde a corrente é violenta, sobretudo na época em que o nivel do rio chega á sua maior elevação.

Não farei conjectura alguma sobre a origem nem sobre a significação d'estes caracteres. Apenas lembrarei que Humboldt encontrou tambem, ás margens do Orinoco, nas

mesmas circumstancias e em altura inaccessivel á mão do homem, caracteres d'este genero.

Este illustre sabio é de opinião, se bem me recordo, que o nivel das aguas do Orenoco em épocas anteriores, muito remotas, elevou-se a altura muito maior do que actualmente.

Penso que se poderá fazer applicação aos caracteres do Alto-Tapajoz das mesmas deducções estabelecidas pelo illustre sabio allemão em relação aos que encontrou no Orenoco.

Eu tirei o esboço no Alto-Tapajoz d'esses caracteres, não sei se symbolicos.

Mostrando-os aos *Mundurucús* de Necodemos e de Samouma (Aikii) todos elles me disseram que tambem nos morros de Arencré, no meio dos campos que se estendem entre Acupary e Necodemos, existem caracteres d'este genero, mais numerosos. Eu não tive occasião de os vêr.

A tradição *mundurucú* refere que Caru-Sacaibé, depois de ter destruido a *maloca* de Acupary, para punir a ingratidão de seus habitantes, veiu fundar a de Necodemos, que se tornára por este modo o berço do genero humano. Então traçou estes caracteres entre as duas aldêas para deixar um monumento que relembrasse este facto memoravel, diz a tradição. Depois que Caru-Sacaibé deixou Necodemos forte e opulenta, desceu, seguindo o curso do Tapajoz, á cuja margem deixou ainda novos caracteres para trazer mais viva entre os *Mundurucús* a memoria de seus feitos e de sua passagem entre elles.

1: Tocantins SQ13 Mundurucu

XV

Os *Mundurucús* fulminam pena de morte contra os feiticeiros. — Alguns casos mais curiosos da applicação d'esta pena.

Ainda nos principios do seculo actual a legislação portugueza applicava o supplicio de fogueira nas praças publicas contra os infelizes que a credulidade e superstição da época accusavam de feiticeiros. Muitos outros povos, senão todos, tem dado á historia o triste espectaculo d'esta aberração da razão humana.

Os *Mundurucús* não muito alterados a este erro fatal: o feiticeiro entre elles é irrevogavelmente punido de morte, mas é este o unico caso a que applicam esta pena.

O missionario do Bacabal, Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva, no *Relatorio* que apresentou á presidencia do Pará, a 14 de Agosto de 1876 refere o caso de que tratam os topicos seguintes:

« Primeiro que tudo V. Ex. deve saber que um dos meus maiores empenhos, nos cinco annos do apostolado n'esta missão, tem sido apagar na cabeça dos indios inveteradas superstições, especialmente aquellas que mais directamente se oppunham á religião e ao bemestar da sociedade.

« Ora, uma das maiores superstições com que tenho tido de lutar tem sido a do feitiço.

« O que não tenho dito, o que não tenho feito para arrancar dos corações d'elles tão perniciosa superstição? E quantas mortes não têm elles feito com estes erroneos principios antes da fundação da missão? Comtudo, quando já pensava tel-os persuadido a detestar tão abominavel vicio,

eis que um dia, que lhes falta o missionario, reproduzem os mesmos factos.

« V. Ex. está sciente de que no anno passado eu desci a esta capital para tratar de alguns negocios da missão. Ora bem, n'esse tempo, que eu faltei adoeceram e morreram n'essa missão varias pessoas.

« Eis uns indios a gritar : « E' feitiço, é feitiço ! »

« E' preciso matar os feiticeiros. Elle nos querem matar a todos : é preciso matal-os ! Designaram quatro moços da missão para serem immolados como feiticeiros. Encontraram um chamado Ismael ; os outros, avisados a tempo, evadiram-se, e depois do meu regresso voltaram á missão.

« O rapaz foi morto com dois tiros de espingarda, acabando-o com pancadas na cabeça.

« Foram executores Silvano da Silva e outro rapaz (hoje defunto).

« Foi mandante o capitão José da Gama, que pela volta do meio-dia, do dia em que elle mandou matar o Ismael (o qual se achava da parte opposta á missão, além do rio, no meio do matto), vendo que os seus enviados, que mandára de manhã, não voltavam, impaciente disse : *Esta gente não presta para matar gente, vou eu !* Mas, quando elle chegou achou a victima, que já estava sacrificada. Satisfeitos, voltaram, deixando o cadaver aos Urubús, sem lhe darem enterro. »

Este capitão José da Gama de quem falla o padre missionario, foi cacique de um antigo aldeamento que existia á margem do Tapajoz, e veio com toda sua gente para a Missão do Bacabal. Seu nome indigena é Mari-Bazi ; o padre missionario o deixava sempre governando a missão, quando tinha de retirar-se por algum tempo. E' um indio energico e resoluto, e já antes da fundação da missão havia immolado varios de seus companheiros accusados de feiti-

ceiros, um dos quaes foi seu proprio irmão, que elle lançou no meio das cachoeiras com uma pedra ao pescoço.

Se Mari-Baxi, ou José da Gama, ainda commette actos d'estes em uma missão que está sob a vigilancia do governo, faça-se idéa do que não farão os outros caciques das aldêas centraes. Este facto deu-se em 1875, quando eu me achava além da Missão do Bacabal, visitando as aldêas das campinas; quando regressei, demorei-me dois dias n'aquella missão, de cuja direcção se achava então encarregado o mesmo José da Gama, durante a ausencia do missionario, que havia seguido para a capital.

Aquelle cacique me recebeu com muitas provas de attenção e de amizade, mas nada absolutamente me disse sobre o crime que acabava de commetter. Elle, assim como os outros seus cumplices, guardaram o mais inviolavel segredo sobre este assumpto. O proprio missionario que ahi chegou após alguns dias da minha passagem pela missão veiu a ter conhecimento d'estes factos muito depois.

Por essa mesma época occorreu tambem em uma das aldêas das campinas o seguinte facto. Varias indias foram banhar-se em um regato proximo da aldêa; ao regressarem cada uma d'ellas trazia á cabeça uma cabaça de agua para sua casa. Quando menos esperavam sahem-lhes ao encontro quatro *Mundurucús*, e lançando mão de uma d'essas pobres raparigas, de cerca de dezoito annos de idade, a traspassam com suas formidaveis taquaras. As companheiras pararam um momento e lançaram involuntariamente a vista para este lugubre espectaculo; mas os algozes lhes disseram: « *Sigam seu caminho, é uma feiticeira.* »

O cadaver da moça india ahi ficou no caminho durante todo este dia. No seguinte lançaram-n'o sobre uma fogueira e o reduziram a cinzas.

Outro caso: — á margem do Tapajoz, em casa de um

sertanêjo existe uma india *Mundurucú*, toda pintada, de seus vinte annos idade: é pagã, mas tem o nome christão de Sebastiana; já falla um pouco o portuguez e é muito expansiva. Ella conta que sua familia residia na aldêa de Curucupi. Grassando alli febres de máo caracter, algumas pessoas succumbiram.

Succedeu que sua mãi encarregou-se do tratamento de alguns d'esses doentes.

Um dia, chegando a velha india do seu trabalho do campo, uma pessoa de sua intima amizade disse-lhe em segredo: « *Olha que o teu doente morreu; dizem já que de feiticeira.* » Sem perda de tempo a india toma uma resolução, de accordo com seu marido. Abandonam a aldêa de noite mesmo, levando comsigo duas filhas e um filho, todos tres ainda de menor idade. Com effeito, durante toda noite e durante o dia seguinte, emquanto fugiam, ouviram o latir dos cães dos alguns que lhes vinham no encalço.

Esta pobre familia, após varios dias de bom caminhar pelos matos, sahiu emfim, ás margens do Tapajoz, e nunca mais voltou a Curucupi, nem á outra qualquer maloca.

Diz Sebastiana que o principal motor do motim, que ia dando em resultado a morte de sua mãi, acha-se actualmente na Missão do Bacabal.

Esta mesma india referiu-me outro caso não menos triste, que succedeu por occasião das mesmas febres. Poucos dias antes da fuga de sua familia, havia ella e algumas de suas companheiras chegado á Acupary, vindo de outra aldêa vizinha. Ainda n'essa tarde fizeram em commum a refeição no terreiro da casa. Pela madrugada, porém, ella foi despertada em sobresalto por um grito de desespero e de agonia que ouviu junto a si. Logo após viu dois *Mundurucús* passarem junto á sua rêde, levando quasi de rastos

o cadaver de sua companheira, em cujo peito haviam cravado a lamina aguda da taquara, terminando este horrivel sacrificio estrangulando a misera em sua propria rêde. O cadaver, nú e ensanguentado, amanheceu no meio do terreiro, e ahi foi exposto até a tarde. Todos passavam junto a elle em silencio e sem murmurar.

Ha muitos outros casos d'estes, pois são infelizmente ainda frequentes as execuções por motivo de feitiço. Disseram que no tempo, que esteve entre elles Caro-Sacadé, nunca houve feitiço nem feiticeiros.

Tambem todo codigo criminal dos *Mundurucús* reduz-se a isto.

Não consta que um *Mundurucú* tenha jamais sido morto por outro, a não ser por motivo de feitiço. Se manifesta-se entre dois d'estes indios, habitantes da mesma aldêa, odio violento, o que raríssimas vezes succede, um dos dois inimigos não faz mais do que desatar a sua rêde, dirigir-se a qualquer das outras aldêas que bem lhe parecê, e n'ella escolher um lugar no *ehyé*, e ahi ficar residindo pelo tempo que bem lhe aprraz.

XVI

Sentimento de sociabilidade entre os *Mundurucús*. — A familia. — A pintura caracteristica da tribu.

E' notavel o pronunciado espirito de sociabilidade, ou antes de nacionalidade, que, ligando fortemente entre si os individuos e as aldêas d'esta tribo, tem conservado n'aquelles desertos fóra do contacto e da influencia de nossa civilisação, ousarei dizer, a autonomia da republica *Mundurucú*.

Que os *Quichuas* sobre os Andes, apascentando suas ricas manadas de lhamas e de alpacas, e cultivando em grande copia a batata, originaria d'essas montanhas, tenham podido reunir-se em grandes centros de população e constituir uma poderosa monarchia, não admira. Povo agricultor e pastor, possuia os elementos necessarios para viver no seio da abundança, desenvolvendo pelo impulso da vida social suas qualidades intellectuaes e moraes.

Mas os *Mundurucús* são agricultores e caçadores. Sua mesquinha lavoura não lhes pode fornecer abundantes recursos. A caça, mesmo n'essas planicies de rica fauna, nunca pode abastecer regularmente um grande centro de população. A' medida que a caça vai se tornando rara, os caçadores se vêem na necessidade de ir cada vez mais longe para encontral-a.

O gosto e a necessidade da caça, em vez de reunir os homens, tende ao contrario a isolal-os cada vez mais, pois só pelo isolamento podem evitar a concorrencia n'esse trafego, do qual dependem essencialmente os seus meios de existencia.

Não é outro o motivo que leva as familias das aldêas *Mundurucús* a dispersarem-se durante o verão. Como já [illegible] mas d'estas familias em cabanas situadas no meio das matas ou á margem do Cadevery.

Entretanto, apezar de tudo, a tribu conserva-se fortemente unida, posto que dividida em vinte aldêas.

Não existe, é certo, um centro de governo civil ou religioso, ao qual todas essas aldêas prestem obediencia; mas os laços moraes, que vinculam entre si todas ellas e todos os individuos da tribu, são tão fortes, que têm resistido durante o longo curso de sua existencia a todas as causas de dissolução.

O casamento entre elles consiste em um simples accordo entre os nubentes e suas familias, e não é revestido de caracter ou formula alguma religiosa.

Succede ao vezes que um *Mundurucú* toma por noiva uma menina ainda de menor idade, de accordo com a familia d'ella, e trata-a então como sua futura esposa, fornece-lhe caça e outros meios de subsistencia até que ella chegue á puberdade para realizar o casamento.

Desde o momento do accordo a noiva é por todos como tal respeitada, e ninguem ousa disputal-a áquelle que está destinado a ser um dia seu marido.

O casamento, uma vez celebrado, constitue um forte laço de união entre os dois esposos. A polygamia não está em uso n'esta tribu, e não raras vezes se dão scenas de ciume.

As mulheres, nas aldêas, apezar de sobrecarregadas com trabalho, são por todos tratadas com certo recato; nem lhes é permittido entrar no *ôçá* ou quartel dos guerreiros.

Não obstante andarem inteiramente nuas, ellas evitam cuidadosamente posições que possam parecer indecentes, a tal ponto que ninguem nota quando ellas atravessam certos periodos molestosos peculiares a seu sexo.

A proposito de zelos e de ciumes, referirei um caso, [illegible] ao vivo do que qualquer descripção em termos geraes os usos, costumes e sentimentos de um povo.

A india Sebastiana, de quem já fallei anteriormente, era casada em Acupary. Um dia chega-se a ella um rapaz e diz-lhe: « *Deixa o teu marido, que não é bom caçador, e vem comigo para outra aldêa.* » N'este momento justamente apparece o marido, que, dirigindo-se para ella, lhe pergunta—*o que o seu interlocutor lhe havia dito?* A india, embaraçada, não sabia o que responder, e o marido lança mão de um arco e a castiga severamente. Entretanto este

casal viveu sempre unido, amando-se um ao outro, até que a desgraça, que ameaçou a mãi de Sebastiana, a obrigou a deixar o marido, fugindo de Acuçary.

As familias são muito unidas; tanto os paes como as mãis são extremosos pelos filhos, e são capazes de arrostar os maiores perigos para amparal-os e protegil-os.

Eu vi nas grandes casas das aldêas algumas crianças doentes serem tratadas com muito desvelo e solicitude.

Quando um *Mundurucú* refere-se a um outro individuo de sua tribo, emprega sempre esta phrase—*um nosso parente*—para distinguil-o de outro qualquer individuo de tribu differente.

Quando por acaso se encontram esses barbaros longe de suas aldêas, no meio das florestas ou á margem dos rios, facilmente se reconhecem pelas pinturas ou tatuagens uniformes, e caracteristicas da tribo.

A pintura dos *Mundurucús* é cousa notavel. São desenhos traçados com extrema habilidade por mão de artista consummado.

No rosto e no peito são grande numero de losangos perfeitamente desenhados. Na parte posterior do corpo são linhas parallelas, tiradas desde o pescoço de alto a baixo até quasi os calcanhares; os seios, as nadegas e as partes sexuaes das mulheres, são pintados com desenhos de fantasia, mas uniformes para o mesmo sexo.

Tanto os homens, como as mulheres, tiram grande vaidade d'este singular ornamento.

A operação da pintura é dolorosissima.

Começa quando a criança attinge a idade de oito annos. Como é natural, a criança não se presta voluntariamente ao supplicio; mas é tomada á força, lançada ao chão e privada de todo movimento.

Então o pintor, armado de agudo dente de cutia, vai tra-

çando os desenhos sobre o corpo da criança, que chega a verter sangue.

Sobre os traços applicam uma do genipapo, que constitue uma tinta indelevel. Essas feridas, abertas à força, inflammam-se ordinariamente; as vezes sobrevem febres. Por isso a operação é feitade preferencia no inverno por ser menos intensa n'esta epoca a acção do calor.

O trabalho é lento: deixam-se as primeiras feridas cicatrizar para continuar a operação. Por isso a pintura só fica completa quando o individuo se approxima dos vinte annos de idade, tão moça é ella.

Parece, pois, isto uma especie de baptismo de sangue — um laço social—um vinculo consagrado, que, como solidos elos de uma cadeia, prende entre si todos os membros da tribu.

E' o traço de união dima, cuja origem remonta a Caru-Sacaebé, conforme reza a tradição.

Todo o corpo do *Mundurucú* é integralmente tomado por estes desenhos. E' apenas que outro qualquer povo os faça mais extensos mais perfeitos.

XVII

Divisão do tempo.—Jornaes.—Modo de entretenimento.

Os *Mundurucús* dão o sol o nome de caci.

Distinguem o verão, que chamam ensiu, do inverno, a que chamam iri.

Dizem que o inverno começa quando principiam a cahir as castanhas. E realmente os fructos da castanha (*bertholetia excelsa*) começam cahir tanto que apparecem as primeiras chuvas.

Dizem que o verão começa quando apparecem as andorinhas.

Chamam a lua *ceniale*.

Lua cheia, *cazi-tapambon-pimon*.

Quarto crescente, *cazi-quale*.

Quarto minguante, *cazi-kian*.

Dia, *cabéd*; noite, *zimon*.

Para designar a manhã, meio-dia ou a tarde, apontam com o dedo indice a posição em que deve estar o sol na hora que querem designar.

A's estrellas chamam *cawéd*.

A' constellação das sete estrellas (hesperides), *tawaford*.

Estrella d'alva, *cabiard*.

Cruzeiro do sul, *chouchawéd* (ch pronunciado como em hespanhol na palavra muchacha).

Dizem que a terra é chata, mas não sabem onde começa nem onde acaba.

Quando um *Mundurucú* morre, quer seja homem ou mulher, velho, moço ou criança, seu espirito—*diawéd*—vai para outra vida, especie de paraiso, a que chamam *cabi*.

O *cabi* consiste em um campo sem limites, no meio do qual ha um *igapó* bastante grande para abrigal-os a todos.

A's vezes esses espiritos vagam pelo espaço e produzem a tempestade. Outras vezes o espirito do *Mundurucú* baixa á terra, converte-se em *mabia tapirera* para caçar durante a noite. Em todo o valle do Amazonas ouve-se com effeito durante a noite o canto descompassado de uma ave nocturna, que parece repetir continuamente estas vozes: *mabia tapirera*.

Além da vida, além do tumulo, não ha mais penas nem logares destinados ao supplicio dos espiritos. A existencia de além-tumulo é muito mais suave do que a vida terrena.

Estando no ceú não morrem mais, e se precisam de alguma cousa vêm a terra em forma de trovão. Não ha espiritos mais empenhados em perder os *Mundurucús*.

Quando morre um d'estes selvagens os parentes cavam uma sepultura embaixo da propria rêde; a sepultura tem a forma de um cylindro a eixo vertical; sobre ella descem o cadaver, accommodando-o na mesma posição em que se acha o filho no ventre materno, occupando a cabeça a posição mais elevada.

E' a posição de cocoras, a mesma que usavam os *Quichuas* e os egypcios. Deitam junto com o cadaver alguns objectos que foram de seu uso quando em vida, tais como armas, ornatos de penas, etc. O meu interprete era um indio intelligente, e fallava, além do seu dialecto *mundurucú*, as linguas portugueza e *tupi*. Elle me traduzia em dialecto *mundurucú* sem hesitar as seguintes phrases: « Tenho saudades de minha mãi—*Nhaãn uaxi cahi*; » « Tenho saudades de meu filho—*Nhaãn epuãi cahi*. » A palavra *nhaãn* significa saudade. « Minha alma vai para o ceo—*Ubiamãi cahi cahi dãi*. »

Este conhecimento dos astros, posto que ainda muito limitado; estas crenças de uma vida futura sem as perturbações de odiosas superstições; esse poder de conceber e exprimir idéas abstractas, e os sentimentos mais puros e mais suaves do coração humano, como sejam saudades de mãi e de filho, me causaram surpresa da parte de um povo, que sempre foi considerado como um dos mais barbaros e mais ferozes do valle do Amazonas.

Presumo que os *Mundurucús*, se não trouxeram essas idéas e conhecimentos de algumas das raças civilisadas do planalto dos Andes, ao menos têm vivido durante seculos da mesma forma por que ainda vivem hoje os que habitam as aldêas das campinas, isto é, em centros tão populosos,

quanto o podem ser os de selvagens, que vivem de caça e dos exiguos recursos de uma lavoura rudimentar. Estas aldêas, em continuas communicações entre si, conservam os mesmos usos e costumes. A pintura dos *Mundurucús* outra cousa não é senão, como já disse acima, um baptismo de sangue, que imprime caracter indelevel—um laço sagrado, que estreita entre si em commonhão fraternal todos os membros da numerosa e pujante tribo.

Entretanto me abstenho de tirar conclusões de qualquer natureza que seja. O meu proposito é observar escrupulosamente os factos e descrevêl-os com fidelidade.

Talvez que sobre este ligeiro esboço, que faço da vida de uma tribu selvagem, medite algum d'estes espiritos superiores, que se preoccupam do destino da humanidade e dos problemas da vida humana.

A estes pertence prescrutar os arcanos da Providencia, indagar qual o ponto de partida que tiveram os povos em sua peregrinação sobre a terra, quaes as trilhas que têm percorrido e quaes os destinos que lhes são reservados.

XVIII

Meios de vida dos *Mundurucús*.— Caça. —Plantas cultivadas.—Frutas silvestres.

Os *Mundurucús*, dominando um vasto territorio coberto de matas virgens, e campinas, sendo destros caçadores e possuindo excellentes cães, tiram da caça a principal base de subsistencia.

Possuem tambem uma pequena lavoura, ainda bastante rudimentar, mas que entretanto lhes é de não pequeno auxilio.

O territorio produz tambem muitos frutos silvestres, alguns de excellente qualidade.

Não mencionarei todas as variedades de caça que se encontram n'aquellas regiões onde abundam a anta, o veado, os porcos selvagens, o mutum, inhambú, jacamins e muitos outros. Darei aqui, entretanto, um quadro de todas as plantas cultivadas pelos *Mundurucús*, e outro dos frutos silvestres, com os respectivos nomes no dialecto d'estes selvagens :

Plantas cultivadas

Nomes portuguezes ou tupis.	Nomes mundurucús.
Mandióca	*Mocsid.*
Macacheira ou aipim.	*Mocepeun.*
Cará grande branco	*Puerá erechache.*
» » roxo.	*Puerá emiucate.*
» » pequeno branco. .	*Auaird.*
» » roxo.	*Auauerá emiucate.*
Batatas doces.	*Uizid.*
Ananas.	*Pero-d.*
Mamão.	*Apão-d.*
Pimenta	*Aium-d.*
Canna de assucar.	*Canipec.*
Tumbó.	*Comopá.*
[illegible]	*Druuh-d.*
Milho	*Muirará.*
Fava grande	*Uiites.*
Banana	*Acouhd.*
Banana de S. Thomé	*Acorepmpd*
Taji grande	*Pen-on-uan.*
Maniquera.	*Macerd*
Flechas	*Bepd*
Jamaru (cabaça)	*Uiuié*

Fructos silvestres

Fructos das matas virgens.

Portuguez ou tupi.	Mundurucú.	Portuguez ou tupi.	Mundurucú.
Castanha do Pará	*Hennain.*	Araticú	*Secidocu.*
Assahy	*Oapoerma.*	Mocajá	*Dacurié.*
Burity	*Inhoropoé.*	Anajá	*Uarutaiá.*
Bacaba	*Haruruaé.*	Copo-ahy	*Acorapé.*
Patauá	*Uadhu.*	Pajurá	*Cobicum-a*
Uxi	*Tarué.*	Cumahy (selvagem)	*Iulapé.*
Pequiá	*Xaé.*	Mangarandiba	*Cearo-á.*
Abiú	*Anacuré.*	Cacio do mato	*Uadiaré.*
Caju do mato	*Hercoré.*	Jubiby ou Jaiubá	
Maracujá	*Maracuiá.*	Copo-assú	*Acorapé.*
Bacury-pari	*Uaremapé.*		
Solva	*Ubaé.*		

Fructos dos campos.

Jaboticaba	*Jubá.*	Murici	*Quembu-á*
Mangabá	*Uabaá.*	Marmelada	*Hero-á.*
Caju do campo	*Hacoré caruá.*	Araticú do campo	*Bacubacu-hara.*
Axima	*Eteu-á.*	Ananaz	*Iparé.*

O dahu é a comida predilecta dos Mundurucús. Prepara-se com castanhas denominadas do Pará.

Esta castanha é bastante conhecida, pois que a provincia do Pará exporta todos os annos para a Europa milhares de hectolitros.

E' conhecida na Europa pela denominação de noz do Brazil, contem sessenta por cento de um oleo muito fino e de sabor delicado.

Para preparar o dahu, os Mundurucús cozinham a castanha, tiram-lhe a casca, lavam-n'a, maceram-n'a, põem-n'a em uma panella, abafam-n'a com folhas e a expõem ao fumeiro por espaço de oito dias.

Esta massa experimenta uma especie de fermentação e exhala cheiro activo.

Então pilam-n'a e de novo põem-n'a em uma panella ao fogo.

Assim preparado o *dabu* conserva-se por muito tempo.

Tambem preparam outra especie de dabu, que consiste na mesma castanha, que depois de convenientemente cosida e macerada, é misturada com peixe ou carne de caça.

Ainda faz parte do regimen alimenticio dos *Mundurucús* o mingáu de bananas, de cará, mingáu de farinha misturada com assahy, patauá, bacabas mingáu de mandioca.

Tomam durante o verão uma especie de refresco feito de favas bravas, a que chamam—*atinhã*.

Não consta que façam uso de bebidas alcoolicas, nem que se embriaguem.

São mui sobrios. Si por acaso em dias chuvosos de inverno falta-lhes caça, a alimentação reduz-se a batatas, carás, castanhas, dabu, etc.

Conservam a carne de caça moqueada, o que conseguem expondo a caça a um fogo lento, pelo meio conhecido.

XIX

Plantas cultivadas dos indios *Mundurucú*(1).

	euphorbiaceas.
Macaxera ou aipim.	*Manihot aypim*. Fam. euphorbiaceas.

(1) Deve esta nota technologica á amanuense collaboração do Sr. Dr. Lourenço José Ribeiro da Cruz Fangel, distincto preparador da secção de botanica do Museu Nacional.

Cará grande branco. Cará grande rôxo. Cará pequeno branco. Cará pequeno rôxo.	*Dioscorea bulbifera*, dioscorea sativa, Linn. Fam. dioscoreas. Ha diversas especies de cará, como sejam: *Dioscorea dodecaneura*, Vell.; *Dioscorea hyperi folia*, Velloso; *Dioscorea triloba*, Vil.; *Dioscorea brasiliensis*, etc., etc.
Melancia.	*Cucurbita citrullus*, Linn. Fam. cucurbitaceas.
Jerimú.	*Cucurbita maxima*, D. C. Fam. cucurbitaceas.
Batata doce.	*Convolvulus edulis*. Fam. convolvulaceas.
Ananaz.	*Bromelia ananas*, Linn. Fam. bromeliaceas.
Mamão.	*Carica papaya*, Linn. Fam. papayaceas.
Pimenta.	Grande numero de fructos de familias e generos differentes é conhecido sob o nome de pimenta; porém a mais conhecida dos indios, e da que elles mais uso fazem, é a pimenta malagueta, *Capsicum pendulum*, de Velloso. Fam. solanaceas.
Canna de assucar.	*Saccharum officinarum*, Linn. Fam. gramineas.
Timbó.	Cipó timbó, tambem conhecido por cururú-apé é a *Paullinia pinnata*, e o timbó do Rio de Janeiro é o *Physalia heterophylla*. Além d'estes ha tambem no genero Serjania algumas especies toxicas.

conhecidas sob o nome de timbó; assim, a *S. sarcoxema*, *S. clematidifolia* e a *S. lethalis*, principalmente esta ultima, como o nome caracteristico indica.

Algodão. *Gossipium herbaceum*, Lamarck. Fam. malvaceas.

Milho. *Zea mais*, Linn. Fam. graminaceas.

Fava grande. Fava, *Vicia sativa*, Linn. Fam. leguminosas. Ha grande numero de favas, quasi todas pertencentes ao genero *Phaseolus*. Fam. leguminosas.

Banana. Banana prata, *Musa argentea*; banana da terra, *Musa sapientum*; banana ná, *Heuandria monoecia*, Linn. Todos generos da familia das musaceas.

Banana de S. Thomé. *Musa paradisiaca*, Linn. Fam. musaceas.

Taya grande. *Caladium esculentum*, Linn. Fam. aroideas.

Flechas. As flechas empregadas pelos indios na fabricação das setas pertencem á canna brava, *Arundinaria gigantea*. Fam. graminaceas.

[illegible] *Cucurbita lagenaria*, Duch., genero da familia das cucurbitaceas. O nome de cabaço é empregado para designar diversas especies do genero *Cucurbita* da familia das cucurbitaceas, das quaes umas são comestiveis e outras toxicas.

Fructos não cultivados e indigenas d'essas regiões.

Fructos dos campos.

Mangaba.	*Hancornia pubescens*, Martius. Fam. apocineas.
Jaboticaba.	*Myrtus cauliflora*, Martius. Fam. myrtaceas.
Cajú do campo.	*Anacardium humile?* Martius. Fam. therebentinaceas.
Azina.	
Murici.	*Byrsonima sericea.*
Marmelada.	Dão este nome em Sergipe ao fructo de um arbusto agreste, que se parece com o jenipapo, de um arroxado escuro; é comestivel, e suppõe-se ser uma especie de marmello das Alagôas, *Cydonia?* Fam. rosaceas.
Ariticú do campo.	*Anona cornifolia*, St. Hilaire. Fam. anonaceas.
Anany.	*Leopoldinia imperialis*. Fam. cucurbitaceas.

Fructos dos mattos e matas.

Castanha.	Castanha do Pará ou Maranhão, *Bertholletia excelsa*, Humb. e [illegible]
Assaky.	*Euterpe edulis*, Martius. Fam. palmeiras.
Muruty.	*Mauritia vinifera*, Linn. Fam. palmeiras.
Bacaba.	*Oenocarpus bacaba*, Martius. Fam. palmeiras.

Patauá.	*Oenocarpus?* Fam. palmeiras.
Uxi.	*Uxi umbrosissimus*. Fam. crisobalaneas.
Pequiá.	Pequiá-café ou café bravo, *Casearia fatida* Fam. samydeas.
Abiu.	*Labatia reticulata*, Martius. Fam. sapotaceas.
Cajú da mata.	Suppõe-se pertencer ao genero *Cassuvium* Fam. therebentinaceas.
Maracujá.	*Passiflora maliformis*, Linn. e Willd. Fam. passifloraceas.
Bacuro-pari.	*Platonia insignis*, Martius. Fam. canellaceas.
Salva.	*Lippia citriodora*, Schult. Fam. verbenaceas. Salva do Brasil, *Salvia fulgens*, Cav. Mahl. Fam. labiaceas. Salva do mato, *Hurreria salsaparrilha*.
Articú.	*Anona silvestris*, St. Hilaire. Fam. annoaceas.
Mocaja.	Conhecido no Rio de Janeiro por côco de catarrho. *Acrocomia sclerocarpa*, Martius. Fam. palmeiras.
Anaja ou majá.	Fam. palmeiras.
Cupu-assú.	*Bellosia lactea*. Fam. malvaceas.
Cupu-aby.	Fam. [illegible]
Pajura.	Fam. das laurineas.
Cumaty.	*Psydium albidum*, St. Hilaire. Fam. myrtaceas.
Mamarandiba.	*Achras paraensis*. *Mamarandiba emarginata*, Lacerda. Fam. sapotaceas.

Cacão do mato.	Cacão, *Theobroma cacão*, Linn. Fam. bombacaceas. Cacão bravo, *Theobroma guianensis*, Willd. Fam. bombacaceas.
Jaguba	*Hymenæa stilbocarpa*, Hayne e Martius. *Hymenæa courbaril*, Linn. Fam. leguminosas.

XI

Dialecto mundurucú.

Damos em seguida algumas phrases e alguns termos do dialecto mundurucú:

Portugues.	Tupi.	Mundurucú.
Boa tarde	*Iandé caruara*	*Oui maiérepur.*
Bom dia	*Iandé acema*	*Cabiá.*
Até a volta	*Aiouri cha tuara rumui*	*Repiás bimá.*
Boa noite	*Iandé pitiúna*	*Iaiuate.*
Como está?	*Catu muri aeré?*	*Chi painem?*
Estou bom	*Catu iabo*	*Eua chipoie.*

Portugues.	Mundurucú.	Portugues	Mundurucú.
Sol	*Cogi.*	Vamos comer	*Nhachamo.*
Lua	*Caimate.*	Verruga	*Quartra.*
Homem	*Ambaeate.*	Nariz	*Eurandequa*
Mulher	*Aiatiate.*	Dente	*Eurem.*
Dia	*Cabiá.*	Olho	*Eabá.*
Noite	*Iaiuda.*	Lingua	*Eairu.*
Estrella	*Tapiuná.*	Boca	*Eapiu-aiu.*
Chuva	*Mambrate.*	Ainda	*Eurupá.*
Trovão	*Boru-airi.*	Cabeça	*Eusá.*
Céo ou espaço celeste	*Cabi.*	Orelha	*Ouchamide*
		Perna	*Eiará.*
Novem	*Cabi ererdade*	Dente	*Eiui.*
Agua	*Iribi.*	Braço	*Eibá.*
Menino	*Berechate.*	Unha	*Eiiarde.*

Portugues.	Mundurucú.	Portugues	Mundurucú.
Barba	U'dirapu.	Sovaco	U'mimbuki.
Cabello	U'arapu.	Testa	U'adirapu.
Mão	U'aburuni.	Bilis	Caran.
Dedo da mão	U'edé.	Eu	Uu.
Sobrancelhas	U'eiid embile.	Tu	Eu.
		Ele	Iuledie.
Dedo do pe.	U'ui.	Elles	Iuledimeube.
Peito	U'ituruuid.		
Barriga	U'ituna.	Amigo	U'beui.
Umbigo	U'tuupuá.	Irmão mais velho	U'aua.
Garganta	U'aumbird.		
Pescoço	U'aiiaudid.	Irmão mais moço	Ouaiu.
Testa	U'aiiipatiique.	Irmã	U'bain.

Dar—U'aiuna.

Eu dou	*Uu uaiuna.*
Tu dás	*Eu uaiuna.*
Ele dá	*Iuledie-ain uaiuna.*
Elles dão	*Iuledimbe uaiuna.*

Ser homem—*Aiuaain dié.*

Eu sou homem	*Uu dié aiuaain.*
Tu és homem	*Eu dié aiuaain.*
Ele é homem	*Iule dié aiuaain.*
Elles são homens	*Iuledimbe aiuaain.*

Comer—U'aiuna.

Eu como	*Uu uiiuna.*
Tu comes	*Eu uiiuá.*
Ele come	*Iuledié uiiuá.*
Elles comem	*Iuledimbe uiiuá.*

Português	Mundurucu
Eu já vou.....	*adiabeque.*
Lembranças para ti mesmo.	*Ereto dio ewi id.*
Os Mundurucús são todos parentes.....	*Mundurucú ñkeb diów aniam wmaiv.*
Minha alma vai para o céo..	*Dibundé ñabi ñabi dio.*
Tenho saudades de minha mãe	*Ñiabon wayi ñabi.*
Tenho saudades de meu filho	*Ñiabon ayuie ñabi.*
Eu sou teu amigo.....	*Uwe ubei xiei.*
Eu não te hei de vêr mais...	*Ñkeu ete ñiauawe diei uwe.*

Para facilitar a confrontação do dialecto mundurucú com as tres principaes linguas aborigenas, damos o seguinte quadro:

QUADRO COMPARATIVO

Portuguez	Quichua	Aymará	Tupi	Mundurucú
—	—	—	—	—
Homem	*Runa*	*Haka*	*Apyma*	*Ambocuie*
Mulher	*Warmi*	*Warmi*	*Cunhã*	*Aiabiate*
Cabeça	*Uma*	*Pyrkuña*	*Akanga*	*Uiuá*
Boca	*Cochila*	*Nuuna*	*Ibá ou çuá*	*Uaiupá*
Olho	*Nahui*	*Nayra*	*Tuçá*	*Uatá*
Orelha	*Rimi*	*Iuchu*	*Apiçaçua*	*Ombemble*
Mão	*Maki*	*Ampara*	*Mbá*	*Ubaroná*
Sol	*Inti*	*Inti*	*Guaraci*	*Cuzi*
Lua	*Killa*	*Phakhi*	*Jary*	*Cuzi-dit*
Agua	*Jaca*	*Uma*	*Y*	*Iribá*
Fio	*Nuna*	*Ñu*	*Ini ou ni*	*Uur*
Kilo	*Puy*	*Hupu*	*Abá*	*Inkendke*
Crouar	*Mizumi*	*Wankacha*	*U*	*Uchecue*

XXI

Honras funebres feitas aos guerreiros que morrem em combate.

Quando em uma d'essas frequentes guerras succede que um *Mundurucú* morre em combate, seus companheiros cortam-lhe a cabeça e a fazem mumificar pelo processo conhecido.

Regressando á aldêa, collocam-n'a em um logar reservado, assim como as armas, a buzina e os ornatos que pertenceram ao guerreiro defunto.

Esta reliquia torna-se objecto de veneração publica.

Se passa algum *Mundurucú* das aldêas vizinhas vai visital-a e rende-lhe o culto devido, chorando e lamentando a sorte do finado. Na aldêa natal preparam-lhe honras publicas; fixam de antemão a época, e fazem convites ás aldêas vizinhas.

Chegada a época aprazada reune-se o povo; depositam a cabeça em uma especie de cesto ou balaio, o qual é collocado sobre o collo da viuva, mãi e irmãs do defunto.

As outras mulheres sentam-se no chão, fazendo um circulo em torno. Varias tochas de madeiras resinosas ardem junto ao cesto funerario.

Os guerreiros, ornados com enfeites e armados de arcos e flechas, dansam em torno do grupo, tocando as buzinas e outros instrumentos de musica.

Outros grupos de homens fazem outro tanto no alpé, outros vão dansando e cantando em torno da casa onde se acha a cabeça, objecto d'estas honras funebres. Ao mesmo tempo vão entoando em voz alta estas lamentações:

« Tu morreste, meu parente, nós te vingaremos; para

este fim estamos no mundo, para vingarmos uns aos outros que morrem na guerra. Nossos inimigos não são mais valentes nem mais homens do que nós. »

O texto mundurucú é o seguinte:

« Eteun ari ubaripeinhaçan etoé ci ne-gue ari utiede aipunime idie ôpe he ateiteime repanhô he teun anhem parui ate bé. Uteropanhon iheixi ame utie de utedie ute beihi. »

Estas festas funebres duram mais de um dia. Celebram uma em cada um dos quatro primeiros anos que se seguem á morte do guerreiro.

A festa do quarto anno termina pelo enterro da cabeça: n'esta occasião, tanto os homens, como as mulheres, dirigem-lhe as palavras seguintes:

« Meu irmão, ou meu filho, aqui viemos para te fazer o enterro. Morreste; para este fim nasceste. Morreste em guerra, porque foste valente: para isto nossas mães e pais nos criaram. Não devemos temer o inimigo. Quem morre em guerra morre com honra; não é como quem morre de molestia. Viemos de todas as malocas para chorar e dançar até o fim do teu enterro. »

A versão em mundurucú é a seguinte:

« Uanhum inhaçan ute ûte ecô tchiime. Imonhame ari utié hai utié mai pieme. Etcá manhum até repanhum bé anhecate odié. Imonhame utié xi utié me pito utié hai ari ué utié ieebé anhecate epépapeidié ipé bé utié parari ama utié repanhum bé-time. Repanhum-bé tié á ôem anhecate odié tata ué é utie repanhum bé-ibe pame ume pite idiéié mi utié pa-ime pai bétime cauxi pibiee. Idiétié utiéeute anhunazairi bébi caracoie ouié bé uadime uté calé ute racui axiran uuão iacipe iié utié uibé pam utié note nhaçam dietie arini-tatime pre ibimun utié diepée diei. »

Ao mesmo tempo as mulheres, em torno da cesta funeraria, diziam como se fosse o defunto que fallasse:

« Minha mãi (ou minha mulher), tu has de morrer da molestia em tua cama. Eu morri na guerra por ser valente. »

Durante estas festas os pagés tocam um instrumento especial: é uma especie de corneta, a que chamam—*aruapé*.

Para isto o pagé occulta-se em uma pequena cabana, expressamente construida para este fim, na qual é rigorosamente vedado ás mulheres entrarem.

Por outro lado, estas mulheres superticiosas evitam por todos os meios ao seu alcance lançar as vistas sobre este instrumento sagrado e mysterioso. Estão intimamente convictas de que, se chegassem a vêr um momento sequer o *aruapé* teriam commettido um sacrilegio, que as tornaria infelizes por tôda a vida.

Emfim, dentro da casa, onde habita a familia do guerreiro defunto, abrem uma sepultura em sentido vertical, e n'ella enterram a cabeça, em cuja honra se celebram as festas.

XXII

Festas em honra da caça, do peixe e da lavoura.

Cada aldêa *Mundurucú* celebra tambem no começo do inverno de cada anno uma festa publica, sendo alternadamente um anno em honra da caça e outro em honra da pesca.

Para isto a aldêa elege um director da festa, que é naturalmente escolhido entre os guerreiros de mais prestigio, e que deve tambem ser bom caçador.

Fazem de antemão abundante provisão de caça, de bejiú, (especie de pão feito com a massa da mandioca), de batatas e de outros generos alimenticios.

As mulheres pintam-se de genipapo, urucú e outras côres de grande effeito.

Homens e mulheres, ornados com enfeites de pennas, com collares de dentes de inimigos, reunem-se em grupos, onde bem lhes parece, e começam a bocar, dançar e cantar.

Reunem crianças de anta, veado, e de outras caças ou peixes, e offerecem-lhes as melhores iguarias, doces, o tarubá, a maniquera e outras.

A' meia-noite o pagé recolhe-se a um quarto reservado, onde não possa penetrar vista profana. Ahi, no meio de profundas trevas, evoca em altas vozes a *mãi* da anta, em primeiro logar, se a festa é consagrada á caça.

Não tarda muito que o povo, que se acha em torno da barraca mysteriosa, ouve dentro d'ella o grito agudo da anta.

E' o pagé que imita o grito d'esse animal para dar a entender aos circumstantes que o genio evocado acudiu ao seu chamado e baixou á sua cabana.

Então começa em altas vozes um dialogo animado entre a *mãi* da anta e o pagé. Elle pede áquella que durante o anno seja propicia aos caçadores da aldêa, fazendo com que seus filhos não se afastem para longe e appareçam em grande numero. A resposta é sempre favoravel.

Depois é evocada a *mãi* do veado, e successivamente as de todos os outros animaes que os *Mundurucus* desejam encontrar em suas caçadas.

A festa em honra dos peixes é em tudo semelhante á precedente.

Além d'estas festas consagradas aos genios tutelares da caça e da pesca, os *Mundurucus* celebram ainda todos os annos, no começo do verão, outra em honra da lavoura.

Homens e mulheres collocam-se em linha, tocando uma especie de corneta, chamada—*kra*; —dansando e cantando invocam as *ondé* da mandioca, do milho, etc., pelo seguinte modo:

« Oh *ondé* da mandioca, favorece-nos com os fructos de teus filhos. Não nos deixes passar privações. Todos os annos te dirigimos nossas supplicas; não nos esqueceremos nunca de ti. »

Os pagés cantam na frente do povo esta invocação, que o mesmo povo repete em côro.

O texto *Mundurucú* é o seguinte:

« Mudéjixi eirú beré beremu u tiédié imenedié diéi chipunpu mucé dé aipanem itabungue dié tarabote amu epdiepdie diéi imenedié tutu utié-dié arairai utéiqui ixi abime pame euatu abime eirú bereremu bata que mdaipéahate eiré mon utié carai diéai pamu tamun. »

XXIII

Missão do Bacabal.—Historico.—Lista comida entre os principaes moradores do municipio e o missionario

O governo imperial não tem poupado esforços para chamar ao gremio da civilização as hordas que erram pelo valle do Alto-Tapajoz. Foi com esse fim que em 1871 mandou fundar a Missão do Bacabal.

Esta missão, chamando a si todos os indios *Mundurucús* que habitavam as margens do Alto-Tapajoz, provocou desde logo vivas reclamações da parte dos principaes moradores do municipio de Itituba.

Para dar uma idéa dos obstaculos com que o governo luta, para realizar o seu grande empenho de catechisar as

tribus indigenas, darei qui o historico da Missão do Rocabal, que chegou a reunir uma população de quinhentos indios de uma das tribs mais importantes do Brasil, como é incontestavelmente a Mundurucú.

E para que não pessem acusado de parcial a esta narrativa, transcrevo textualmente os proprios documentos, tanto da parte dos moradores do municipio, como da parte do missionario, os quaes põem em relevo a animosidade que reina entre as duas partes.

Os principaes lavradores e negociantes do municipio de Itaituba, em 1º de Maio de 1874, enviaram á assembléa legislativa da provincia do Pará uma reclamação, queixando-se de que o missionario do Rocabal nada mais fazia do que monopolisar o trabalho dos indios mansos das margens do Tapajos, e não curava de fazer a catechese entre as hordas selvagens das aldêas centraes.

Eis-aqui a integra d'esta representação:

« Senhores membro da assembléa legislativa provincial.—Em fins do ano de 1871 subiram ao Alto Tapajos os Rvs. missionarios F. Pelino de Castrequalva e Fr. Antonio, para montar uma missão em lugar mais apropriado ao descimento das tribs indigenas, que ainda numerosas povoam os sertões d'estas regiões. Este acontecimento foi por todos applaudido, porque d'est'arte o crescimento e florescimento d'esta parte do imperio seria certo á vista da falta de braços que sente a provincia para a agricultura que definha, e outros ramos se constituem e alimentam o commercio entre nós. Os missionarios escolheram o lugar denominado Rocabal, onde existia um aldêamento antiquissimo de indios já civilisados, que se empregavam na agricultura, fabrico de borracha, e muitos serviços prestavam ás canoas, como pratos, negociando com a permuta dos generos de sua lavrada missionarios, mal informados e

I: Tocantins SQ13 Mundurucu

imprudentes, dando ouvidos aos ardis e aventureiros, declararam desde logo guerra cruel aos negociantes, denominando a todos, sem excepção, ladrões, perversos, e aconselhando aos indios que não pagassem suas dividas, porque nada deviam, impedindo que os mesmos prestassem serviços ás canôas nas viagens perigosas das cachoeiras, dando causa a prejuizos gravissimos nos annos de 1872 e 1873, tais como a perda de duas canôas, com seus carregamentos e algumas vidas!... Havendo na cidade de Santarem um periodico, fez-se scientes ao governo d'estes factos pelas columnas do mesmo jornal; infelizmente parece que as autoridades superiores são illudidas, e não aproveitam nas verdadeiras relações dada pela imprensa. O mal se vai aggravando de dia em dia, porque recebendo os missionarios protecção do governo, que sabe os mais louvaveis desejos a bem da catechese, encontraram no Rucabal os indios que ali estavam residindo, enfiando muitas mocidades pelos negociantes, e homens de cor que viviam irregularmente, empregando-os em serviços aproveitaveis somente a elles missionarios, em canôas, e outros actos que a decencia manda calar. Pelos documentos juntos será apreciado o procedimento dos dous missionarios, que até o presente nenhum serviço tem prestado a bem da catechese, o que já determinou a camara municipal de Itaituba a representar ao governo sobre a maneira por que essas missangas procedem, tudo contrario ao fim de sua missão, não tendo até hoje servido effeito algum.—Pedem, pois, os abaixo-assignados a esta nobre corporação que, tomando em conta os males que vão em crescimento, prejudicando ao Alto Tapajoz, solicite ao presidente da provincia a enviar uma commissão de homens competentes para syndicar dos factos, conhecer a verdade, e então serem dadas providencias conducentes a extinguir-se os soffrimentos

que os obrigam a levar esta reclamação aos direitos do povo. Baitaba, 1° de Março de 1874. » (Seguem-se as assignaturas.)

Por outra parte tambem, o padre missionario queixa-se amargamente, não de todos os cidadãos signatarios da representação, mas dos negociantes denominados regatões, que todos os annos costumam penetrar pelo Alto-Tapajoz, levando algumas mercadorias em pequenas canôas para trocarem com a borracha, a salsa, o oleo de copahyba, e outros productos naturaes d'essa região.

Em officio de 20 de Janeiro de 1876 diz o missionario Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva ao presidente da provincia do Pará:

« Foi em 10 de Julho do anno passado que o Sr. Dr. Tocantins visitou esta missão e poucos dias depois da partida d'este senhor eu tive de chegar até essa capital, por motivos que intervessem a bem da mesma missão, como é de V. Ex. sabido.

« Durante a minha ausencia a moralidade publica na aldêa foi muito perturbada por uns regatões contrabandistas.

. . . . . .

« Estes regatões com seus tripulantes tendo recebido noticia de que a Missão estava desamparada, cada um por sua vez correu sem demora á aldêa, e ahi chegando commetteram crimes de ladroeira e devassidão.

« Conforme o costume d'elles, embriagaram primeiro os indios com cachaça, e estando elles privados assim do uso da razão lhes tiraram tudo que puderam, farinha, criação de porcos e gallinhas, etc., dando-lhes apenas em troco a cachaça que beberam.

« Levantaram prostituição publica de dia e de noite, no porto e nas casas, e, oh! Exm. Sr., n'este ponto fizeram ver-

dadeiramente excessivos! Não houve familia dos pobres indios, de cuja honra e decoro mais caro não abusassem de um modo horrivel, e choraram até as pedras a tanta calamidade!

« A desmoralisação foi tanto alem, que os mesmos indios, no estado de embriaguez, esquecendo todas as boas instrucções, imitaram os regatões na devassidão e assim tornou-se n'aquelles dias a missão um verdadeiro lupanar!

« Em consequencia d'este estado anormal em que se achou o aldeamento, nos poucos dias de minha ausencia, que não passaram de quarenta e nove, houve n'ella uma retrogradação notavel.

« N'aquelle mesmo tempo dos indios, preoccupados de superstição (não se sabe se esta veio tambem de gente estranha), diziam que, achando-se desamparados do padre missionario e governo os teria mandado matar a todos elles, repetindo, bruscamente, que a este fim viera o Sr. Dr. Tocantins: entregaram-se á fuga, entrenhando-se no mais recondito das florestas.

« Outros, em numero de mais de vinte, illudidos pelos regatões, tinham tambem deixado o aldeamento acompanhando os dictos regatões na extracção da borracha.

« Outros varios contrahiram alliança com outros regatões ou trabalhadores de borracha, e estes na minha chegada estavam tambem para deixar a missão.

« E se poucos dias mais fosse ella desamparada ficaria completamente destruida.

« A minha inesperada volta á missão sendo de grande alvorôro para os indios, foi tambem de espanto para os adversarios.

« A ordem publica, graças á Divina Providencia, restabeleceu-se. Fiz dar baixa aos indios que se achavam fora desviados, e com pouco consegui restituil-os todos á mis-

são. Dobrei em rigor na observancia da disciplina, conforme o regulamento, não consentindo que espertalhões estranhos parem na missão, ou contratem com os indios sem minha licença e sem minha presença.

« A protecção que o governo mui justa e sabiamente dá á missão tem posto em desempero os adversarios da mesma; e hoje, que estão perfeitamente scientes d'isto, vão abandonando a causa.

« Depois da minha volta á missão só temos um caso a lamentar, e é o seguinte:

« Um tal Boaventura Alves Pereira, um dos maiores engenadores dos indios, devasso e portador de cachaça, e que por esta razão tem sido expulso por vezes da missão, uma noite, de 10 a 15 de Dezembro passado, illudindo a minha attenção, apresentou-se occultamente a alguns indios, e os convidou a virem negociar com elle em um porto perto da missão. Os indios, posto que com algum medo, consentiram e foram. Renovaram-se então as scenas do costume: houve tudo, embora com mais moderação.

« Logo que apercebi a presença do regatão mandei immediatamente uns indios com uniforme militar (que formam apoi uma especie de destacamento), recommendando-lhes que me trouxessem o regatão, afim de eu lhe tirar o rouho que tinha feito. Foram; mas o regatão, avistando soldados, desprendeu a canoa do porto, e, como o cabo para prendêl-o quizesse reter a canoa, que já se ia afastando, o regatão ameaçou de matal-o com um tiro de espingarda.

« Desapontado o cabo e os seus companheiros, correram a buscar uma canoa para perseguil-o; eu, porém, não quiz consentir para evitar conflicto.

« Castiguei os maiores dos indios culpados, e sendo o regatão reincidivo o denunciei ao subdirectorado de Itacoatiara, conforme manda o regulamento das missões.

« Mas, Exm. Sr., sciente das desafeições que reinam em Itaituba contra a missão, nada de lá podemos esperar. Por isso me volvo a V. Ex., e lhe peço e supplico que me mande botar fóra do districto da missão dois individuos, que são summamente nocivos ao desenvolvimento da mesma.

. . . . . .

« Vivo seguro que V. Ex. livrará a missão d'esta peste de gente, mandando-a expulsar até cinco leguas fóra dos limites do districto, conforme ordena o respectivo regulamento. »

XXIV

Os Mundurucús acham uma leva de Parintintins.—Os Parintintins acham alguns mundurucús á margem do Tapajos.

Por este tempo appareceu ás margens de um dos affluentes do Tapajos, não longe da missão, uma leva de *Parintintins*.

Estes pobres selvagens, longe de encontrarem christãos, que lhes fossem ao encontro, e os chamassem ao campo do trabalho e á vida social, só encontraram alguns.

Alguns aventureiros, d'esses que costumam penetrar durante o verão por estas regiões para extrahirem borracha, foram logo dar aviso aos *Mundurucús* de uma aldêa vizinha. Estes puzeram-se immediatamente em marcha, encontraram os *Parintintins*, bateram-n'os, mataram alguns e puzeram em debandada os que escaparam, e regressaram á aldêa, trazendo varios captivos, entre mulheres e crianças.

Não admira pois que os *Parintintins* não tenham jámais podido fixar uma aldêa no valle do Tapajos, por onde

andam errantes constantemente ha longos annos. Nos estes barbaros, cuja sorte é andar continuamente em sobresalto e alarma, perseguidos no mais recondito das florestas, expostos a vêrem a cada momento arrebatados violentamente seus mulheres e seus filhos, alfagam tambem em seus peitos agitados o sentimento da vingança.

Não podendo fazer mais estragos nas fileiras de seus inimigos *Mundurucús*, nem entre aquelles sertanejos que se pigaram, a estes na minoravel esperança de ficarem talvez com algumas crianças *Parintintins* captivas, estes barbaros procuraram constante demonstrar, pelo modo que lhes era possivel, o profundo odio que lhes causara este infame massacre.

Eis-aqui textualmente como Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva, em *Relatorio* de 11 de Agosto de 1876, refere ao presidente do Pará o assalto dado pelos *Parintintins* á casa de um sertanejo vizinhos da missão:

« Os *Parintintins*, que é outra tribu numerosa, que vive vida selvagem, errando nas florestas, e em continua guerra com os *Mundurucús*, não se furtam esporar para a continuação, reunidos aos *Mundurucús*: desde a fundação da missão, tendo-se attenuado o rigor com que eram batidos pelos *Mundurucús*, vão elles fazendo algumas apparições nas suas excursões. Têm havido varias d'estas em diversos pontos do litoral do Tapajoz, sendo a ultima em primeiros de Julho proximo passado, na boca do Jamanchim, confluente do Tapajoz.

« Moravam no dito logar, em uma pequena barraca, á margem do rio, tres individuos, dois homens e uma mulher, vindos de Itaituba ao Alto-Tapajoz para extrahirem borracha. N'uma tarde de um dos primeiros dias de Julho ultimo, pelas 5 horas, viram no meio do mato, perto da barraca, desfilar uma numerosa horda de selvagens, sem,

armados de arcos e flechas, enfeitados alguns com penas de arára. Os tres individuos, no meio do rasto, imprudentemente confiaram que passassem alêm, e não houvesse nada de mal, assim como tem succedido em outros pontos em alguns outros apparecimentos dos mesmos indios.

« Porém não foi assim: passada a noite, ás 6 horas da manhã do dia seguinte, se viram cercados em casa pelos *Parintintins*, que, urrando e uivando, á guisa de animaes ferozes, assassinaram os tres individuos. Estes defenderam-se com armas de fogo; houve então um renhido combate. O chefe dos *Parintintins* foi morto, assim outros feridos; os dois homens sertanejos ficaram gravemente feridos, levando um até seis flexadas, e alguns traspassaram.

« No meio do combate, faltando aos *Parintintins* flexas, se foram buscar perto das mulheres d'elles, que estavam esperando á pouca distancia. Os dois sertanejos, aproveitando esse pequeno intervallo, deram-se á fuga; e a pobre mulher, que no meio do susto não pôde acompanhar os fugitivos, foi prova dos selvagens, que de volta, lastimando de não ter podido finar os homens, amputaram-lhe a cabeça com faca de madeira, levaram-a, deixando só o tronco, e muitas flexas enfiadas no meio da pequena barraca e n'uma canôa e outras postas em forma de cruz em signal de vingança.

« Em seguida d'esta luta, todos os trabalhadores de serraria, que se achavam n'aquelles visinhanças, retiraram-se para os Ilhas, deixando deserta a margem direita do Tapajós desde o Apuy até as Montanhas, distancia de cinco concentes leguas.

« Tendo eu na minha residência antes d'esse acontecimento, teria querido vir para ir em busca d'aquelles infelizes aborigenes; porém, ponderando serenamente o caso e

ouvindo as informações dos *Mundurucús* da missão, reconheci impossivel qualquer tentativa. As bastas florestas intransitaveis, os lagos, os igarapés que trato-trato se seguem no centro, tornam impossivel a passagem ao missionario. »

XXV

Continuam as hostilidades entre o missionario do Barahal e os principaes caboclos do municipio de Itaituba.

As hostilidades entre o missionario e aquelles que elle chamava adversarios da missão continuavam sempre.

O governo imperial tinha todo o empenho de chamar esta questão, pois tomava a peito o serviço da catechese; mas difficil lhe era apurar a verdade n'aquellas longinquas regiões.

O digno presidente da provincia do Pará, o Sr. commendador Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, incumbiu-me então de visitar a missão do Barahal, para estudar tudo quanto interessar poderia ao serviço da catechese, de maneira a habilital-o a dar minuciosas informações ao ministerio da agricultura.

Tive occasião de verificar que aquella missão, uma das mais populosas do Imperio, pois que conta quinhentos indios, está no caso de prestar assignalado serviço, chamando á christandade, não somente a parte da tribu *Mundurucú*, que ainda vive nas selvas, longe das margens do Tapajoz, mas tambem os intrataveis *Parintintins*, e todas as hordas gentilicas que vagam pelo valle do Alto-Xingú, e para o lado das fronteiras da provincia do Matto-Grosso.

Sobre Fr. Pelino pesava a grave accusação de occupar-se mais do commercio do que da catechese, em seu proprio interesse pessoal.

E' certo que o missionario fazia importante transacção com a praça do Pará, vendendo partidas de borracha, salsa, oleo de copaiyba, e outros productos naturaes d'aquelle rico territorio, extrahidos pelos indios da missão, e comprando mercadorias estrangeiras.

Este commercio, diziam os cidadãos que representavam contra Fr. Pelino, é feito em grande parte por conta do missionario, que tem chegado até a fazer remessas de somas importantes para a Europa.

Mas o missionario negava este ultimo facto, e affirmava que o commercio que fazia era, não no interesse proprio, mas sim por conta dos indios da missão, que extrahiam dos mattos esses productos e aos quaes elle prestava conta.

Como quer que seja, não tendo o governo provas robustas que o convencessem de que o missionario se locupletara realmente, com prejuizo da missão, provas tanto mais necessarias, quanto mais graves eram as accusações, resolveu sustentar, e effectivamente sustentou o missionario e a missão.

Infelizmente, porém, novas occurrencias sobrevieram, novos factos se deram, que puseram em dura prova os creditos do missionario.

Os acontecimentos tomaram maior vulto; a questão foi largamente discutida na imprensa diaria e na tribuna da assembléa legislativa do Pará.

Na camara dos Srs. deputados, a voz authorisada do meu illustre amigo o Sr. Dr. Castão erguem-se em favor do missionario.

A opinião esclarecida do paiz manifestou-se de modo positivo, que não é indifferente á questão d'esta ordem.

Ficou fóra de duvidas, infelizmente, que o missionario sem sempre procurou corresponder dignamente á confiança que n'elle depositára o governo imperial.

Então o Sr. ministro da agricultura, por aviso de 22 de Dezembro de 1874, dispensou Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva do cargo de director da Missão do Bacabal, tomando ao mesmo tempo promptas e acertadas providencias para manter a mesma missão, e proseguir com o mesmo vigor com que até agora tem sido feito o serviço da catheches n'aquellas remotas regiões.

XXV

Commercio entre os regatões e os indios das margens do Alto-Tapajos.

A luta desabrida, travada entre os principaes cidadãos do municipio de Itaituba e o missionario do Bacabal, não teve outra causa senão o commercio feito com os indios.

Refiro-me aos indios que habitam a Missão do Bacabal e outros pontos das margens do Alto-Tapajos, e não aos *Mundurucus* das aldêas centraes, denominadas das Campinas, tam como Necodemos e outras.

Estes, verdadeiramente selvagens, não fazem commercio de natureza alguma, antes parecem evitar relações com missionarios e regatões.

O missionario do Bacabal accumulava as funcções de director do aldiamento, de almoxarife, de mestre-escola do sexo masculino e do feminino, e o de parocho. Não mostrava empenho de obter do governo auxiliares para tantos trabalhos diversos, e isolava completamente a missão do contacto dos moradores, e sobretudo dos regatões.

Todo o commercio dos indios do Bacabal era feito por seu intermedio directamente com a praça do Pará, e d'essas transacções elle não prestava conta alguma ao governo.

Procuramos agora dar uma idéa geral da maneira por que é feito o commercio no Alto-Tapajós.

O municipio de Itaituba, cujos limites vão além da Missão do Bacabal até as fronteiras de Mato Grosso, é um dos mais ricos do valle do Amazonas em productos naturaes.

Produz em larga escala borracha de excellente qualidade, genero a que as provincias do Pará e Amazonas devem o rapido desenvolvimento, que tem tido o seu commercio de exportação e importação.

O preço da borracha na praça do Pará tem regulado de $2000 até $2 o kilogramma, e só o Tapajós exporta annualmente cerca de cento e cincoenta mil kilogrammas, e maior seria a exportação, se houvesse braços sufficientes para colher todos os productos expontaneos do solo. O municipio produz tambem o guaraná, genero preciosissimo de reconhecidas propriedades medicinaes.

São os indios Mundurucus exclusivamente que cultivam a planta e preparam o producto; geralmente o preparam em forma de pão cylindrico; outras vezes, porém, moldam-o sob forma de animaes da fauna d'essas regiões, taes como aves, serpentes, tartarugas e outros, trabalhando n'este artefacto com notavel intelligencia e gosto artistico.

O guaraná na praça do Pará regula de $2 a $2 o kilogramma, e em Mato Grosso, onde se faz d'elle grande consumo, o preço é quatro vezes maior.

Cada tripulante das canôas, que navegam por essas regiões, toma todas as manhãs uma dosagem de guaraná, e mesmo varias vezes por dia, como preservativo contra as febres, e não com feliz resultado.

Produz ainda expontaneamente oleo de copaybia, saba-

parrilha e outros generos de alto preço e estimação em todos os mercados.

Agora mesmo leio em um acreditado jornal da capital do Pará a seguinte noticia:

« *Indios.*—Vieram a esta capital apresentar-se á presidencia, e promover a venda de duzentas e noventa e duas arrobas (mais de quatro mil kilogrammas), de borracha, um cacique e dezenove indios *Mundurucús*, aldiados na Missão do Bacabal.

« O fardamento do cacique, bem como a pintura da cara d'esses indios tem provocado a curiosidade do povo. »

O commercio do Alto-Tapajoz é feito por uma classe de negociantes, conhecidos pela designação de *regatões*, que, durante o verão e durante a safra da borracha, penetram por essas regiões em pequenas canoas carregadas de mercadorias. Difficil e arriscada é a navegação pelas cachoeiras; muitas vezes é necessario descarregar toda a canoa, transportar ao hombro a carga por terra na distancia de varios kilometros; depois passar a canoa á força de braços, carregal-a de novo e mais adiante recomeçar o mesmo trabalho, correndo a cada momento o perigo de soçobrar no meio dos innumeros rochedos que obstruem o curso do rio. Acrescem as privações, as febres, e algum assalto possivel de indios ferozes, como *Parintintins*. Alguns regatões, partindo de Itaituba, navegam n'outras regiões, remontando o rio durante um mez e as vezes dois.

Ahi não encontram com quem commerciar, a não ser os *Mundurucús* e alguns poucos *Mawés* selvagens, que andam nus ou semi-nus, não têm a menor noção da nossa lingua, nem do nosso alphabeto, nem do nosso systema de pesos e medidas, nem dos preços correntes dos generos que vendem, nem das mercadorias que compram.

Pois os regatões vendem a credito, parece incrivel, a usura-

gens, que não possuem outro capital além de uma machadinha para cortar a arvore da borracha, mercadorias, que em suas contas correntes atingem muitas vezes á cifra enorme de cinco, seis e sete contos de réis, e ao mais mais! Talvez não houvesse alli um indio que não fosse devedor de somma elevada. Quando se pergunta a estes indios quanto devem, respondem sempre: — *Quem sabe! Só o patrão é que pode saber!* dando sempre o titulo de patrão ao seu credor.

O regatão, credor por sua parte tambem, considera o indio devedor como seu servo; segundo entende mais conveniente a seus interesses, manda-o para as florestas extrahir borracha, prohibindo-lhe expressamente de vendel-a a outro qualquer negociante, ou então leva-o em sua canôa como remeiro, ou leva para sua propria casa quando se acaba a safra e o faz trabalhar debaixo de suas vistas. Levam este abuso odioso a ponto de reduzir os indios a uma especie de escravidão; negam-lhes o direito de irem para onde lhes convem, e se por acaso evadem-se occultamente, elles o vão capturar á viva força.

Muitos lavradores tambem têm um certo numero de indios sob a sua sujeição, e a seu serviço. Eu vi muitos d'estes selvagens, homens, mulheres e crianças, retidos á força em casa dos lavradores. Quando um d'estes credores vem a fallecer, o indio vai para casa d'aquelle a quem cabe em partilha a sua divida. Uma vez eu perguntei ao Alto-Tapajoz a quem *pertencia* um indio *por* quem eu me interessava; responderam-me: «*Ainda não se sabe, porque ainda não está feita a partilha da casa do antigo patrão que morreu ha pouco tempo.*»

Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva, chamando para a Missão do Barabal grande numero d'estes infelizes, lhes disse: «Meus filhos, vocês nada devem aos regatões contrabandistas;

agora só trabalham para si, para suas mulheres e seus filhos.»

XXVI

Commercio dos indios com os regatões.—Contas correntes fabulosas e curiosas.

O missionario do Bacabal mostrou-me varias contas correntes, passadas pelos regatões aos indios, nas quaes estes figuravam sempre como devedores d'aquelles de quantias muito elevadas.

Adiante transcrevemos a conta corrente entre o regatão Manoel Quirino Paes e o indio cacique Joaquim Correia Piampé. Em seguida damos a mesma conta corrente, mas já calculada em moeda e com os respectivos preços.

Por ella se verá, que ainda mesmo suppondo que tivesse havido exactidão e lisura quanto á quantidade e qualidade das mercadorias vendidas, e quanto ao peso de borracha comprada, ainda assim as mercadorias foram vendidas ao indio com percentagem de 400 por cento.

Segue-se outra conta corrente, pela qual se vê que o cacique José Francisco é devedor ao regatão José Domingos de Oliveira da enorme summa de seis contos oitocentos setenta e seis mil duzentos e oitenta e dois réis!

Parece uma transacção feita entre ricas partes; mas José Domingos de Oliveira não é mais do que um pobre regatão, estabelecido em modesta cabana á margem do Alto-Tapajoz, e o cacique José Francisco é um selvagem analphabeto, semi-nú.

1: Tocantins SQ13 Mundurucu

CONTA CORRENTE

« O cacique Joaquim Corrêa Piampé deve a Manoel Quirino Paes até 28 de Março:

2 peças de americano grosso, 80 jardas	5 arrob., seringa.	
2 peças de riscado forte, 80 jardas	5	»
1 peça de riscado xadrez, 35 jardas	1	» e meia.
4 peças, fino largo, 80 jardas . .	4	»
2 peças de lenços	1	»
10 alqueires de sal.	6	»
2 barris de polvora, 50 lib. ; 3 arrobas de chumbo	10	»
8 frasqueiras de cachaça com garrafão	10	»
6 milheiros de espoletas. . . .	2	»
1 caixa de sabão, 42 lib. . . .	1	»
1 libra de linha de novellos. . .	1/2	»
5 armas fulminantes.	5	»
1 chapéo preto fino	3	»
2 duzias de terçados americanos .	7	»
1 duzia de terçados americanos grandes	3	»
9 isqueiros com fuzil.	1	» e 4 lib.
100 pederneiras de fogo	11	» e 8 »
4 facas pampas	2	»
Resto da conta de 1870.	11	»
Somma.	76 1/2 arrobas.	

« A 16 de Fevereiro de 1872 recebi vinte e cinco arrobas de seringa, duas arrobas de sernambi e cinco ditas de breu. Resta-me cincoenta arrobas. »

Para dar uma idéa mais clara d'esta transacção, damos em seguida esta mesma conta corrente, mas reduzida já á nossa moeda, com os preços correntes na praça do Pará, relativos á época em que foi feita a permuta.

Por elle se vê que as mercadorias foram vendidas ao indio com uma porcentagem de mais de 400 por cento.

Generos vendidos, a receber em borracha	BORRACHA A RECEBER							
	Custo	Somma	Com 100 %	Por	@	lb	Preço	TOTAL
2 Peças de americano grosso legitimo, 80 jardas	$440	35$200	70$400	por	5	»	25$000	125$000
2 Peças de riscado forte legitimo, 80 jardas	$660	52$800	105$600	»	5	»	»	125$000
1 » » » xadrez, 35 jardas	$260	9$100	18$200	»	1	10	»	32$812
4 » » » largo, 85 jardas	$400	34$000	68$000	»	4	»	»	100$000
2 » » lenços	5$000	10$000	20$000	»	1	»	»	25$000
10 Alqueiros de sal	1$600	16$000	32$000	»	6	»	»	150$000
2 Barris com 50 lb. de polvora	1$000	50$000	100$000	»	10	»	»	250$000
3 Arrobas de chumbo	4$400	13$200	26$400					
8 Frasqueiras com cachaça, com garrafas	6$000	48$000	96$000	»	10	»	»	250$000
6 Milheiros d'espoletas	1$000	6$000	12$000	»	2	»	»	50$000
1 Caixa com sabão (42 lb.)	$400	16$800	33$600	»	1	»	»	25$000
1 Lb. linha em novellos	1$500	1$500	3$000	»		16	»	1$500
5 Espingardas entrefinas	15$000	75$000	150$000	»	5	»	»	125$000
6 Chapéos pretos finos	4$000	24$000	48$000	»	3	»	»	75$000
2 Duzias terçados americanos legitimos	25$000	50$000	100$000	»	7	»	»	175$000
1 Duzia machados grandes legitimos		32$000	64$000	»	3	»	»	75$000
9 Isqueiros com fuzil		4$000	8$000	»	1	4	»	28$124
100 Pederneiras		2$000	4$000	»		8	»	6$250
4 Facas pampas	$500	2$000	4$000	»		20	»	15$625
		481$000	962$200		65	26		1.645$312

Saldou a conta antiga, e deu por conta da presente conta o seguinte:

9 Arrobas de borracha a 25$000	225$000	
2 Arrobas de Seruambi a 16$000	32$000	
5 Arrobas de Breu a 2$000	10$000	267$000
		1.378$312

[p. 161]

OUTRA CONTA CORRENTE

Cacique José Francisco da Boa-Vista a José Domingos de Oliveira Bahia, comprou as seguintes mercadorias e

				DÉBITO
		Importância que ficou devendo desde 11 de Agosto de 1870 até 9 de Junho de 1871.		3:906$915
Junho 9 1871	1	Jaró de Fazil		5$000
	3	Duzias de colheres de chumbo	1$000	3$000
	25	Rolos de cobre	1$225	30$625
	16	Tesouras finas	$500	8$000
	1	Barrica com 25 libras de polvora	19$000	19$000
	1/2	Arrobas de chumbo	10$500	5$250
	2	Galhas de kerosene	6$000	12$000
	12	Mazzas de cobre	1$000	12$000
	12	Mazzas de mineiras brancas finas	$500	6$000
	6	Fraqueiras de cachaça	12$000	72$000
	12	Terçados americanos		54$000
	2	Baluis de tres palmos	12$000	24$000
	2	Caixas de sabão com 90 libras	$500	25$000
	1/2	Arrobas de assucar	19$000	9$500
	1/2	Dúzia de café velho		9$525
	2	Vidros de balsamo Philantropico	1$000	2$000
	2	Frascos de salsaparrilha de Bristol	$400	2$800
	2	Vidros de Opodeldoc	$200	2$400
	1	Garrafa de oleo de amendoa doce	5$500	10$000
	6 1/2	Covados de baeta encarnada	$800	4$600
	1	Caixa de grochra Altona		12$000
	6	Chapeos finos de feltro	5$000	30$000
	6	Copos de pedra		3$000
	120	Pedrenheiras	1$000	2$000
	5	Alqueires de sal rescaeiros	5$000	25$000
	2	Arrobas de arroz	7$500	15$000
	20	Ouvidos para armas	$300	6$000
	2	Molhos de tabaco, digo 1 dito de 4 libras	7$000	14$000
	100	Pregos meia forca		1$500
	4	Latas de bolachinhas de soda	1$500	6$000
	2	Machados americanos	3$500	7$000
Março 23 1871	12	Libras de sabão	$400	4$800
	1/2	Grosa de botões		$600
	2	Alqueires de sal	5$000	10$000
Junho 9 1871	10	Armas fulminantes finas	28$000	280$000
	2	Peças de americano, marca nova, 83 jardas	$656	54$528

	3	Ditas inglesas, 68 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	1	Dita de drill branco, 42 1/2 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	3	Ditas linho largo, cores 80 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Ditas de dita, escrevia, 30 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	1	Dita de drill azul, 42 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	1	Dita de riscadilho francesa, 34 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	1	Dita lorin, superior, 20 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	1	Dita de napão azul, 14 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Ditas de riscadilho nacional, 70 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	1	Dita azul e branco, 34 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	3	Ditas de superior qualidade, 72 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Ditas de chitas finas de cores, 7 1/2 covados	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Ditas cinzas, 74 covados e 2/3	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Ditas azul, 74 covados e 2/3	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Ditas escarlatas, 74 covados e 2/3	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	6	Cartas de cuipa de drill	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	3	Pares de lenços finos de cores	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	1	Serrote grande		[illegible]
	2	Duzias de facas Pampas, grandes	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Ditas de penteis de sortiga, ditos, ao 22	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Libras de linha de costilhinhas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	3	Duzias de cartinhas de dito	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2000	Anzóis	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	24	Peças de cinchos de cores	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	3	Cruzes de bordas para canoas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	6	Ditas de morta	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	7	Libras de linha de pescar	$[illegible]	[illegible]
Julho 16 1871	5	Milheiros de espoletas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	4	Duzias de cinzamões	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Peças de chitas finas de cores, 7 2/3 covados	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Ditas americanas, marca nova, 83 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	3	Ditas ditas, linho, largo, 6 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	16	Latas de pomadas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Frascos de vinagre	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	6	Ditas de vinho tinto	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	4	Duzias de tigelas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	6	Pares de chocarras	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	1	Frasqueira de cachaça		[illegible]
	1	Duzia de pratos brancos finos		[illegible]
	4	Garrafas de agua Florida	$[illegible]	[illegible]
Outubro 2 de 1871	300	Pregos de ferro		[illegible]
	2	Frasqueiras de cachaça	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	1	Peça de americano trançado legítimo, 42 jardas	$[illegible]	[illegible]
	2	Garrafas de licor	$[illegible]	[illegible]

	1	Dente de lutra Petrigan, grande. . . .	11$040	11$040
		Dinheiro que pediu.		4$000
	1	Cabeça de onça para enxaqueca. .		$500
	24	Saias de cores.	1$500	36$000
	1	Molho de tabaca.		1$000
	10	Libras de sacoar.	$200	2$000
Dezembro	1	Milheiro de espinhos.		1$000
2 de 1971	0,2	Frasqueira de enxaqueca		4$000
Março 2	1	Molho de tabaca.		1$000
1972		Importancia que pagou a Paulo Christo Cum se 10 % da dita quantia.		41$000
				6e$1.1.1
		Somma S. E. . .		6.074$202
		DAS DATAS:		
	2	Arcuhas de miranda.	$000	2$000
	13	Arcuhas de serrugo fina, embarcadas para capital por sua conta e risco.		

Jacareacanga, 9 de Março de 1972.

José Domingos de Oliveira Rabelo.

XXVIII

Estado actual dos indigenas no valle do Amazonas.

Os altos poderes do Estado não descuram da sorte das populações indigenas que ainda andam errantes pelas florestas, como animaes bravios, e a lei do orçamento consagra todos os annos certa importante para este ramo do serviço publico.

Mas o governo encontra grandes difficuldades para realisar este nobre emprêso, sendo uma das principaes a falta de missionarios, e d'pessoal idoneo e dedicado.

A experiencia tem sufficientemente provado que não se póde contar com o concurso do clero nacional.

No valle do Amazonas a população indigena póde-se considerar dividida em duas partes bem distinctas. Uma, composta dos descendentes dos antigos selvagens, tratados das brenhas dos missionarios de outr'ora; são actualmente, não dos christãos sem catholicos, porque baptizados. Vivem n ligeiras cabanas, ás margens dos rios; caçam, pescam e extrahem das matas productos naturaes, que vendem aos commerciantes.

Quando crianças si levados ao pirucho que os baptisa, e voltam á cabana paterna, crescem e vivem á lei da natureza; mas são considerados catholicos e como taes figuram nas estatisticas. Entretanto, indifferentes aos preceitos do christianismo, mesmo porque os ignoram, conservam-se aferrados a superstições de sua antiga mythologia.

A maior parte d'elle não ouve sequer uma vez em todo o decurso de sua existencia a explicação da doutrina christã.

A outra parte da população indigena é a que se acha

ainda inteiramente selvagem. Esta vai-se afastando cada vez mais das margens do Amazonas, e procura de preferencia os cursos superiores de seus affluentes. Por esta forma collocam entre si e as populações baptisadas uma larga secção de cachoeiras.

Mas esta especie de territorio neutro é constantemente invadida pelos regatões, que penetram com incrivel audacia pelos mais recondidos sertões; e vão, arrostando mil perigos conviver o selvagem, não para dedicar-se á lavoura, mas para extrahir borracha, salsa e outros generos de permuta. Assim, são os regatões que vão attrahindo um por um os habitantes das selvas para o campo do trabalho.

Mesquinho é, pois, o quinhão que coube ás populações indigenas do valle do Amazonas, na partilha d'este thesouro de prosperidade, que a civilisação e o christianismo lhes devia trazer. Para ellas parece que Colombo não veiu á America nem Christo ao mundo.

Ainda esboçarei um ligeiro quadro da vida d'estes desherdados de fortuna, e será o ultimo.

A' margem esquerda do Alto-Tapajoz, no meio da secção das cachoeiras, não longe de Bacabal, e entre esta missão e a importante villa de Itituba encontrei as ruinas de uma antiga feitoria.

Eram destroços de quatro vastas casas, cobertas de palha de palmeiras, que foram propriedade de um temerario sertanejo de nome Manoel Quirino Paes, que pouco tempo antes tinha sido assassinado, deixando após si grande fama.

Era um mulato, que devera da provincia de Mato Grosso como simples remeiro de canôa, ganhando mesquinho salario por trabalhos longos e desconsoladores.

Mas o mulato abandonou a canôa e o patrão, e fixou-se n'esses logares, occupando-se da extracção de borracha.

Depois associou a si, como companheiro e camarada, um indio *Mawés*, depois outro, depois mais outro, até que ultimamente teve em sua companhia perto de cem indios de ambos os sexos.

Dotado de grande energia e methodo de trabalho, apoderou-se de uma larga zona de terra em cada uma das margens do rio, e de uma importante ilha que fica de permeio—que tudo era terreno nacional devoluto.

Este territorio poderia conter cerca de cinco mil arvores de borracha. Logo ao amanhecer o activo sertanejo fazia seguir em todas as direcções para os seus seringues uma flotilha de ligeiras canôas, e á tarde cada indio regressava, trazendo pouco mais ou menos cinco kilos de borracha. Bem entendido, que todos os indios trabalhavam por conta do laborioso mulato, que durante a safra da borracha podia fazer, e fazia sem esforço, uma receita diaria no valor superior de cento e cincoenta mil réis.

A exportação que fazia annualmente d'este genero era realmente consideravel, e eu ouvi varios commerciantes de Itaituba calcularem-n'a em quantia superior a vinte contos. Tornado assim opulento, o mulato trazia os indios em verdadeiro e rigoroso captiveiro. Ai d'aquelle que tentasse amentar-se de sua feitoria!

As mulheres eram empregadas em serviço de casa, e não iam ao mato cortar borracha. Nem por isso o captiveiro era menos duro.

Entre as captivas havia uma moça da tribu *Mawés*, de nome Francisca, que, indignada, nunca pôde curvar-se ao despotismo e aos caprichos deshonestos d'esse tyrannete. Duas vezes tentou fugir, mas ambas foi capturada e rigorosamente castigada.

Então concebeu o firme proposito de vingar-se, e confiou a execução de sua justa vingança a um indio, ainda

criança, da tribu *Apiacá*. A india entregou uma espingarda carregada a este rapaz, conhecido pelo nome e appellido de José Apiacá, e o levou uma noite de embuscada defronte da porta por onde tinha de entrar o sertanejo. Quando este appareceu José Apiacá bateu; mas a india, que se conservava a seu lado quiz, arrancar-lhe a arma da mão, tratando-o de fraco e sem brio. Então José Apiacá desfechou o tiro, cahindo o verdugo morto, cravado em jarros de mangue.

Levados ao jury em Santarem, Francisca Manoel declarou-se unica autora do crime; e quando a curta mãi perante o tribunal, mostrou as pernas ainda com os vestigios dos ferros que por longo tempo soffrêra.

Diante de um auditorio numeroso e transido de pasmo, a india indignada revelou as scenas de barbaridades e horrivel desmandão, que tinham por theatro a fazenda d'aquelle homem ferez, e por victimas ella, e suas companheiras de captiveiro e de infortunio. O jury a absolveu.

José Apiacá, menino de physionomia doce e attrahente, declarou que matara o algoz para libertar as suas companheiras e para vingar Francisca Manoel, a quem amava.

O jury o condemnou, e o infeliz acha-se actualmente cumprindo sentença na casa de correcção da Bahia.

Os indios da fazenda dispersaram-se immediatamente. Ha cerca de quatro annos que recuperaram a liberdade quando menos o esperavam; e a heroica criança que lhes quebrou os ferros da escravidão, longe dos seus, esquecido em sua prisão, ainda nem mesmo attingiu á maioridade.

XXIX

Regresso desde o rio Mundurucu até as cabeceiras do Cabrury. O grito de selvagem. Despedida.

Quando chegou, enfim, a hora do meu regresso, fui de casa em casa despedir-me de todos os habitantes de Neodirum.

N'esta occasião trouxe *Mundurucú*, em cujo numero estava o que me havia feito presente da cabeça *Puriatinóo*, tomaram seus arcos e flechas, e puzeram-se em movimento de me acompanhar, sem ter-me dito cousa alguma a respeito d'esta resolução. Confesso que não fazia o menor empenho de ver em minha companhia estes barbaros durante oito dias atravez essas matas bastas e desertas, antes fazia sinceros votos para que se ficassem em paz em suas malocas.

Disse-lhes que eu já não tinha farinha nem viveres, e que impossivel seria a cerca de vinte homens, que tantos ficavamos sendo, caminhar durante tanto tempo sem recurso algum.

Mas esta questão em nada os preoccupava: apenas levavam comigo algumas batatas, que quando muito poderiam bastar para um frugal almoço.

Não sei realmente de que aquelles homens se sustentavam durante esta viagem. Iam constantemente caçando, e apanhando aves, lagartos e fructos silvestres, com que se nutriram.

De espaço a espaço encontravamos limpidos e deliciosissimos regatos, e os selvagens nunca perdiam occasião de atirar-se n'estas frescas correntes, tanto mais que nenhum trabalho tinham de despir-se nem de vestir-se. A' noite nos reuniamos ao som da buzina, e sempre pousavamos á beira

do um riacho, que vai serpentando em todas as direcções, ou correndo atravez dos campos, ou á sombra de matas virgens.

Depois da refeição da tarde cada um de nós armava sua rede; aquellas que as não traziam faziam camas de ramos de arvores.

Manio e *Mundurucú* dormiam tranquillamente ao lado um do outro, tribus outr'ora inimigas implacaveis, que não se encontravam sem bater-se.

Tenho muitas vezes ouvido falar no silencio profundo dos desertos. Mas durante a noite, n'estas solidões, um só momento não se passa de silencio absoluto. Mil vozes descompassadas, umas perto, outras ao longe, roucas ou agudas, estridentes ou plangentes—cantar de ramos uns sobre outros, chilrar de insectos, o silvo de reptis e o cantar lugubre de aves nocturnas, constituem uma orchestra de singular effeito.

No meio d'estes sons discordantes ouve-se um grito ao mesmo tempo agudo e plangente, que parece mudar continuamente de logar.

Os *Mawés*, genio da nação *Tupy*, diziam ser o *grito de ouhanyé*. Mas, apezar de eu os interrogar varias vezes sobre este assumpto, não consegui saber se elles attribuiam o grito simplesmente a um pequeno veado branco, que designam pelo nome de *ouhanyé*, ou se o attribuiam ao espirito máligno, que, segundo suas crenças, costumam encarnar-se em veado para os vir enganar e desviar-os do caminho quando vão á caça. Entretanto, quando fallavam em *ouhanyé*, não davam manifestação alguma de terror superticioso.

Pois a theogonia *tupy* representa o principio do mal simplesmente sob a figura de um veado matreiro, que tece engenhosos ardiz para transviar os caçadores.

Já não é Siva, sempre sedento de sangue como se affi-

gravou na mais remota civilização sacerdotal, com o Arcibispado dos pernas.

Está mesmo muito longe da figura, ao mesmo tempo terrível e carnavalesca, de Satanás, de que tanto falavam os antigos missionários em suas prédicas e em suas chronicas.

A' cabeceira do Cadeiroy passei o ultimo dia e a ultima noite em companhia dos *Mundurucus* que desde Tocodomas me haviam acompanhado.

Fiz-lhes presentes de todo quanto eu trazia em minha canôa, menos de objectos de aço, não particular que não me fossem estrictamente necessarios, e senti profundamente não poder o'essa occasião dispor de mais recursos para obsequial-os.

A' ultima hora ainda insisti com estes selvagens, para que viessem ver nossas cidades, ou ao menos para que mandassem alguns de seus filhos, comprometendo-me eu a fazel-os regressar mais tarde para a companhia de seus pais.

Alguns apenas responderam por um signal negativo, e outros sem siquer responderam, como se não considerassem o convite digno de ser tomado em consideração.

Parece que sobre estes miseros selvagens e seus filhos cahe com todo o rigor da fatalidade o terrivel anathema— de que resumem os livros santos: *Vagus et profugus eris super terram.*

[pp 162- end not processed]

2: Kruse 34-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Manduruca SQ13

000

Vol. VII, No. 6 October, 1934

PRIMITIVE MAN

CONTENTS

PAGE

Monument Mysteries 51
ALBERT KRUSE

Wampum Bibs 58
F. WELLS

Some Anthropological Books of 1934 64
JOHN M. COOPER

Index to Volume VII 68

PUBLISHED BY THE
CATHOLIC ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONFERENCE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

[Title Page]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PRIMITIVE MAN

Quarterly Bulletin

of the

Catholic Anthropological Conference

Vol. VII | October, 1934 | No. 4

MUNDURUCU MORTERS

Rev. Albert Kruse, O.F.M.

Kururú Mission, Cumaru do Tapajoz, Estado do Pará, Brazil

Introduction

[96] THE warrior tribe of the Mundurucú is divided into four chief groups: the Tapajós, the Madeira, the Xingú, and the Juruena Mundurucú. The Tapajós Mundurucú, numbering about [64] 900 souls, inhabit the Tapajós river country from the Cururu to the Rio das Tropas, these two rivers being affluents of the Tapajós flowing in from the east. According to native tradition, the [97] Wiasuyen, who are related by language to the Tapajós Mundurucú, should be included with them; they live in the region around the source of the Rio Maruim, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing in from the right. I have no data on the population of the Wiasuyen. The Madeira Mundurucú came from the Tapajós in the second half of the eighteenth century and acquired territory for themselves in the State of Amazonas. They were visited by Martius. [98] Nimuendajú estimates their strength at approximately 800 souls. [99] The Xingú Mundurucú are the Kurusiya. They live in small groups of from one to four houses along the uppermost left tributaries of the Igarapé da Flecha, a large easterly tributary of

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[C] the middle Rio Cururú in Brazil. According to Nimuendajú they number about 120 souls. The Jurueina Mundurucú are also called Xpambikwirgu.

From the Mundurucú are also supposed to be descended the Guaiajára. They were settled on the Rio Guruçá near Cerzedello in 1818. So says Martius.

Tribal Names

[C] a. What do the Tapajós Mundurucú call themselves? A designation for the whole tribe does not exist. When a Mundurucú speaks of his fellow tribesmen, he simply calls them *wadyr'aye*, "our own", "our people". The word is compounded of the absolute inclusive pronoun *wadyr*, "we", and the plural suffix, *aye*. Thus it has the meaning: "A great many of our own", "a plurality of our own". The Mundurucú language seems to have no word for man, human being. Expressions like the following are used: "I belong to the Red Arara *ob*"; "he belongs to the Sariguéia-tauba *ob*"; "there come the Japu (people of Japu *ob*)"; "we met people of the *Hugi*-wasp *ob*"; "some of the Mutum *ob*". For the list of *obs*, see infra under social organization.

The Madeira Mundurucú, and the Kurusiva, that is, the Xingú Mundurucú, are held by the Tapajós Mundurucú to be relatives

126 [1] The following phonetic symbols are used: *ä* = German *ä* (palatal); *ü* = German *ü* (palatal); vowel with slide = nasalized vowel; *ã* = nasalized *a*; falling diphthongs in which both vowels are pronounced distinctly have small superior second vowel; *ʼ* = German *ach*; *ñ* = *ng* (guttural nasal); *s* = dental *s*; *s* = always voiceless; *r* as in English but pronounced with lips closer together; *w* as in English "water"; *x* = German *ch*; *y* as in English "yes.". The spiritus lenis (stimmbarer Kehlkopfverschlaut) occurs always between two vowels, and often before words beginning with a vowel; in these cases it is not indicated in transcription; in other cases it is indicated by *q*. Weak sounds are enclosed in brackets. Colon after vowel = long vowel. Accent is on last syllable, except where otherwise indicated by accent mark (') following vowel.

The palatal vowels *ä* and *ü* are acoustically related to German *ä* and *ü*, but they are not identical with them. Nimuendajú writes me (personal letter, 1931): "A genuine *ä* and *ü*, such, for example, as occur in German, are found in none of the more than seventy Indian languages which I have heard with my own ears. Up to the present, I have heard these two sounds only in Urupá; but they do not occur even in Tuká, which is most closely related to Urupá".

2: Kruse M-S (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

or kin, *kar'pepe*. The Xingú Mundurucú are also called by the Tupiyiu Mundurucú *Tyanpirinmat*, "Tamirana tribe or clan", as they make their loin, arm and ankle bands out of tamirana bark. The linguistically related Wiyuyen are called *i kuiwem*, "hidden"—hidden in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Manum.

b. By what names are the Mundurucú known to other tribes? These names differ much. The Mundurucú are called among the Apiacá, their friends, by the name of Pari, or Ipiwi'p, or Mundurukú; among the Bacairi, Mundurukú; among the Chipaya, Karuriú; among the Juruna, Kaluriú; among the Kuruáya, Karudur (compare Mundurucuan *Karo-ruat*, Red Arara sib); among the Mataraquá, Paiú; among the Mura, Pattú; among the Tupapi'r, Tourunú (?); among the Parecí, Saruma (see infra); among the Tora, Kaubeb; among a more distant tribe, Akikakure. Among the Dyurupáia, a "giant" Indian tribe, the Mundurucú are called Tapiá'n. The Dyurupáia say: "When we come, they cry *tapiá'n* and then flee". The reference is here to the tribe which the Apiacá call Urupá. The Dyurupáia must speak Apiacá. In Apiacá, *tapiá'n*, *tapiá'n*, means "Indian, stranger". Among the Wirafadeweu, the Mundurucú are called Tupaiyá'n, so the Mundurucú say.

c. How are the Mundurucú called by the "civilized" people? The most common designation is Mundurucú. Nothing certain is known about the origin or meaning of this name, so I shall not go into the matter here. They are also called Caras Pretas, "Black Faces", on account of the dark (not black) tattooing on their faces. Their third name is Pakisé. The word comes from the Lingua Geral, a corrupted Tupí-dialect, and means "Father Knife", as the Mundurucú were known as head hunters, although not as cannibals.

In the State of Matto Grosso the Mundurucú were known as Sarumá (see supra). As Von den Steinen noted, they lived there next to the Apiacá, and disturbed all the tribes of the Arinos and Xingú region by their attacks.

d. How do the Mundurucú call outsiders? Every non-Mundurucú, be he a "Brown-shirt" or be he some one with a pretension to a veneer of culture, is a *parinot*, a foreigner, to the "wolf-hunters". But of course the Mundurucú living on the

[see errata sheet, Category 116, p 57A - Analysis]

2: Krause M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Madeira and the Xingú are not partners to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *kawiyaje*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Batuwerera. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Bindunaurowat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenses" [people of Ceará ?], the Carawat, known as "Mossorhéiros," have a bad reputation. The *Jodewaje*, the Jews, are hated, as having treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in that, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaiká fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is how culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[See errata sheet, category H, p. 57—A.—Analyst]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children. 142

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems. 64

The ancestors of the sib are called *tubé* or *ti*, and are embodied (verkoerpert) in the large *kaduke*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kaduke* are blown at the men's festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mésiri*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the *kaduke* from above, is caught in a cúia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children. [53] [76] [272]

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants. [59]

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the "Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by Karusakaibé,—himself a "Red",—since he belonged to the *Karuruut*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibé is considered as an unheard-of thing. 614 616

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become members of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i barip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related". 614

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly had *Maga tuaket*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last 342

[See arrata shell, category 116, p. 57-A. -- Analyst]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

such hut stood until recently upon the Ikuribi, a plain not far from our Cururu mission.

I shall now give the names of the moieties and of the respective sibs under each moiety:

A. Moiety of the Whites, *i ririty'nye*

1. *Ari* tree (m). 2. Cotton bush (m). 3. *Datye* sparrow hawk. 4. Sloth. 5. Fish otter. 6. *Ikũ* sparrow hawk. 7. *Ikupi* wasp. 8. Jabuti [Land tortoise]. 9. Japim [?]. 10. Toad. 11. Macaco de cheiro [Chrysothrix ?]. 12. Macaco prego [Cebus fatuellus]. 13. Piaba [a fish]. 14. Seringueira-Itaúba (m) [rubber tree]. 15. Spider. 16. Swamp deer (Sumpfhirsch). 17. Taperibazeiro (m) [genus Spondias ?]. 18. Wild cat (Wildkatze). 19. *Y'utu* tree (m).

B. Moiety of the Reds, *i pappika'nye*

20. Corôca [a bird ?]. 21. Cutia [aguti, Dasyprocta]. 22. Jacu [guan, Penelope]. 23. Japu [Cassicus, Ostinops or Xanthornus]. 24. *Kahahebu* bird. 25. *Kapak* (Red Juriti ? *W'arcmarya pakpak-tinat* ?]. 26. Mãe da lua [a nocturnal bird]. 27. Mutum [curassow, Crax]. 28. Roe-deer (Reh). 29. Red Arara [red macaw]. 30. Saúba [an ant, Oecodoma cephalotes]. 31. Black Arara [black macaw]. 32. *U'yui* wasp. 33. *W'aru* tree (m). 34. Cricket (Zirpe).[2]

Traditional Origin of the Sib System

The sibs are supposed originally to have been independent tribes. "Os *rinat* foram primeiro nações," was told me without my inquiring into this fact. The tribes had been at war with one another. Then came Karusakaibe and united them into one large nation, the Mundurucú confederacy. This great Indian event is supposed to have taken place where the Tapajós Mundurucú now live.

"Who told you this?" I asked my informant, a man who was in his best years. "An old man of the plain told me that," was the answer. In order to be more certain, I had the story repeated later in Mundurucú. This is the translation:

[2] The identifications, given in angular brackets in these two paragraphs, have been added by the editor,—in some cases tentatively only,—from more readily available sources in ZE, JSAP, etc.—Ed.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p.57-A -- Analyst

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

"In olden days the sibs, *rinut*, lived very far apart from one another. They warred among themselves. Then they became brothers.[2] Karusakaibè said, 'No more killing! Let us just be brothers.' 'Now let us be gay. Now everything is all right,' said he."

In this manner through Karusakaibè there arose the Mundurucú confederacy. The brave "Black-faces" have done quite right in giving this noble Indian the honorable title "*Our Father*". As they express it, *Karusakaibè wey ebai*, "Karusakaibè is our father."

Myth of Early Matriarchy and of its Abolition

This tale was received in two versions. I shall here relate the shorter of the two.

"In olden days the women were in possession of the Men's House, *ĕksa*, while the men lived in the Big House, *ĕkqa*.

"The men had to do all the work for the women. They had to hunt, fetch firewood, and even provide the mandioca roots and bake the meal. All these things they did. They also carried the water.

"Now, at this time three women—namely, Yanyubèri, the ruler of our people, Taiñbiru and Paraware—found three *kaduke*. They took these wind instruments in a brook: they caught three little Jeju fishes. They tried the instruments. 'They sound good,' said they. Now they played: they played every day in the forest. Secretly they went there. Then the men became suspicious. 'Where can the women be going all the time?' they said. They hid themselves and kept watch. Then it was that they saw how the women played. Said the men, 'What shall we do?' 'We don't know,' they concluded. Then said the youngest brothers of Yanyubèri, that is Marimarebè and Mariburubè: 'Let us take the *kaduke* away from them. Why, the women folk don't even hunt, whereas we have to take this work upon ourselves alone!' So they spoke, and took the *kaduke* for themselves. They tried them. 'They sound good,' they said. Then they played.

[2] Wia"nyen of Wituri appeared in October, 1927. From the signs which they left behind them, our Mundurucú concluded that these people who speak a related language wanted to become brothers.

[See errata sheet, category III, p. 57-A.—Analyst]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

THE following corrections and additions should be made to the article "Mundurucú Moieties", by Father Albert Kruse, O.F.M., in PRIMITIVE MAN, Oct., 1934, 8: 51-57:

p. 53, line 9: Itāwā't instead of Itᵉwā't
line 13: Matanawi instead of Matanawi
line 15: Kaubé'k instead of Kaubèk
line 17: "The Mundurucú say" instead of "The Dyurupéa say"
lines 17 and 20: *Tapia'ᵉñ, tapiaᵉñ* instead of *Tapia'ᵉn, tapiaᵉn*
p. 54, line 4: Parawat instead of Parowat
line 6: "Cearenser," Carawat, are the people of Ceará
line 7: *pudeu'nye* instead of *pudeu'nye*
line 9: 1926 instead of 1826; Apiacá instead of Apaicá
p. 55, line 9: *ñçñ*, ç pronounced as h (of "Phonetic Transcription of Indian Languages," Smithson. Misc. Coll., v. 66, no. 6, p. 14)
p. 56, line 14: *i pakpa'ka'nye* instead of *i pappéka'nye*
p. 57, last line: add: "Then the women grew sad, as they could no longer look upon the kaduke. They went sobbing into the Big House. And the men took possession, in their stead, of the Men's House".

[p. 57-A]

3: Martius N-5 (1817) 1867 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

000

The Indian Folk Societies, Tribes and Hordes in Brazil and Several Neighboring Districts, Land and Peoples (Die indianischen Völkerschaften, Stämme und Horden in Brasilien und einigen benachbarten Gebieten, Land und Leute)

By Carl F. P. von Martius

Leipzig: 1867

Beiträge Zur Ethnographie Amerika's zumal Brasiliens, pp. 385-400. Freidrich Fleischer

Human Relations Area Files

1959

[Title page]

Indians in the River Regions of Tapajôz

101 [385] There are still more tribes in the area between the Tapajôz
726 and Madeira, an area still today almost inaccessible, but of these tribes we have hardly any other information than that they are enemies of the Mundurucu, by whom they are being persecuted to the point of extinction. The same is true of the Jumas, Parentintins, and the Araras who live near the sources of the Rio Mauhe and from there westward. Probably to escape this persecution the Jumas and the Araras, the latter distinguished by their graceful feather finery, have moved to the parish of S. Antonio de Araretama (Borba) on the eastern bank of the Madeira, 25 legoas above the river mouth. And the Parintintins, described as a very industrious, [386] accomplished tribe live partly in the village of Jatapdon, on the left bank of the river of the same name. Whether this tribe is to be considered identical with the so-called Coroados, "the Shorn," who are also supposed to be living in the Tapajôz is uncertain. Certain is, however, that [727] the skulls of their enemies, which the Mundrucûs preserve, show a shorn pate. According to other reports the Parintintins are said to have the inside of their fore arms tattooed at the wrist and to be cannibals. Castelnau [Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud] names them among the tribes still at war with the Brasilians (III, 307). *

> *Earlier the following were mentioned [as living] on the Arinos and Juruena: the Apaunuarias, Marixitâs, Apicuricûs, Muquirîâs, Ereruas. No trace is left of these, but there is a group known as the Anyurias and another called the Apecuarias. Hyspodiaei are sometimes seen among the Indians of the Tapajûz. Revista trimensal 1847. Ser. II Tom. 2, p. 5. 96.

000 All these tribes have little claim to our attention and I shall leave undecided whether those mentioned first (a - h) are fragments of the Apiacas and Mundrucus who are dominant here or whether they have

a different origin. Since I have already given the essential material about the Apiacas it might, however, be appropriate to repeat here what I reported about the Mundrucus (Reise in Brasilien III. 1308 et. seq., 1337.) for no other traveller has actually observed these remarkable Indians in their native habitat.

The Mundrucus, Mondurucus, Mundurucus, Moturicus
(called by the Apiacas Pari)

The Mundrucus are, together with the Apiacas, the ruling tribe in the northern basin of the Tapajoz. Their largest aldea de S. Manoel, which has trade connections with the Brasilians, lies about a day's journey below the junction of the Rio Arinos with the Juruena at the Rio negro (vermelho).

[387] When I met the first Mundrucus in the Mission Novo Monte Carmel de Canoma I had to admit that I had never before seen Indians like these. Without exception they were athletically built, broad-chested and four-square, plump and well nourished in limbs and torso, and the hard muscles so evenly covered as though these people had never interrupted a life of comfortable relaxation with the hardships of war and the hunt. Their posture and their walk was that of conscious strength. What struck me the most, along with the general physical excellence of every member of the tribe, was the light skin color. They were not so deep a copper red as many other Indians, in particular those living on plains or on large rivers, and this paler color was considerably accented by the tattooing (it was not just painting) which covered almost the whole of the body. * Either the whole face was

*See the illustration in Spix and Martius Reiseatlas. For this painful operation they use a comb made from the thorns of several varieties of palm trees. In all probability there is no other tribe in South America which practices tattooing to the same extent. Rob. Dudley has drawn similar ones from Guyana.

304 tattooed or there was in the middle of the face a semielliptical, blue-black spot from which numerous, parallel lines extended over the chin and lower jaw down to the breast. From the middle of one shoulder to the other, two or three lines half an inch apart run across the broad chest. Under these there are vertically placed diamonds, some filled in, some left in outline to the end of the chest. The rest of the torso is adorned similarly though not so completely and the same lines are repeated on the extremities with or without the diamonds. Variations are introduced according to individual taste. Among women the whole face is rarely blackened, they have only a malha, a crescent shape, the pointed horns of which are turned upward. Their [388] ears are pierced, [301] not in the lobe, but at the top in the first fold and they wear cane pegs 142 in the holes. The face of these people is wide, with a low forehead [302] shadowed by the hair which is cut straight across, the facial features marked, coarse and expressive of good nature. The eyes are always dark and not so slanted as the eyes of Indians of the more southerly tribes. The nose is large, often somewhat curved, not so short and blunt, with flaring nostrils, like those we have noticed among the Indians of eastern Brazil. Their heads are covered with thick, shining black hair which turns gray among the Mundrucus only late and then only in individual cases. I have never seen among them, any more than among any other Indians, an old man who was white-headed. In the 291 wilds they are unclothed except that the men wear a jock strap [Suspensorium] of cotton or a tacanhaoba. The women I saw were wholly naked, even in the mission, and to get an apron on them for 285 church was a matter of some difficulty. The Mundrucus and their neighbors, the Maues, with whom they are friendly, are, like the Apiacas, skilled in the art of spinning cotton thread and weaving hammocks which they hang outside their huts on hot nights. To catch fish [226] they usually poison the water in which the fish are found.* They make 000

*They do this in ponds or dammed up brooks by stirring the crushed twigs and leaves of the timbo (Paullinia pinnata) into the water until it turns dark and foams. The fish, and even crocodiles, come to the surface belly up, stupefied or dead and the fish are eaten. The water is extremely poisonous.

411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidaruz), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (casp), and the bow which is difficult to draw (tarõ) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (pangnie, or uup, tupi viba) but poisoned war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a uitotap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [389] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Diccionario geograph. II. 136 and Cerqueira e Silva Corograf. paraense 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (esgravatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 The Mundrucus are great artists in the manufacture of feather orna-
287 ments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most labori-
292 ous products of Indian industry: scepters (buta) carried on festive occasions in the hand; stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (bombim manja); hats (akeri) often outfitted with long braids of arara feathers (akeri kaha); cords and tassels with arara feathers (paro-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for
231 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mutums or hoccos (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope), the king and the white vulture (Cathartes papa and Falco urubutinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

784 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them,
276 the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [390] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaiodes, which is in
000 vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Maues. But they

171 But they
981 do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Maues. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

244 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[161] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[439] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Würzschilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajoz now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
361 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[727] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from motumun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the thief [Mitnchmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

726 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

*The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and [534 they are guarded by patrols who signal with the torê (beni), a rasping 208] cane trumpet, or with the kiohoa, a whistle. With this instrument the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the 727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger [578 women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy 846 which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already determined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage, for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons

> *The hopelessly degenerate Camés, Voturôes, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tamepuyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old people" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

776 The only trace of higher belief
I could find is in the language, [394] which has a word (getüx) for God and another (cäuschi) for devil. The pajé is also considered by them to be a powerful and fearful person. He is thought of as a relative of the devil or as a person possessed [Inspirirter]. For his medical help he is rewarded with cotton thread or weapons as he is among the Apiacas with whom, in fact, the Mundrucus have a number of customs and usages in common.

175 Before 1770 the Mundrucus were hardly known in Brazil by name.
648 But then they burst forth in numerous hordes all along the Rio Tapajôz, destroyed the settlements and made themselves so dreaded that troops had to be despatched against them, troops they resisted fearlessly. In the 1780's a troop more than two thousand men strong came out of their malocas, crossed the Xingund Tocantins rivers and marched to the western border of Maranhão province spreading war and despoliation as they went. But there they suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the warlike Apinayes and only remnants from the murderous battle were left to move north to the Mojú rivers where they devastated the Portuguese farms. * Forced back by the united planters, they finally

* The so-called "Guajajaras" are supposed to be a splinter group dating from that time. In 1818 they were put into villages near Cerzedello on the Rio Gurupi Corografia paraênse p. 117. Perhaps Guaia-jaz? p. 383.

retreated to the rest of the tribe on the Tapajôz. The government sent after them a detachment of 300 men which came upon a heavily populated maloca ten days after leaving the river. Encircled by enemies they fought their way through with great difficulty and finally reached the banks of the river. The Mundrucus are reputed to have lost nearly 1,000 men. The statement comes from a chieftain who made the first treaty and who used his notched stick as reference. Their inclination for war allowed them only a short rest. They went to war against the Muras, who for a long time had rendered the waterways of the Amazon uncertain and had plundered many a settlement. They waged against them so horrible a war of extinction that the Muras in 1785 yielded in Maripi to the Portuguese and promised permanent friendship. Then they

[173] turned on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintins
[174] (Parfrauftes or Uauvrivait), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajoz with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. *

* Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas
Diccionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca
do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852, 206.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajôz, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several [17] of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on [16] the Tapajôz 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Mauhe 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,000. **

438

** This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajoz produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1.05 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Mauhé 1,500 and those of Canomã 800. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canamã gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

174 A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucûs originally

[N1] formed a war-like tribe far in the south along with other fellow tribesman with whom they then grew at odds and fought their way toward the north over the boundaries of their earlier common territory. What strikes me here as particularly remarkable is the contrast between a bodily structure according to all reports remarkably uniform and a very mixed dialect. On the one hand their light skin and the collossally [N2] powerful muscular build makes them appear, in contrast to the other Indians, like thoroughbreds among ponies and would indicate that they developed these striking bodily characteristics over a long period of time, unmixed and under consistent external conditions. On the other hand [N7] words occur in their language which can be considered to be echoes from tribes living far to the south and the north. *

"The Mundrucu word for "bird" is mainsa and among the Guaycurus far to the south it is nioche. Several words belong to the Guch or Coco tribe: "heaven," capi Mundr., capu Tamanaco, apex Chiquito. "Tooth (my)": woi noi M., moi Moso. "Body": oi tipit M., pitpeté Tamanaco. "Sun": utschi M., veju Accawai, Tamanaco, saache Moso. "River" is described by the Mundrucus better than in the lingua geral, (where the word is yguacu) by the word icuri, or yghcuri, which is to say "fast water": it is called by the Galibis in Cayenne eicourou (or epouliri), by the Chiquitos ogirus. Two color names: white and red in Mundrucu are yuristat and ipacpec, in Kechuan yurac and paco.

The principal elements of their dialect belong without any question to the Tupi and in particular to the speech as practiced in the north rather than to the Guarani dialect, though to this latter it is more similar in hardness and unwieldiness than to the more fluid and vowel-richer sounds of the lingua geral. * In the table which follows [397]

"Some relevant examples: oca "house," Mundrucu: ócka. T. cururú, "toad,"

M. gorkgork. T. camy (cama by) "milk," M. icamurk. T. pala "father," M. palpal. T. mala "mother," M. malhi. T. pacôba "banana," M. bacobd.

on page 398 we have collected several words for comparison with other dialects. As with many Guck dialects there is in Mundrucu a possessive pronoun (oi, ui, woi, in Tupi it is xe or ijé) prefixed to parts of the body. Individual words from the Galibi and Island Caribs languages are echoed here but not so clearly as in the instances showing relationship to the Guck dialects. There is no connection whatsoever with Aruac, although some words of this latter tongue belong to the female dialect of those Caribs who have taken as wives the women of the conquered Aruac.

As far as similar words from the dialects of the Mosoe, Chiquitos, Tamanacs, Vilelas, Galibis, Omaguas and Kechuas are concerned we are far from any idea of laying any linguistic weight on such isolated phenomena. But an ethnographer who is interested in understanding the nature of the splitting and regrouping of the American tribes can permit himself to use such evidence which indicates a restless, continual recasting of human society in forms which, however new, are still essentially identical. If phonetic similarity of the words is not a matter of sheer chance we have to assume, as in many analagous cases, that the Mundrucus too have come in contact with the above-mentioned tribes and have taken over words from them, in pure or corrupt form. Or we must assume that their present dialect, like other dialects, is the remainder from a long process of linguistic change and decay in a common original tongue. For further comparison a list of such words is inserted here.

[396] [399]

English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Carib	Tamanaco	Aruac
head	oi já	acanga	yakath, yacae	oupoupou, opoupou	boupou, ichic, (my ichéuk	prutpe	ishi daa (my schi, da sey
eye	ui etá	teca	tinasay	enourou	éoulou Fem. aku	jamuru	da kusi
nose	ue inampõ[1]	tim	tiy	enetali, natali	ichiri	jonarri	da siri, ishiri
mouth	woi pi	yuru[2]	yuru	embatari,	tibodtali,	máari	da liroku,
tongue	wai co	apeco	ghumbela, cumuera	nourou, enourou	inigné	nuru	
hand and finger	woi põ	po	pur	apori[3]	capo[4]	jamnari	da kabbuhu

1. Nampõ, "nose" reminds one of namby, "ear" in Tupi.
2. In Aruac jíru means the cylinder woven of guarana (maranta) cane for squeezing grated manioc.
3. Finger: amo, yamori in Galigi.
4. Hand and finger: nu ("my" bouki, nu bouqé in Moso.

English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Caraib	Tamanaco	Aruac
arm	woi pa	gyba, (jua)	yũca, iehua	yaboule, apori	arũuma	japari	da deneina
foot	woi cana-pũta	py	pũeta	ipoupou	Caraib oupou(7)	ptari	da cuty
shoulder	woi aipia	atyba(3)	yũca hanuahla	imõtali	imõtali	mgoi	
belly	woi õck	teghe	ce hueca, syrica	onimbo	huẽmbou, f. oullacae	ueni	da deyhayou
blood	tuy	tughy	shũe	moinou	timoinalou, f. ita, itaheu		curisa
sun	ulãschi	coaracy	ghualachy, huarassi	veiou hueiou	huẽyu, f. cachi	vejũ	haddali
moon	uaschiat	jacy	yacũ	nouna, nouno	nonum, f. cãti	nuna	katsi, katti

7. Foot: ni bope in Moxo.
3. Atycupe means in Tupi "on the shoulder," yatacupi means in Omagua "on my shoulder."

English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Caraib	Tamanaco	Aruac
stars	casnutã	jacytata	seso	serica, siricco	oualoucouma	chirica	wiwa
earth	ipy	yby (aeghwy)	tuyuca (4)	nono, soye	nonun, f. monha	nono	wunabu, ororu
night	ũachũma	pytuna	ũepusa, epuessa	vooquo	huétou, f. araibo	coco	wai
water	hũ	hy, ũgh	uni	touna	tonê	tuna	wuni, wuniabbo
fire	taschã	tatã	tata	ouato	ouattou, illeme uapto (8)		hikkihi, ikhihi
river	igury, yghcori	yguacu	balanã	eiçourou, ipoliri	tona		wuin
yes	nlemai	pa, f. hehe	aisy	terré, terê	hanhan, terée		he kurrũ, ehẽ hesẽ
no	gaamnuõ	aaninhe		luayã	ouane, oua ouati		kurrũ, kakẽ, koake (or ne suffix.

4. Tuyuca, in Omagua "earth," means in colloquial Tupi "mud."

8. Is it a matter of pure chance that among the Tamanacos, Galibis, and Island Caribs a fish is called uoto, oto and ãoto, the name for fire is uapto, ouato, ouatto (which is also the name for gadfly)? Or is there here a conventional transfer of meanings in things which stand in a kind of contrast?

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

Beiträge

zur

Ethnographie

und

Sprachenkunde Amerika's

zumal

Brasiliens.

Von

Dr. Carl Friedrich Phil. v. Martius.

I.

Zur Ethnographie.

Mit einem Kärtchen.

Leipzig
Friedrich Fleischer
1867.

[p. ii. p. i is blank]

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

Zur

Ethnographie Amerika's

zumal

Brasiliens.

Von

Dr. Carl Friedrich Phil. v. Martius.

Mit einem Kärtchen
über die Verbreitung der Tupis und die Sprachgruppen.

Leipzig
Friedrich Fleischer
1867.

[p. 181]

Horden, die zu dem wohlgebildeten, der Civilisation zugänglichen Volke der Parexis gehören (vergl. S. 239 ff.).

n) Bacahiris, Bacairis, Bacchayris, an den Quellen des Arinos und Juruena sind vielleicht mit den Pacahas, Pacauáras (S. 380) identisch. In ihrer Nähe sollen (nach Castelnau III. 307) ebenfalls Tapanhunas wohnen, welche sich das Gesicht schwärzen oder Negerflüchtlinge sind. (Vergl. S. 208.) Sie heissen bei den Apiacás, mit denen sie in Frieden leben, Eoupéa.

o) Cabixys, Capepuxis, d. i. die Schlimmen im Walde, nördlich von der Serra dos Parexis an den Quellen des Juruena.

p) Cautariôs (Cutriás), eben dort.

q) Puchacas, am obersten Juina.

r) Jacaré-uáras, Jacariás, Jacare-Tapuüja, Kaiman-Indianer, welche am Rio Abuna, einem westlichen Beiflusse des Madeira, angegeben werden (oben S. 251), finden sich auch bei Tapacora-merim im Stromgebiete des Tapajôz. Sie gehören wahrscheinlich zu dem Stamme der Guck oder Coco. (Sollen sehr grosse Vorderfüsse haben!)

s) Mambarehis, Mambriarás, Mambarés (Memby-uaras, d. i. Schmalmey-Männer), welche am Rio Mambariary, einem östlichen Beiflusse des Juruena und, nach Andern, am Taburuhina angegeben werden.

In dem zur Zeit fast noch unzugänglichen Gebiete zwischen dem Tapajôz und dem Madeira hausen noch mehrere Horden, von denen aber kaum andere Kunde zu uns gelangt ist, als dass sie Feinde der Mundrucû sind, und von ihnen bis zur Ausrottung verfolgt werden; so die t) Jumas, u) Parentintins und v) Aráras, welche an den Quellen des Rio Mauhé und von da gen Westen wohnen. Wahrscheinlich um diesen Verfolgungen zu entgehen, haben sich Jumas und die durch zierlichen Federschmuck ausgezeichneten Araras in die Freguezia de S. Antonio de Araretama (Borba) am östlichen Ufer des Madeira, 25 Legoas oberhalb seiner Mündung gezogen, und Parentintims, die als eine sehr fleissige, wohl-

[translation starts here -- Analyst]
[pp 1-385 not processed]

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

gebildete Horde geschildert werden, wohnen jetzt zum Theil in der Aldeia de Jatapú am linken Ufer des Flusses gleiches Namens. Ob diese Horde unter den s. g. Coroados oder Geschorenen zu verstehen sey, welche auch im Gebiete des Tapajôz angegeben werden, bleibt zweifelhaft; aber gewiss ist, dass die von den Mundrucûs mumisirten Schädel ihrer Feinde einen geschornen Scheitel zeigen. Nach andern Berichten hätten die Parentintins das Gesicht und die innere Seite der Vorderarme am Handgelenke tätowirt und wären Anthropophagen. Castelnau nennt sie unter den den Brasilianern noch feindlichen Horden (III. 307) *).

Alle diese Gemeinschaften nehmen unsere Aufmerksamkeit nur wenig in Anspruch, und ich lasse es unentschieden, ob die erstgenannten (a — h) Bruchstücke der hier vorwaltenden Apiacás und Mundrucûs, oder von ihnen verschieden seien. Dagegen dürfte es geeignet seyn, nachdem ich über die Apiacás bereits das Wesentliche (S. 205 ffl.) beigebracht habe, hier wiederzugeben, was ich über die Mundrucûs (Reise III. 1308 ffl. 1337) berichtet, weil kein anderer Reisender diese merkwürdigen Indianer an ihren Sitzen selbst beobachtet hat.

Die Mundrucûs, Mondurucûs, Mundurucûs, Moturicus, (von den Apiacás Pari genannt),

sind gegenwärtig neben den Apiacás die herrschende Horde im nördlichen Stromgebiet des Tapajôz. Ihre grösste mit den Brasilianern in Handelsverbindung stehende Aldeia (de S. Manoel) liegt etwa eine Tagereise unterhalb der Vereinigung des Rio Arinos mit dem Juruena am Rio negro (alias vermelho).

*) Früher wurden am Arinos und Juruena genannt: Apaunuariás, Marixitás, Apicuricûs, Murivâs, Muquiriâs, Ereruas. Von allen ist keine Spur mehr, dagegen weiss man noch von einem Haufen, der Anyurias und einem andern, der Apecuariás genannt wird. Man sieht unter den Indianern des Tapajôz manchmal Hypospadiaei. Rev. trim. 1847. Ser. II. Tom. 2. p. 5. 96.

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

Als ich in der Mission Novo Monte Carmel do Canomá den ersten Mundrucûs begegnete, musste ich mir sagen, dass ich solche Indianer noch nie gesehen hatte. Sie waren, ohne Ausnahme, athletische Gestalten, breitbrustig, gedrungen, von runder Wohlgenährtheit in Rumpf und Gliedern, die stramme Musculatur so gleichmässig überkleidet, als wenn sie niemals den Zustand behaglicher Ruhe durch die Strapatzen der Jagd und des Kriegs unterbrochen hätten. In Gang und Haltung der Ausdruck selbstbewusster Kraft. Was mir neben der Allgemeinheit dieser Körperfülle bei allen Gliedern des Stammes am meisten auffiel, war die helle Hautfarbe. Sie waren nicht so tief kupferroth, wie viele Andere, besonders die auf Fluren oder an grossen Flüssen Wohnenden, und diese blassere Hautfärbung ward noch besonders hervorgehoben durch die künstliche Tätowirung, nicht etwa Bemalung, welche fast den ganzen Körper einnahm*). Sie hatten entweder das ganze Antlitz tätowirt oder in dessen Mitte einen halbelliptischen blauschwarzen Fleck, von dem sich zahlreiche, ganz parallele Linien über Kinn, Unterkiefer zur Brust herab erstreckten. Von der Mitte der einen Schulter bis zur andern laufen über die breite Brust zwei oder drei Linien, einen halben Zoll von einander entfernt und unter diesen bis an das Ende der Brust befinden sich stehende, bald ausgefüllte, bald leere Rauten. Der übrige Rumpf ist auf ähnliche Weise, doch minder vollständig, gezeichnet und an den Extremitäten wiederholen sich dieselben Linien mit oder ohne Rauten. Je nach individuellem Geschmack finden Verschiedenheiten Statt. Bei den Weibern ist selten das ganze Gesicht geschwärzt; sie haben nur eine halbmondförmige „Malha", deren Hörner nach Oben spitz zulaufen. Die

*) S. die Abbildung in Spix und Martius Reise-Atlas. Zu der schmerzhaften Operation bedienen sie sich eine Art von Kamm aus den Stacheln mehrerer Palmenarten. Vielleicht keine andere Nation Südamerikas übt jetzt die Tätowirung in gleicher Ausdehnung. Rob. Dudley zeichnete ähnliche in der Guyana.

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

Ohren durchbohren sie nicht unten, sondern oben, in der ersten Furche, und tragen darin Rohrpflöckchen. Das Antlitz, breit, unter niedriger Stirne, die das gleichmässig in die Quere gestutzte Haupthaar beschattet, zeigt stark ausgeprägte, rohe aber gutmüthige Züge, die Augen, immer dunkel, weniger schräg gestellt, als wir sie bei südlicheren Stämmen gesehen. Die Nase ist kräftig, oft etwas gebogen, und nicht so kurz, stumpf mit auswärtsstehenden Nüstern, dergleichen wir bei den Indianern im östlichen Brasilien bemerkten. Das dichte, glänzendschwarze Haupthaar ergraut auch bei diesen Mundrucûs nur sehr spät und einzeln. Einen Greis mit ganz weissen Haaren habe ich hier, wie überhaupt bei den Indianern, nicht gefunden. Im wilden Zustande sind sie unbekleidet, nur tragen die Männer ein Suspensorium aus Baumwolle oder die Tacanhaoba. Die Weiber sah ich selbst in der Mission ganz nackt, und es kostet Mühe, dass sie für die Kirche eine Schürze anziehen. Die Mundrucûs und ihre befreundeten Nachbarn, die Mauhés sind gleich den Apiacás erfahren in der Kunst, aus Baumwolle Fäden zu drehen und Hängmatten zu flechten, die sie in heissen Nächten ausserhalb der Hütte aufhängen. Sie pflegen die Fischwasser zum Fischfang zu vergiften *). Mit grosser Sorgfalt verfertigen sie ihre Waffen: die Kriegskeule (macana, cuidarûz), die Lanze (uba cacahi) mit einer Spitze vom Bambus (tacoara), den Wurfspiess (casp), und den schwerzuspannenden Bogen (tarö), von dem sie jetzt nicht blos unvergiftete Jagdpfeile (pangnié, oder uup, tupi viba), sondern auch vergiftete Kriegspfeile (obram) schiessen. Um vom Schlag der Bogenschnur minder verletzt zu werden, winden sie das Uitotap, eine Baumwollenbinde, um das Handgelenke. Den Gebrauch des Pfeil-

*) Es geschieht, diess, indem sie in Teiche und abgedämmte Bäche soviel von den zerquetschten Zweigen und Blättern des Timbó (Paullinia pinnata) einrühren, bis das Wasser dunkel wird und schäumt. Die Fische und selbst Crocodile kommen dann betäubt oder todt, den Bauch nach Oben, in ihre Hände und erstere werden gegessen. Das Wasser ist sehr giftig.

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

giftes scheinen sie erst in neuerer Zeit kennen gelernt zu haben. Sie bereiten es nicht selbst, sondern handeln es von ihren nördlichen Nachbarn ein *).

Die Mundrucûs sind die grössten Künstler in Verfertigung von Federschmuck. Ihre Scepter (buta), die sie bei festlichen Anlässen in der Hand tragen, steife cylindrische Federbüsche, ihre Armzierden (bombim manjá), ihre Mützen (akeri), manchmal mit langen Zöpfen von Arara-Federn ausgestattet (akeri kaha), ihre Schnüre und Quasten mit Arara-Federn (paro-oara), welche sie bei den Tänzen wie eine Mantille über die Schultern hängen, gehören zu den elegantesten und mühsamsten Erzeugnissen des indianischen Kunstfleisses. Auch treiben sie Handel damit. Die Federn werden sorgfältig sortirt, zusammengebunden oder mit schwarzem Wachs aneinandergeklebt und in Körben oder röhrenförmigen Palmenblattstielen aufbewahrt, und manche Vögel werden desshalb lebend gehalten. Sie wetteifern in der Zucht von Federvieh mit den Apiacás. Man findet in ihren Hühnerhöfen ausser dem Haushuhn Mutums oder Hoccos (Crax), Jacus (Penelope), den Königs- und den weissen Geyer (Cathartes Papa und Falco Urubutinga), den rothen und blauen Ara und viele Papagayen. Man versichert auch, dass sie die Gewohnheit hätten, den Papageyen die Federn auszurupfen und die wunden Stellen so lange mit Froschblut zu betupfen, bis die nachgewachsenen Federn die Farbe wechselten, namentlich von Grün zu Gelb.

Um die grosse Muskelstärke, durch die sich der Mundrucû auszeichnet, im Stamme zu erhalten, meidet er den Genuss des Tucupy, des eingedickten, mit spanischem Pfeffer versetzten Saftes von der giftigen Mandiocawurzel, dem andere Indianer ergeben

*) Milliet Diccionario geograph. II. 136 und Cerqueira e Silva Corograf. paraënse 118 schreiben ihnen auch das Blasrohr (esgravatana) mit vergifteten Pfeilchen zu.

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

sind. Ebenso haben sie den Gebrauch des Paricá, eines Schnupftabacks aus den Samen der Mimosa acacioides, der bei den Múras und bei ihren Nachbarn, den Mauhés, im Schwange ist, nicht angenommen. Wohl aber kommen sie mit den Mauhés in der seltsamen Sitte überein, ihre Töchter, wenn sie Jungfrauen werden, einem anhaltenden Fasten und dem Rauche im Giebel der Hütte auszusetzen.

In den Künsten des Landbaues scheinen die Mundrucûs nur insoweit Andern voranzustehn, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes (ich hörte seine Stärke zu 18,000, ja zu 40,000 Köpfen angeben) den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedrängtere Bevölkerung nicht mehr blos von Jagd und Fischerei abhängig seyn kann. Sie bauen etwas Baumwolle und viel Mandioca-Wurzel, deren Mehl, in Körbe und breite Blätter von Palmen, Würzschilfen und Heliconien verpackt, sie an die Schiffer im Tapajôz zu verhandeln pflegen, seitdem sie in friedlichen Verkehr getreten sind. In der Nähe von Brasilianern wohnt jede Familie für sich in kegelförmigen Hütten, welche gegenwärtig schon oft nicht mehr einzeln im Walde zerstreut liegen, sondern zu Dörfern vereinigt sind. Die noch nicht zur Nachbarschaft der Weissen Herangezogenen bewohnen grosse, offene Hütten in Gemeinschaft mehrerer Familien. Aber selbst in der Mission fand ich um ihre Wohnungen einige mumisirte Köpfe getödteter Feinde und zahlreiche Schädel grösserer Jagdthiere auf Pfählen aufgestellt. Alles in der Erscheinung dieser Wilden liess erkennen, dass sie sich als mächtige Krieger und Jäger fühlen, und die Hegemonie in diesem Gebiete zu behaupten streben. Hierauf ist auch ihr Name zu beziehen, der der Tupisprache angehört. Mundrucûs, Mondorucûs bedeutet entweder: die, welche mit einander plündern (von monda — stehlen, ru gemeinsam, cu, co, Pflanzung, Besitzthum), oder: die, welche (den Kopf) abzuschneiden (mondoc) pflegen (ico.) Moturicûs von motumun, moteryc und ico, heisst: die Schüttler, Mitnehmer.

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

Sehr verbreitet ist auch ihr Spottname: Paiquizé, Paia-Kyce d. i. Vater Messer, Kopfabschneider. — Castelnau (III. 106) führt, als unter den Mundrucûs an beiden Ufern des Arinos wohnend, die Arupás auf, welche wahrscheinlich mit den schon oben (S. 204, 383) aufgeführten Oropias identisch sind, und auch am Madeira-Strom vorkommen.

Ihre militärische Organisation beginnt schon in Friedenszeiten, indem sich jeder Waffenfähige durch eine Kerbe in das herumgeschickte Holz zur Theilnahme am Krieg verpflichtet. Der Häuptling hat während des Kriegs Gewalt über Leben und Tod des Einzelnen. Dass sie mit den Apiacás im Kriegsstande lebten, ward mir nicht angegeben *). Bei ihren Angriffen vertheilen sie sich in weite Linien, warten die Pfeile der Feinde ab, welche von den daneben stehenden Weibern im Fluge mit grosser Geschicklichkeit abgefangen werden sollen, oder suchen ihnen durch flüchtige Sprünge auszuweichen, und schiessen erst dann die eigenen, von den Weibern dargereichten Pfeile mit grösster Eile ab, wenn der in dichteren Haufen kämpfende Feind nicht mehr viele Waffen übrig hat. Sie machen ihre Angriffe lediglich bei Tage, und werden desshalb von den ebenfalls kriegerischen Aráras bei Nacht überfallen. In ihren ständigen Wohnsitzen schützen sie sich dagegen durch einen vollkommen militärischen Gebrauch. Während des Krieges schlafen nämlich alle waffenfähige Männer in einer gemeinschaftlichen grossen Hütte, entfernt von den Weibern, und werden durch Patrouillen bewacht, die mit dem Toré (Beni), einer schnarrenden Rohrtrompete, oder dem Kiohoa, einer Pfeife, Signale geben. Durch diess Instrument ertheilt auch der Anführer, während der Schlacht hinter den Kämpfenden zurückbleibend, seine Befehle, indem er meistens von zweien seiner Adjutanten gleichzeitig aus Hörnern von ver-

*) Die Picobyé bei Pohl II. 183 oder Paicobejó gehören nicht hierher, sondern sind eine zu den Macamecrans gehörende Horde.

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

schiedener Länge blasen lässt. Während des Kampfs schont der Mundrucû keines Feindes. Sobald er diesen durch Pfeil oder Wurfspiess zu Boden gestreckt, ergreift er ihn bei den Haaren und schneidet ihm mit einem kurzen Messer aus Rohr Halsmuskeln und Wirbelknochen mit solcher Geschicklichkeit durch, dass der Kopf schnell vom Rumpfe getrennt wird. Der so errungene Kopf wird dann Gegenstand der grössten Sorgfalt des Siegers. Sobald dieser sich mit seinen Kameraden vereinigt hat, werden viele Feuer angezündet, und der von Gehirn, den Muskeln, Augen und der Zunge gereinigte Schädel wird auf Pflöcken gedörrt, täglich wiederholt mit Wasser abgewaschen, mit Oel, worin Rocou aufgelöst worden, getränkt und in die Sonne gestellt. Ganz hart geworden, wird der Schädel mit künstlichem Gehirn von gefärbter Baumwolle, mit Augen aus Harz und Zähnen versehen und mit einer Federhaube geschmückt. So ausgestattet, begleitet die scheussliche Trophäe den Sieger, der sie an einem Stricke mit sich trägt und, wenn er in der gemeinschaftlichen Hütte schläft, bei Tag in der Sonne oder im Rauch, bei Nacht wie eine Wache, neben seiner Hängmatte aufstellt. Bei Ueberfällen gefangene Feinde werden nicht getödtet, sondern in die Horde aufgenommen.

Nach Macht und Ansehen nimmt jeder Mann mehrere Weiber. Er hängt in der ihm zustehenden Abtheilung der gemeinschaftlichen Hütte seine Hängmatte neben der der älteren Frau auf, die im Hause zwar nicht als Favorite, aber als oberste Hausfrau waltet, und oft selbst ihm jüngere Weiber zuführt. Eifersucht und Hader sind die Folgen dieser, hier stärker als bei andern Stämmen entwickelten Polygamie. Wie die alten Tupis und die Caraiben legen sich die Männer bei Geburt eines Kindes mehrere Wochen lang in die Hängmatte und nehmen die Pflege der Wöchnerin sowie die Besuche der Nachbarn auf sich, denn nur dem Vater wird das Kind zugeschrieben, die Thätigkeit der Mutter dabei wird der des Bodens verglichen, der die Saat empfängt. Bald nach der Geburt erhält

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

der Säugling einen Namen, nach einem Thier oder einer Pflanze; dieser wird aber mehrmals während des Lebens gewechselt, sobald sein Träger eine Heldenthat im Kriege oder auf der Jagd verrichtet hat. So geschieht es, dass dieselbe Person nach einander fünf oder sechs Namen annimmt. Der Sohn bildet, mannbar geworden, eine eigene Familie, indem er ein Weib nimmt, das ihm entweder in der Jugend bestimmt worden, oder das er sich durch mehrjährige Dienste im Hause des Schwiegervaters erworben. Nach dem Tode des Gatten muss dessen Bruder die Wittwe, und der Bruder der Wittwe muss deren mannbare Tochter heurathen, wenn sich kein anderer Bräutigam findet. Gewisse Verwandtschaftsgrade, z. B. zwischen väterlichem Oheim und Nichte, gestatten keine eheliche Verbindung. Gräulich ist der bei den Mundrucûs im Schwang gehende Gebrauch *), Menschen, deren Krankheit für unheilbar erachtet wird, mit einer Keule zu tödten. Es soll ihm Mitleiden zu Grunde liegen: die Kinder glauben den Aeltern einen Dienst zu erweisen, wenn sie ein Daseyn enden, das ohne Jagd, Festtanz und Cajiri kein Glück mehr darbietet. Vielleicht bezieht sich hierauf der Name Tamepuyas, welchen man im Gebiete des Tapajôz als Horden-Namen (Spottname?) hört, und der gedeutet werden kann: die sich der Alten entledigen (Tamuya puyr). Sobald ein Todesfall eintritt, trauern die weiblichen Verwandten, indem sie sich die ausserdem langen Haare abschneiden, das Gesicht schwarz färben, und ein Klagegeheul längere Zeit fortsetzen. Der Leichnam wird innerhalb der Hütte in einer Hängmatte begraben. Zur Ehre des Todten werden nun Trinkgelage gehalten, die um so länger dauern, je mächtiger er gewesen. An Unsterblichkeit glaubt der Mundrucû (nach Aussage des Missionärs A. Jesuino Gonsalvez) nicht. Die einzige Spur eines höheren Glaubens finde ich in der Sprache,

*) Gleiches übten die ganz verkommenen Camês, Voturôes, Dorins und Xocrens, von denen i. J. 1826 nur noch 972 Individuen in den Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo) gezählt wurden. Fr. das Chagas Lima in Rev. trim. IV. 1842. 53.

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

welche ein Wort (Getüut) für Gott, ein anderes (Cäuschi) für Teufel hat. Auch bei ihnen ist der Pajé eine mächtige und gefürchtete Person. Er wird als Verwandter des Teufels, oder als Inspirirter gedacht. Wie bei den Apiacás wird er für seine ärztlichen Hülfeleistungen mit Baumwollengarn oder Waffen belohnt. Ueberhaupt kommen sie mit diesen in vielen Sitten und Gebräuchen überein.

Die Mundrucûs waren in Brasilien vor dem Jahre 1770 kaum dem Namen nach bekannt; damals aber brachen sie in zahlreichen Horden längs des Rio Tapajôz hervor, zerstörten die Niederlassungen und machten sich so furchtbar, dass man Truppen gegen sie absenden musste, denen sie mit Unerschrockenheit widerstanden. Im achten Decennium des vorigen Jahrhunderts kam eine mehr als 2000 Köpfe starke Horde derselben aus ihren Mallocas hervor, setzte über die Flüsse Xingú und Tocantins und zog, Krieg und Verheerung verbreitend, an die westlichen Grenzen der Provinz Maranhão, hier aber erlitten sie eine schwere Niederlage durch die kriegerischen Apinagéz, so dass sich nur Ueberbleibsel des mörderischen Kampfes nordwärts an die Flüsse Mojú und Capim ziehn konnten, wo sie die portugiesischen Fazendas verheerten *). Von den vereinigten Pflanzern gedrängt, zogen sie sich endlich wieder zu dem übrigen Stamme am Tapajôz zurück. Das Gouvernement sendete ein Detachement von 300 Mann gegen sie nach, welches zehn Tagemärsche vom Ufer jenes Stroms auf eine starkbevölkerte Malloca stiess und, ringsum von zahlreichen Feinden eingeschlossen, sich nur mit Mühe und Noth durchschlagen und den Strom wieder erreichen konnte. Es soll jedoch den Mundrucûs einen Verlust von beinahe 1000 Mann beigebracht haben, wie ein Häuptling derselben, der zuerst ein Freundschaftsbündniss eingieng, gemäss

---

**) Ein damals abgesprengter Haufen sollen die sogenannten Guajajaris seyn. Sie sind i. J. 1818 am Rio Gurupi nächst Cerzedello aldeirt worden. Corografia paraênse S. 117. Vielleicht Guaiá-jaz? S. 383.

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

seinem Kerbholze erklärt. Ihre kriegerischen Neigungen liess sie nicht lange ruhen. Sie zogen gegen die Muras zu Felde, welche schon längere Zeit die Wasserstrassen am Amazonas unsicher gemacht und viele Niederlassungen geplündert hatten, und führten gegen sie einen so grausamen Vertilgungskrieg, dass diese sich i. J. 1785 in Maripi den Portugiesen unterwarfen, und fortan Freundschaft zu halten versprachen. Dann wendeten sie sich gegen die schon erwähnten Parentintins, Parintins (Paráranátes oder Uauvrivait), und neuerlich bekriegten sie die Apiacás oberhalb den Salto Augusto am Tapajóz*), mit welchen sie noch vor 30 Jahren in Frieden lebten.

Im Jahre 1803 ward die erste Aldea der Mundrucús, S. Cruz, sieben Tagereisen oberhalb Santarem, am Tapajóz gegründet, und seit jener Zeit hat der ganze Stamm mit den Brasilianern Friede gemacht. Mehrere ihrer grossen Dorfschaften haben sich zu Missionen umgestaltet, und treiben Handel mit den Weissen. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel und den übrigen Villas am Tapajóz zählte man i. J. 1819 1000 Bögen (streitbare Männer), in der Mission von Mauhé 1600, in der von Juruty 1000 Köpfe **).

Manche Verhältnisse, insbesonders ähnliche Sitten, kriegeri-

---

*) Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas Dicionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 208.

**) Dieser Stamm ist fleissiger, als irgend ein anderer. Man rechnet, dass die in den Villas am Tapajóz Ansässigen jährlich 8000, die von Mauhé 1500 und die von Canomá 800 Metzen Mandioca-Mehl bereiteten, welche grösstentheils nach Santarem und den benachbarten Orten ausgeführt werden. Ihren Geistlichen machen sie gern grosse Mengen davon zum Geschenke. Im Jahre 1819 hatten die Mundrucús von Canomá 900 Arrobas Nelkenzimmt und ebensoviel Salsaparilha gesammelt und in den Handel gebracht. Bei solcher Anlage zu bürgerlichem Fleisse wäre baldige Niederlassung aller Mundrucús unter den Weissen zu erwarten. Zur Zeit meines Besuchs stand dem besonders ihre Abneigung gegen öffentliche Arbeiten entfernt von der Familie entgegen, wozu man sie in die Hauptstädte zu pressen suchte.

sche Organisation und zahlreiche Sprachelemente, die sich auf die Tupi zurückführen lassen, machen es mir wahrscheinlich, dass diese Mundrucús ursprünglich weit im Süden mit andern Stammgenossen eine grosse und kriegerische Horde gebildet, sich aber dann, mit Jenen verfeindet, über die Grenzen des früher gemeinsamen Reviers hinaus nach Norden durchgekämpft haben. Was mir aber hier besonders merkwürdig erscheint, ist der Widerspruch zwischen einer, nach allen Nachrichten auffallend gleichmässigen Körperbildung und einem sehr gemischten Dialekte. Während ihre helle Hautfarbe und der gegen andere Indianer colossale muskelkräftige Körperbau, der sie wie schwere Raçe-Pferde zwischen Ponies erscheinen lässt, darauf hindeutet, dass sie längere Zeit hindurch unvermischt und unter gleichmässigen äussern Bedingungen dieselben hervorragenden körperlichen Eigenschaften an sich entwickelt haben, kommen in ihrer Sprache Worte vor, die wie Anklänge an ganz andere weit gen Süden und Norden wohnende Stämme gelten können*).

Die häufigsten Elemente ihres Dialektes gehören ohne Zweifel der Tupi an, und zwar, wie es scheint, mehr der im Norden gebräuchlichen Sprachweise, als dem Guarani-Dialekte, dem er sich übrigens in der Härte und Schwerfälligkeit mehr annähert, als dem flüssigeren vokalreicheren Laute der Lingua geral*). In der S. 308 folgen-

*) So heisst der Vogel bei den Mundrucús tuinsu, bei den so weit gen Süden wohnenden Guaycurús nioche; nicht wenige Worte gehören dem Stamme der Gouk oder Coro an, z. B. Himmel: capi Mundr., capu Tamanaco, apex Chiquito. Zahn (mein): wui mui M., nami Mnan. Körper: ai tipit M., pitpoti Tamanaco. Sonne: ahuhi M., vojo Aonawai, Tamanaco, ouoche Mnan. — Der Fluss wird von den Mundrucús, besser als in der Lingua geral (yguaçú), mit ieuri, yghouri, d. i. schnelles Wasser bezeichnet und heisst auch bei den Galibis in Cayenne ououru (auch oposiri), bei den Chiquitos ogiruo. Zwei Farbenbezeichnungen: weiss und roth, heissen bei den Mundrucús yuriatai und ipuepor, in der Kechua: yuraq und puca.

**) Wir führen noch als zusammengehörig auf: Tupi: ous, Haus; Mundrucú:

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

den Tabelle haben wir mehrere Worte zur Vergleichung mit andern Dialekten zusammengestellt. Wie bei vielen aus dem Stamme der Guck zeigt sich hier auch bei den Mundrucú ein Pronomen possessivum (ei, ui, wui, das ze oder ijé des Tupi) den Theilen des menschlichen Körpers vorgesetzt. Einzelne Worte aus der Sprache der Galibi und Insel-Caraiben finden hier Anklänge, doch nicht so deutlich als sie Verwandtschaft zu manchen Dialekten der Guck andeuten. Dagegen findet gar keine Beziehung zu den Aruac statt, während einige Worte dieser Sprache auch dem weiblichen Dialekte jener Caraiben angehören, welche die Weiber von den besiegten Aruac zur Ehe nahmen.

Was die aus den Dialekten der Moxos, Chiquitos, Tamanacos, Vilelas, Galibis, Omaguas und aus der Kechua verwandt anklingenden Worte betrifft, so sind wir weit entfernt solchen einzelnstehenden Thatsachen Wichtigkeit für die Linguistik beizulegen; aber ein Ethnograph, dem es zunächst darum zu thun ist, dem Wesen der amerikanischen Völkerzersplitterung und Völkerbildung nachzuspüren, darf sich wohl solchen Vergleichungen überlassen, die auf einen rastlosen, ununterbrochenen Umgang der menschlichen Gesellschaft in neue, obgleich dem Wesen nach stets identische, Formen hindeuten. Wenn die phonetische Sympathie der Worte nicht lediglich ein Spiel des Zufalls ist, so müssen wir annehmen, dass, wie in vielen analogen Fällen, auch die Mundrucú mit den obengenannten Horden oder Stämmen in Berührung gekommen sind und sich Worte derselben, rein oder verstümmelt, angeeignet haben, oder dass ihr gegenwärtiger Dialekt, wie andere, der Rest aus einem alten, vielfach abgewandelten sprachlichen Zersetzungsprozess einer gemeinsamen Ursprache ist. Wir schalten, zu weiterer Vergleichung eine Liste solcher Worte ein.

Schn. — T. cururú, Kröte; M. gurúgurú. — T. cury (come by) Mich; M. tamuti. — T. pain, Vater; M. paipai. — T. mein, Mutter M. mahi. — T. pouilie, Bauner; M. baubá.

Worte:	Mundrucú	Tupí	Omagua	Galibi	Caraib. insul.	Tamanaco	Aruac
Kopf	oi já	acanga	yakaih, yacae	ouporpou, oporpou	boipou, ichic, (mein) ichóuké	prutpe	inihi daa (mein) schi, da seye
Auge	ui etá	teça	sisasay	enouron	énouleu Fem. aku	januru	da kusi
Nase	uei nampõ[1])	tim	tiy	enetali, natali	ichiri	jonnari	da siri, isirihi
Mund	woi pi	yuru[2])	yuru	embatari, empatoli	tihoótali, tioóma	méari	da liroko, iliroukuku
Zunge	wai co	apeco	ghumõela, cumuera	nouron, enouron	inigné	uuru	
Hand und Finger	woi põ	põ	pua	amecou, apori[3])	nou (meine) capo[4])	jannari	da kabbuhu
Arm	woi pa	gyba (jua)	yüca, ichuá	yaboule, apori	arénnna	japari	da denaina
Fuss	woi canupõta	py	pöeta	ipoupou	oupou[7])	ptari	da cuty
Achsel	wo aipia	aiyba[5])	yüca hanuahla	imótali	imoótali	mgel	
Bauch	woi ück	teghe	ce huera, syrica	oulmbo	huémbou, f. oullacue	uenl	da dryhayou
Blut	tuy	tughy	sulie	moinou	timoinalou, f. ita, itahou		curisa
Sonne	uiechi	coaracy	ghualachy, huarasei	veiou, hueiou	huéyu, fem. cathi	vejó	haddalli

Mond	uaschiat	jaçy	yaçü	nouna, nouno	nonum, f. cáti	nuna	katsi, katti
Sterne	cassutá	jaçytata	seso	serica, siricco	oualoucouma	chirica	wiwa
Erde	ipy	yby(aeghwy)	tuyuca [4])	nono, soye	nonun, f. monha	nono	wunabu, ororu
Nacht	üschüma	pytuna	üepusa, epuessa	cooquo	huétou, f. ariábo	coco	wai
Wasser	hü	hy, ügh	uni	touna	tonê	tuna	wuni, wuniabbo
Feuer	taschá	tatá	tata	ouato	ouattou, illeme	uapto [8])	hikkihi, ikhihi
Fluss	igury, yghcori	yguaçu	balaná	eicourou, ipoliri	tona		wuin
Ja	nlemai	pa, fem. hehe	aisy	terré, teré	hanhan, terée		he kurrú, ehé, hesé
Nein	gaamnuö	aaninhe	luayá	ouanê, oua, ouati	oüha		kurrú, kaké, koake (oder ne suffixum)

1) nampö, die Nase, erinnert an namby, das Ohr, im Tupi. — 2) júru bedeutet bei den Arque den aus Rohr von Guarumã (Maranta) geflochtenen Cylinder zum Auspressen der geriebenen Mandiocawurzel. — 3) atycupe bedeutet im Tupi: auf der Schulter, yatecupi im Omagua: auf meiner Schulter. — 4) tuyum, im Omagua die Erde, bedeutet im Dial. vulg. der Tupi: Schlamm. — 5) Finger: amo, yamori: Galibi. — 6) Hand und Finger: nu (meine) bouki, nu boupé: Moxo. — 7) Fuss: ni bope: Mosa. — 8) Sollte es ein blosses Spiel des Zufalles seyn, dass bei den Tamanacos, Galibis und Caraiben der Inseln der Fluch uato, eto, ato, das Feuer uapto, ouato, ouatto (so auch die Bremse) heisst? Oder liegt hier eine conventionelle Uebertragung der Benennungen auf Dinge, die in einem gewissen Gegensatz stehen, zu Grunde?

3: Martius SQ13 Mundurucu

Die Maués, Mauí oder Mauhés, Magué, Magués, (von den Apiacás Mau-ari, Mau-uara genannt).

Wenn die Mundrucûs in dem ausgedehnten Landstriche vom Rio Arinos gegen Norden auf beiden Ufern des Tapajôz die vorherrschende Horde bilden und nun in einem stillschweigenden Friedensverbande mit den Brasilianern als zuversichtliche Bundesgenossen hier die minder civilisirten und schwächeren Indianerhaufen im Zaume halten, so stehen ihnen hiebei die Mauhés als Bundesgenossen zur Seite. Ein Theil von ihnen wohnt südlich von den Ansiedlungen der Mundrucûs am Tapajôz in der grossen Malloca Itaituba und südwestlich gegen den Mataura, einen östlichen Beifluss des Madeira, hin. Die mehr civilisirten bewohnen die grosse Insel Topinambarana, welche der Irariá, ein östlicher Ast des Madeira, mit dem Amazonas bildet, und die waldigen Niederungen südlich von ihr, zwischen dem Madeira und dem Rio Mauhé. Hier leben sie grösstentheils familienweise von einander zerstreut; Andere wohnen vermischt mit den Mundrucûs in Ortschaften, welche zum Theil schon brasilianische Bevölkerung aufgenommen haben, wie Topinambarana, Lusea, Massari, Canomá. Man giebt die Zahl des ganzen Stammes auf 16,000 Köpfe an*). Früher waren sie Feinde der Mundrucûs, mit denen

*) Einzelne Horden oder Familien werden mit besonderen Namen bezeichnet, die, wie diess überhaupt bei den Indianern gewöhnlich ist, oft von Thieren hergenommen sind. So nannte man mir Tatu-(Armadill), Guariba-(Heulaffen), Jauareté-(Onzen, Jahuariti bei Castelnau III, 100), Xupára-(Kinkajú), Inambu-(Feldhuhn), Mucnim-(Milben), Tasiuá-(Ameisen), Pira-piréra-(Fischhaut oder Fischschuppen) Tapuüja (-Indianer). Eine Horde heisst Saucánes, d. i. die, welche sich durch Ameisen peinigen (Saúba cáneon). Uü-tapuüjas heissen so entweder als Söhne des Bodens (üby, Einheimische), oder, vielleicht richtiger, weil sie viel Mehl (uü) bereiten. Die Jurupari-Pireiras, Teufelshaut-Männer, haben diesen Namen mit Beziehung auf die Unempfindlichkeit ihrer Haut, welche sie gegen den Stich der Ameisen bewähren. Hierauf bezieht sich auch der Name Arapium,

[pp 400 - end not processed]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

000 BUREAU OF AMERICAN ETHNOLOGY

BULLETIN 143

HANDBOOK OF SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 3

THE TROPICAL FOREST TRIBES

Prepared in Cooperation With the United States Department of State as a Project of the Interdepartmental Committee on Scientific and Cultural Cooperation

UNITED STATES
GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE
WASHINGTON : 1948

For sale by the Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office,
Washington 25, D. C.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCU[1]

By Donald Horton

TERRITORY AND NAME

101 [131] [197] The *Mundurucú* are a *Tupí*-speaking people in the southwestern portion of the State of Pará and the southeastern corner of the State of Amazonas, Brazil (map 1, *No. 1;* map 4; lat. 5°–8° S., long. 56°–60° W.). When first encountered by Europeans in the late 18th century, the *Mundurucú* were a warlike people, aggressively expanding their territory along the Tapajóz River and adjacent areas. Their expansion reached its limits at the beginning of the 19th century, when they were defeated by the Neo-Brazilians. Since then their territory has dwindled; remnant settlements are located on the Canumá and several of its tributaries (Abacaxis, Paracury, Apucitáua), in the municípios of Maués, Parintins, and Juritĭ, and on the Cururú River (a southeastern tributary of the Tapajóz). The principal settlements are located along the middle Tapajóz River and especially on its southeastern tributary, the Río de Tropas (between lat. 6° and 7° S., and long. 56° and 57° W.). Communities formerly established on the lower Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Amazon have been absorbed or wiped out by Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Kruse (1934) distinguishes four regional groups of the *Mundurucú:* The Tapajóz River group, living on both sides of the Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Cururú River; the Madeira River *Mundurucú,* on the Secudury, a tributary of the Canumá; the Xingú River *Mundurucú,* known also as the *Curuaya,* on the uppermost left tributary of the Igarapé de Flecha, itself an eastern tributary of the middle Rio Curuá do Iriri; and the Juruena River *Mundurucú,* known also as the *Njambikwaras.* Nimuendajú (personal communication) regards the name "*Madeira Mundurucú*" as unsuitable, since the rivers on which this group is located do not flow into the Madeira; he also believes that the *Curuaya,*

[1] The writer is indebted to Dr. Curt Nimuendajú, who through personal knowledge of the *Mundurucú* and familiarity with literary sources not available to the writer, was able to provide additional information on the distribution and history of the tribe which has been utilized in the present account.

[128] Where the literature clearly indicates that a custom is no longer practiced, the past tense is employed; otherwise the account is given in the present tense even though it is probable that much of the culture so described no longer persists.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101 though related linguistically to the *Mundurucú*, are to be regarded as an independent tribe (this volume, p. 221), and that the *Njambikwara* (see *Nambicuara*, p. 361) are not properly classified as *Mundurucú* on any basis.

Martius (1867) reported a group related to the *Mundurucú*, known as the *Guajajara*, who were settled on the Gurupí River near Cerzedello in 1818. The writer has found no further reference to this name in the literature dealing with the *Mundurucú*. (The *Guajajara-Tembé* are a tribe near the east coast of Brazil, page 137.)

According to native tradition, the *Wiaunyen*, at the headwaters of the Mutum River, should be classed as a subtribe of the *Mundurucú*.

The *Mundurucú* refer to themselves as *Weidyénye* (our own, our people) (Kruse, 1934). *Mundurucú* (*Munduruků*, *Mundurucû*, *Mondurucû*, *Mundrucû*, *Moturicû*, etc.) is the name applied to them by the *Parintintin*, in whose language it denotes a species of ant (Strömer, 1932). A nickname widely used by Neo-Brazilians is *Paiquizé* (*Paikyce*) (Martius, 1867) or *Paikise*, meaning "father knife" or "head-cutter." They are sometimes called *Caras Pretas* ("black face"), in reference to their facial tattooing. (See Kruse (1934), who gives an extensive list of names used by other tribes to designate the *Mundurucú*.)

POPULATION

161 In 1887, Martius estimated the *Mundurucú* at 18,000 to 40,000, but Strömer believes that, on the basis of known settlement sites, a maximum population of 10,000 at the period of Contact is indicated. Tocantins (1877) listed 21 villages with populations ranging from 100 to 2,600 and a total population of 18,910. According to Campana, there were at the turn of the century about 1,400 individuals in 37 communities in the Tapajóz area. The largest village had 700 inhabitants, and the smallest less than a dozen. Strömer (1932) found 19 settlements with a total of 1,200 to 1,400 inhabitants in 1931, and fewer still in 1937. Both Campana's and Strömer's figures refer only to the population of the main area of concentration. Kruse gives a population of 950 for the Tapajóz group and 800 for the Canumá group.

HISTORY

175 796 The first reference to the *Mundurucú* was published in 1768 when Monteiro Noronha[3] listed the "*Maturucu*" among the tribes on the Mauées River. In 1769, according to Manoel Baena (1885), the *Mundurucú* began to move northward along the Tapajóz River, forcing out or exterminating the *Jaguain* (*Javaim*, *Hy-au-ahim*), a warlike, cannibalistic tribe then occupying the middle Tapajóz. A "*Mondruci*" settlement a day's journey below the mouth of the Arinos was reported by Almeida Serra in 1779. The *Mundurucú* reached and made unsuccessful attacks upon

[3] The writer has not seen all of the sources mentioned in this sketch of *Mundurucú* history; the material here summarized has been in part provided by Dr. Nimuendajú (personal communication).

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Santarém and *Gurupa* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Cawahiwa*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Strömer, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796. 175 726

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajóz in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajóz region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Strömer, 1932). [797] [177]

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajóz is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Río de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area. [173]

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Irariá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey. 241 222

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them. 231

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush. 224 [221]

226 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
224 Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

252 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made
[272] from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water.
[273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

[276] They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

342 The dwelling house (ekqa, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a
[562] long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Within the house each family has its own partitioned quarters and a fireplace or stone manioc oven (Tocantins, 1877). How many families usually occupy a single house has not been reported. 342

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

The only item of *Mundurucú* clothing mentioned in the literature is the three-cornered penis cover suspended from a cotton cord, but there are several descriptions of the ceremonial feather garments for which this tribe is famous. Many authors consider the *Mundurucú* to have been the most expert featherworkers in South America within the historic period. 291

Featherwork.—Featherwork includes aprons, capes (attached to headdresses), caps, diadems, belts, girdles, bandoliers, arm bands, and leg bands. The feathers used in this craft were at least in part obtained from birds kept in captivity; red, blue, green, and yellow feathers were carefully sorted by color and size and stored in baskets or in palm-stem cylinders. Martius was told that the *Mundurucú* were able to cause their parrots to grow yellow plumes by plucking their feathers and rubbing frogs' blood into the wounds.[3] The feathers are attached to a net fabric. Tail feathers, arranged in parallel rows, are used in capes and pendants; rosettes of small feathers, bound at the quills, are attached to the base net to cover the attachments of long feathers; imbricated breast feathers may be used to cover the surface of a fabric or to sheathe a cord. Decorative effects are produced by simple alternation of colors. 287 [825]

A characteristic feathered staff is described as a stem of cane or wood about 3 feet (1 m.) long and 2 or 3 inches in diameter. The shaft is either covered with long feathers laid flat against it or sheathed with fine breast feathers. At the upper end a dense band of rosettes forms a projecting collar; a free cluster of long plumes may project from the head of the staff. The feathers are attached with wax and cotton thread. These objects are highly valued and when not in use are carefully stored in cylindrical containers. Their significance has not been reported; Martius merely says that when he approached a *Mundurucú* village, staff-bearers came to meet him. 293

Tattooing and painting.—The *Mundurucú* tattooing designs consist of fine, widely-spaced parallel lines applied vertically on limbs and torso; bands of lozenges across the upper part of the chest; occasional parallel horizontal lines, and cross-hatchings. Around each eye is tattooed a single-line ellipse; curved lines are drawn around the mouth. Lines converging toward the ears across the cheeks give the appearance of wings spread across the face. (For illustrations of *Mundurucú* tattooing, see the sketches by Hercules Florence (Steinen, 1899).) 304

[3] Nordenskiöld (1924 b, p. 207) says of this custom, which has been reported from other South American tribes, that the color change actually occurs, but zoologists attribute the change to dietary factors.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu·SQ13

304 Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [302] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, 285 and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [286] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of muritĭ palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a [172] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundu-* [324] *rucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajóz River *Mundurucú* have a 616 patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related." but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

[1] [Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time.— Analyst]

726 though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent
462 of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were
727 taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also
[301] be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and
[736] her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

266 Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

846 **Birth and naming.**—According to Martius, the father keeps to his
553 hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children
852 reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

881 **Puberty and marriage.**—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

584 A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents. 584

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the fatally ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Mundurucú* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes. 888 734

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars. 764

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (kaduké). The ceremony is repeated at yearly intervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finally buried in the house of the deceased. 766

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Mundurucú* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes success in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic dialogue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc. 796 756

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in holding off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes. 796 535 224

1 [Martius (Source #3) says this was done by the children -- Analyst]
2 [Martius says female rather than maternal - Analyst]

796 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
635 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
224 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

796 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants.
786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred
796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[776] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibō, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and
[578] goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kaibō (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

Karusakaibu (Farabee, 1917 a). His wife, Sikrida (Strömer, 1932); 776
Chicridha (Tocantins, 1877), is a *Mundurucú* woman. Korumtau
(Carutau (ibid.)) is his eldest son and his second born is Anukaite 773
(Hanu-Acuate (ibid.)). Karusakaibõ's companion and helper is Daiiru
(Rayru (ibid.)), an armadillo.

Conflict between Karusakaibõ and his sons and companion is a recur- 773
rent theme in several myths reported by Strömer and Tocantins. In one story, Anukaite is seduced by his mother. Karusakaibõ learns of the incest and in anger pursues his son. Anukaite delays his flight to have sexual intercourse with several importunate women whom he meets on the way; his father overtakes him and transforms him into a tapir. The insatiable women are transformed into fish.

On another occasion the offenders are Daiiru and Korumtau. Their offense is not explained clearly in the account (Strömer, 1932) but appears to involve an improper relationship between Korumtau and some peccaries, for which Daiiru is partly responsible. Again the guilty are pursued by Karusakaibõ; to evade his father, Korumtau transforms himself successively into a peccary, a cricket, a bird, and a monkey. Once he is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing father, but the armadillo draws the arrow from the wound. The animals of the forest give aid by warning of the father's approach. Finally, the two fugitives throw themselves into a body of water and escape.

The *Mundurucú* origin myth tells of the emergence of mankind from under the ground. According to one version (Farabee, 1917 a), Karusakaibõ had made the world but had not created men. One day Daiiru, the armadillo, offended the creator and was forced to take refuge in a hole in the ground. Karusakaibõ blew into the hole and stamped his foot on the earth. Daiiru was blown out of the hole by the rush of air. He reported that people were living in the earth. He and Karusakaibõ made a cotton rope and lowered it into the hole. The people began to climb out. When half of them had emerged, the rope broke and half remained underground, where they still live. The sun passes through their country from west to [32]
east when it is night on the earth; the moon shines there when the earth has moonless nights. According to another version of the tale (Tocantins, 1877), the creator stamped his foot at the site of the village of Necodemos; White people, Indians, and Negroes emerged from a fissure in the ground. The creator tattooed the *Mundurucú* like himself; the Whites and Negroes scattered. Karusakaibõ then showed the *Mundurucú* how to raise manioc, maize, cotton, and other plants and how to utilize them. It was he who [53]
traced the petroglyphs now found on certain cliffs in the region of Necodemos. Another origin-of-agriculture myth is given in a text gathered by Strömer (1937).

Kruse (1934) reports a myth in which the women are said to have 773
once been in possession of the men's house, while the men lived in the 562

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

773 dwelling house. The men did all the work, including such women's tasks
562 as fetching firewood, providing manioc, and baking manioc meal. The woman ruler of the tribe and two companions found three sacred trumpets and secretly practiced playing on them in the forest. When the men discovered the secret, they took the trumpets away from the women. The women were sent to the dwelling house and were forbidden to look again upon the trumpets, while the men took possession of the men's house.

773 Both Strömer (1932) and Farabee (1917 a) report a myth which tells that the sun once fell upon the earth and destroyed its inhabitants by fire. Five days after the fire, the creator sent a vulture from the sky to see if the earth had cooled, but the vulture remained to eat the bodies of men who had been killed. After 4 days a blackbird was sent, but it remained to eat the charred buds of the trees. Four days later, the creator sent a dove, which returned with earth between its claws. Then the creator came down and recreated men and animals of white potter's clay.[4]

LORE AND LEARNING

773 A few miscellaneous cosmological beliefs were obtained by Farabee:
824 Karusakaibö created the sun by transforming a young man who had red eyes and long white hair. The moon is a transformed virgin with white skin. The rain spirit makes thunder by rolling a pestle in a mortar. The constellations are men and animals in a great savanna. An eclipse of the sun is due to a great fire which sweeps over its surface. A powerful shaman once ascended to the sun and put out the fire. Now, when an eclipse occurs, the shaman sends his yakpu to clear the sun. The yakpu (a fragment of meteoric iron) falls to the earth as a ball of fire. After it cools, the shaman puts it away until the next eclipse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Bueno, 1885; Barbosa Rodrigues, 1882 a; Bates, 1892; Campana, 1936-38; Chandless, 1862, 1870; Coudreau, H., 1897 a; Farabee, 1917 a; Hartt, 1885; Hörchelmann, 1916-20; Katzer, 1901; Kissenita, 1885; Kruse, 1934; Martius, 1867; Nimuendajú, 1939; Nordenskiöld, 1924 b; Spix and Martius, 1823-31, vol. 3; Steinen, 1886; Strömer, 1932, 1937; Tocantins, 1877; Wiard, 1868-70.

[4] For texts of some of the myths given in condensed form above, see Strömer (1932); for other myths, not included in this account, see Strömer (ibid.) and Tocantins (1877). Farabee (1917 a) also gives three animal fables which he attributes to the Mundurucú.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727
301

PLATE 22.—Mundurucú artifacts. *Left:* Prepared human head with animal teeth set in eye sockets and a suspension cord hanging from the mouth. (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.) *Right:* Belt of human teeth, woven by widow of a warrior killed in combat. (Courtesy Museo Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Belém.)

[facing p. 282]

4: Horton
113

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[The bibliography noted in this source refers to the complete bibliography appearing at the end of Vol. III of Handbook of South American Indians, pp. 903-986.]

5: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1954 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

000 THE RUBBER TRADE AND THE MUNDURUCU VILLAGE

Chapter 2. ABORIGINAL CULTURE

Ph.D. Thesis, submitted to Columbia University

1954

By, Robert Murphy

Unpublished manuscript, used by permission of the author

[Title page]

2. ABORIGINAL CULTURE*

121 The brief outline of the aboriginal culture of the Mundurucú which follows is based chiefly on traditional knowledge and the memories of informants, supplemented by the writer's observation of those features which are extant. Only slight reference has been made to historical sources due to their relative unreliability and also because of the absence of data in them on the socio-economic organization, which is our major interest in this work. This section does not pretend to be an ethnography of the Mundurucú, but will be focussed on the delineation of the basis of Mundurucú socio-cultural integration. It will thus provide a baseline for the study of Mundurucú culture change.

The Economy

105 [131] The Mundurucú are essentially forest dwellers. Although their aboriginal villages are located on high savannahs at the headwaters of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajós River, they depended on the resources of the forests and rivers for their subsistence. Their economy did not differ greatly from that of other Tropical Forest

* Because Mundurucú culture has suffered considerable attrition and because this culture loss has been felt in varying degrees in different areas of modern occupation, it is expedient to use the past tense throughout this chapter. It should be remembered that many traits still exist, especially those outside the realm of warfare and ceremonial. The later chapter on the contemporary Mundurucú will indicate what is now present or absent.

[pp 1-16 not processed]

105 tribes except in varying emphasis on different pursuits. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening were and still are the basis of Mundurucú life.

Hunting

224 Of these four activities hunting and horticulture contributed more to the food supply than the other two. To the Mundurucú man, the proper daily activity was the hunt. The men were tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prized game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. The principal animals hunted were tapir (Tapirus Americanus), both the wild pig (Tayassu albirostris) and peccary (Tayassu tajasgu), several species of deer, the paca (Cuniculus paca Acs.), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. The men enjoyed hunting, but this must not obscure the fact that it is extremely exhausting work. The hunters left the village in the morning shortly after dawn and traveled long miles through the forests and across sun baked savannah before raising the tracks or scent of game. There then followed an arduous pursuit that sometimes lasted for hours. The successful hunter often ended his day by carrying a 100 pound wild pig on his back for three hours on the homeward trail to the village. Occasionally, he had to spend the night in the forest if he made his kill too late to return by daylight. The men hunted nearly every fair day except for those happy occasions when a great quantity of game was brought back to the village. All activity then stopped and the people sat around eating the

224 meat which would otherwise spoil after about three days.
[264] The pressure of maintaining a meat supply was great when one considers that a village of eighty people can eat one tapir or four wild pigs in twenty four hours.

Of all the Mundurucú hunting techniques, the collective hunts were most important. The usual system was for three or four men to go ahead with their dogs to raise and chase the game. The rest of the men waited along the path which the animal would probably follow in its flight, usually at a point where it crossed a stream, in order to ambush the fleeing beast. Needless to say this called for a great deal of teamwork in addition to an intimate knowledge of the country and the habits of game. The pursuing hunters informed their waiting companions of the specie of the animal by sounding signals on bamboo hunting horns. If the ambush was not possible, the dogs ran down the animals and brought them to bay, allowing the hunters to approach and make the kill. Although individual hunters frequently stalked game, the above techniques were most important for the killing of wild pig, the principal game food. Whereas it was possible for only three or four men to hunt the other animals, the entire male population of one or two villages might participate in a wild pig hunt. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to fifty to one hundred pigs. Under these circumstances a single hunter could only kill one, or at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men could surround the animals and kill a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, peccary, and

224 deer were also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal, especially at longer range, and, if there are two or three hunters, the possibilities of successfully dispatching the animals are increased.

226 Fishing

Fishing was an economic activity definitely secondary to hunting, although as we will see later, the circumstances of acculturation have changed one large section of the tribe to a group which relies primarily on fish for proteins. The 361 aboriginal Mundurucú generally built their villages in places 723 several hours inland from the nearest navigable streams. Thus their defensive position was improved while in no way impairing their attacking power. This settlement pattern was well adapted to a warrior society, but removed them from the best 226 fishing sites. The small streams within easy reach of the villages yielded only smaller species of fish and in limited quantity. That the Mundurucú relied little on the water sys- 501 tem for food or transportation is shown by the fact that only in recent times has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The usual modern Mundurucú canoe is of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders. In pre-contact times, the only water craft used was the bark canoe of the type described by Von den Steinen on the upper Xingú River.[8] Not even this canoe was native to the Mundurucú for they acknowl-

8. Steinen, 1894, pp. 222-223.

501 edge it to have been learned from their Tupian neighbors, the Apiaca. In early times, this bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when on a war expedition. Small [481 491] streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among those Mundurucú of the savannahs.

226 132 An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks allowing the fish to disperse through the forest in search of fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is very difficult throughout the entire rain forest region, even for those people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who had to fish from the river banks, it was a sheer impossibility. The Indians of the present village of Cabruá complain that they have no canoes and that to fish during the rainy season would involve wading through the igapó, or flooded forest, impractical due to poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

226 Dry season fishing was done by two means. The first of these was to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms were often built on the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it [177] is still preferred to the hook and line, which was introduced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth.

226 [278] The second and equally important method was by poisoning the waters of lakes and medium sized streams with timbó (Paullinea pinnata), a fish poison used throughout the Amazon. The timbó paralyzes the gills of the fish, thus suffocating it. The fish remains edible as timbó does not poison the fish internally. The poison is contained in the long roots of a plant which grows wild in the forest but [249] which is commonly cultivated by the Indians in their gardens.

When a timbó expedition was organized, all of the men who participated went to the gardens to pull up the roots of the plant. These were chopped into one foot pieces, wrapped in a bundle, and brought back to the village. Before dawn of the next day, or the afternoon before, if the chosen fishing site was distant, the party embarked. The best places to fish with timbó were in restricted bodies of water where the poison would have greatest density and the fish the least possibility of escape. For this reason, streams and inter-island channels of about fifty feet in width or lagoons of limited size having only one entrance were preferred. Upon arriving at the location early in the morning, the party broke up into two, three, or possibly four groups, depending on the number of people involved. Those men who were to poison the water went upstream while the rest of the men and the accompanying women and children waited for the stunned fish to swim downstream. The poisoners then placed their bundles of timbó on a rock or log in the water and began to beat them with a heavy stick, causing the white

226 poisonous sap to be exuded into the stream. They occasionally dipped the bundles to wash out the sap more thoroughly. The excited cries of those waiting downstream informed them that the poison was taking effect, and, when the drug had been mostly beaten out of the roots, they went downstream to join the others in the collection of the fish.

The downstream scene was always one of sheer pandemonium. Everybody was usually in the water trying to catch the fleeing fish which were already semi-stupified by the drug. The women used handnets to scoop up the fish while the men impaled them with fishing arrows or clubbed them. At large timbó parties the water was poisoned by two or three separate groups at points about 1000 feet apart along the stream. As soon as the fish began fleeing downstream from the group furthest upstream, a sentinel stationed a short distance downstream gave several loud shouts to the next group, signalling them to start poisoning the water. The fish thus had very little opportunity to escape to pure water. To prevent any from making their escape, a dam made of branches set into the stream bottom was sometimes placed about a mile downstream from the fishing location. A space was left open until the morning of the fishing to allow the fish to swim upstream during the night. This system is particularly effective when fishing for the matrinchão (Brycon brevicaudatus Gunther) that swims up the smaller streams every night to sleep and then returns downstream with the coming of day.

226 These communal fishing trips were usually undertaken by the people of one village but occasionally involved hundreds of people from several communities. The efficacy of this system of fishing can be attested to by the writer who took part in one such expedition in which over one hundred people from four different villages participated and approximately three tons of fish were killed. The fish were pre-
[251] served by smoking, salting, and sun drying and remained edible for a period of one week to ten days. Modern timbó fishing
222 is done in the same manner as in aboriginal times. This is also true of the gathering of wild fruit, nuts, and berries.

Gathering of wild vegetable products

Gathering is and was the least important subsistence activity and food source among the Mundurucú and was often done incidentally to hunting, fishing, or trips to the gardens. Among the main articles gathered were several species of palm fruit, Brazil nut, the fruit of the cajú tree (Anacardium corymbosum), wild cocoa, mangaba, and several varieties of berries.

Those wild vegetable foods found only at long distances from the village were always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they had been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees were near the village, one man or an older boy usually went out with a party of women, the boy to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it home. Climbing was done with climbing ring, a

222 climbing was done with climbing rings, a

[48] loop of vine passed around the feet causing sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps. For fruits located far out on limbs, hooked sticks were used to drag the limbs down or the climber chopped the limb off. These fruits were not a staple, but they were a valuable adjunct to the diet and a greatly appreciated delicacy.

241 Horticulture

Mundurucú gardening was done by the slash and burn method used all over the tropical areas of the New World. The garden was cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation was allowed to dry throughout the dry season, and the plot was burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks were dragged off to one side and the ground was then ready for planting after the first rains, usually in the beginning of September in this region.

Among the plants of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú were several varieties of bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima) and sweet manioc (Manihot aypi), yam (Dioscorea sp.), sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, and pepper. At some time after the advent of the [177] whites in the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, potato, and sugarcane were introduced. Cotton, although native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the Mundurucú until the 19th century. The staple garden product and chief starch source of the Mundurucú was bitter manioc.

134
241 The agricultural land exploitable by each village was more than adequate, but it was by no means unlimited. Amazonian forest soil is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and friable and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. However, there is some variation in soil quality even in this fairly uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Mundurucania due to being periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass covered savannah. The tillable forest land is divided by the Mundurucú into black earth, red earth, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only kind in which squash, melon, beans, and rice can be raised. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

241 The land cannot be used for more than two plantings and on the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant themselves. The reason for this two planting system is obvious when one considers that bitter manioc matures in about eight months on the first planting and from fourteen to eighteen months on the second in the already "tired" soil. A third planting would yield little and, also, as the caboclo says,

241 "The jungle takes over by that time." Portunately, there was adequate virgin forest or old second growth forest available to meet the needs of the population and they simply cleared new gardens. The usual system was for each man to have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting.

423 The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of new garden sites explains the absence of concepts of property in land among the Mundrucú. When the best forest lands within a convenient distance were exhausted, the village moved a short distance to the proximity of fresh soil. This occurred every five to ten years among the aboriginal Mundurucú, although the present depleted populations may remain in one site for from 40 to 50 years. The same causes that operated to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village level also. In Mundurucú society there was no land holding unit. However, a definite feeling existed that the man who chose a garden site and initiated and directed the labor upon it was entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby became the "owner" of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this was a very loose concept as food was freely shared among relatives and a person who, for some reason, did not have a garden was given food or allowed to take it from the garden of another.

241 476 Mundurucú horticulture involved a high degree of cooperation. The heavy work of clearing the forest was done by an all-village male work group. Each man who planned a

241/476 garden invited all the other men of the village to help him. He supplied the food, usually palm fruit and sweet manioc beverages, consumed while actually doing the work. The work was done under the general supervision of the man whose garden was being cleared. However, his directing activities consisted of little more than deciding the location and extent of the garden. The burning and final clearing of the garden were done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. He and his wife planted all of the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc was done for each garden by all of the people in the village as this was a more extensive operation and was well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dug the holes for the planting of the manioc stalks while the women gathered and cut the stalks and dropped the sections into the holes.

241/462 Other crops were harvested as they ripened, but manioc, which can be left in the ground for a year, was harvested as needed. Almost all vegetables were gathered in from the gardens by the wife of the owner of the garden assisted by one or two women of her household, but the manioc was brought in by all the women of the household. The tubers were dug up from any one of the gardens belonging to the members of the household, processed by all the women of the house jointly and shared by all the members of the extended 252 family dwelling within it. Each house had one large flat stone that was used as a griddle to bake the flat cakes of manioc flour, or beijú, as it is called in the lingua geral.

252 Processing of manioc is a lengthy procedure and involves many stages. The women worked well together under the loose supervision of the oldest woman in the household-extended family. Cooperative labor allowed different women to be [476] working in all stages of the process at the same time, thus expediting greatly the work in this, the most important female duty. In addition to the greater efficiency obtained, an onerous task was made pleasant, as the making of beiju was an occasion for chatter, joking, and gossip. The principal techniques of slash and burn agriculture are still used by the modern Mundurucu, but the above division of labor has been altered.

Distribution of food and manufactures.

264 476 As has been indicated, the distribution of foodstuffs within the Mundurucú village was very fluid. Beiju was produced and shared jointly by the members of the extended family and was further distributed to other houses according to kinship ties. There was only one cooking fire within each house, and fish and game were shared by all the members of the resident extended family. If there was an ample supply, the food was divided equally among the houses of the village regardless of kinship. However, when the day's kill was very small, a bird, a few fish, or a small animal, the nuclear family of the hunter ate the food themselves. This was exceptional.

Collectivity in food sharing is further highlighted by the fact that all the men of the village ate together in

264 the man's house. The women of each dwelling cooked equal
476 amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

422 Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse.
[574] It was not considered polite to demand something from another.
[437] Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively
[556] uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

462 Division of labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Wundurucú productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

462 in any way. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú was especially deep. The men hunted, fished, and did only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also made baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women did all of the other gardening work, processed manioc, cooked, tended children, wove hammocks, made pottery, and fetched water and firewood. The burden of the more onerous work fell on the women. The men had far more leisure time.

476 Within the sexes, and on occasion cross-sexually, cooperation was the keynote of the Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which were almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts involved people working as a group. This is not to discount the non-cooperative pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trailing, bow and arrow fishing, and the planting of minor crops, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture was done by numbers of men working in coordination.

342 476 Housebuilding was also a collective task in which men did the heavy work of construction while women and children aided in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since housebuilding was almost always done only when the villages moved, every household helped the others in the task of construction. All the houses of the new village rose uniformly instead of being completed one at a time.

476 Among the women the same held true. The women made beiju together, harvested crops together and even went

[476] bathe and fetch water and firewood as a group. The latter three activities hardly demanded cooperation, but are illustrative of the fundamental division of the society on the basis of sex and of the love for sociability of the Mundurucú. [577] The Mundurucú liked to do things together and it was a grave breach of etiquette to refuse to help in any work.

[62] [476] It will be noted that the village was the basic unit within which cooperation was carried out, while the extended family was of almost equal importance. Seldom did economic activities involve two or more villages. A man and wife occasionally left the village together for a few hours to plant or harvest vegetables or to gather fruits, but these occasions were of minor importance in the economy.*

[476] [554] Accompanying this emphasis on cooperation in the economy was a corresponding complete lack of stress on competition. Competitive economic activity was absolutely nonexistent. A lazy person lacked prestige but in this instance it was because a lazy person was a drain on the society. [554] Prestige was sought through accomplishments in warfare and knowledge of Mundurucú lore and not by economic means. Indeed, the Mundurucú did not openly seek to better anybody [554] even in play with the exception of one strength test game, consisting of an attempt by each of two opponents to force back the forearm of the other, indulged in by the young people. In their speech the Mundurucú did not compare people

[333] * It should be pointed out here that these conjugal excursions are generally viewed by the Mundurucú as guises to leave the village for the true purpose of daytime sexual intercourse. Their suspicions are well founded.

Yet, even among the more acculturated Wundurucú, it is difficult to find out who collects the most rubber. This is [58] linked with lack of ego assertiveness, an important aspect of the Wundurucú model personality.

Socio-Political Organization

Tribal Integration

[59] [60] Wundurucú society was integrated on a tribal as well as village level. The foregoing section on the subsistence economy has demonstrated some of the economic bases of local cohesion and a further analysis of village socio-political controls will follow. However, to place the village in proper context it would be well to first outline those factors that unified the various Wundurucú villages.

It should be stated first that no permanent tribal or multi-village political controls existed. Each village was an autonomous political unit. However, warfare, patri- [61] lineal sibs, and matrilocal residence combined to unite the villages very closely. The self-conscious cultural unity of the Wundurucú was recognized and described by Tocantins who referred to the Wundurucú as a "republic."[9] The Wundurucú felt themselves to be a unit as opposed to the outside world. When speaking of another Wundurucú they said "one of us" or "person" or when referring to themselves as a group they said "we are many." Everybody else was an "outlander," a category into which were lumped other Indians and white men alike.

9. Tocantins, 1877, p. 88.

197 101 The Mundurucú are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors 302 101 and with the lingua geral. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

726 701 The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never [578 619] between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the [620] chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Tupinambá Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Burton, 1948, p. 273.

726 701 river.[11] By drawing their warriors from a number of villages, the Mundurucú were able to leave enough men in each village to support those women, children, and old people who were not able to leave. They were also able to amass a greater number of warriors, especially when it was necessary to face the Portuguese colonial troops that were sent against them in the late 18th century.

629 600 Such efforts called for a series of social linkages between villages. This was provided by the social organization which crosscut the society in two ways: by bonds of matrilocality and by the system of alba and meletles. This meant that those men of the village who came from other villages through marriage were linked to those villages by birth and by the residence there of the mother's family. Such linkages formed a chain whereby all villages ultimately were bound to one another by interpersonal ties. The bonds tying each 629 individual to the rest of the society were further tightened by the patrilineal alb system. In most Mundurucú villages, a person could find other members of his alb. To these people he had especially close ties and obligations, but he also considered all the members of his exogamic moiety to be relatives. Ultimately, but to a diminished degree, Mundurucú of the other moiety were felt to be related and were called by kin terms. The people themselves say, "We are all kin, one of another."

11. This was reported to the writer verbally by Dr. Jacey Ribeiro, Chief of the Section of Studies, Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Dr. Ribeiro has conducted extensive ethnographic research among the Urubú and heard of these attacks from his informants. This confirms Martius' report of the same event (Martius, 1867, p. 214).

619 [796] Tribal integration was also aided by the ceremonial cycle, which in nearly all cases brought people from a number of villages together in a host village. Despite the lack of central political controls the Wunduruú can be called a tribe in that they were united by interpersonal connections and were able to act as a political entity under temporary political controls.

The village

361 [64] At present there are eighteen Wunduruú villages having an average population of fifty to sixty people. The balance of the population of 1200 are living in isolated groups usually consisting of one small extended family or, at times, only one nuclear family. It is impossible to judge exactly how many villages there were in earlier times or what their populations were. The shifting settlement pattern makes a plotting of old villages indecisive and the climate and vegetation destroy all vestiges of abandoned villages after about twenty years. The sources are most to useless on this point. Tessmann, one of the few men who reported on a trip to a 19th century Wunduruú village, states that the village of "Serodamus" (Dekodyen is the correct transcription) consisted of five houses and a men's house.[12] He had previously cited the statistics of one Joaquim Correa, then Director of the Indians of the Tapajós River, to show that this village had a population of 2100, a patent absurdity.[13] The best estimate based on informant data gives a maximum population

12. Tessmann, 1927, p. 102.

13. Ibid., p. 101.

361 of 250 to 300 for the old Mundurucú villages.

The aboriginal Mundurucú village consisted of three to five dwelling places and the men's house, or akxa.* The average population was about 250 people. Commonly, these villages were located on stretches of high savannah. Such a site was easily defensible as its open location protected it from the surprise attacks always used by Amazonian Indians. Also, these locations were relatively free of insects. The [317] Mundurucú say too that "it is beautiful here for you can see far."

362 The houses were oblong with rounded ends and had steeply pitched thatched roofs. Some houses were 80 to 100 feet in length. The eaves of the roofs terminated at about five feet from the ground and the house was closed by vertical bark walls. Doors made of the center stalks of palm fronds were used.

364 The men's house was a large lean-to type building, the open end of which always faced east. It was up to 100 feet long and had a roof that gently sloped from the east end, at which point it was about fifteen to twenty feet high, until it met the ground at the west end. The front and both sides were open. Adjoining the south side of the west end [318] of the men's house was the small room in which the sacred trumpets, forbidden to female eyes, were kept. Three horizontal beams, one in the middle and one on either side of the house, ran from east to west at about five feet above

[319] * The phonetic system used above and throughout this work is, with a few exceptions, that of English. The exceptions are: x is pronounced like the German ch; i and u are pronounced as in Portuguese lara and usar, respectively.

344 the ground. Between these beams, the men stretched their hammocks to sleep.

361 Like all Tropical Forest Indian villages, the Wundurucú village shifted location every five to ten years due to the exhaustion of nearby stands of high forest in which to make gardens. Each village had a definite area, usually a certain savannah, in which it moved. After 30 to 50 years a new forest cover on previously used land made it adaptable to horticulture again. Today, the reduced population of the contemporary villages makes frequent village shift due to lack of garden land unnecessary, but a new village is built every ten years due to the rapid decay of the houses, and also because the immediate environs become overgrown with weeds that are soon infested with insects and snakes. The locale of the new village was chosen by common consent, and the houses were built collectively. The last structure to be 344 562 built was the men's house. Until it was built the flutes were kept in the old men's house.

The men's house

The Wundurucú exhibited the most complete development of the male-female social division and accompanying men's house complex to be found in South America. Among the Camayura, the men's house is a ritual center.[14] Among the Bororo, it serves this function and is also a bachelor's and young men's sleeping quarter.[15] However, all the Wundurucú males from the age of about seventeen, worked, gathered and held council,

14. Oberg, 1953, p. 54.

15. Colbacchini, 1942, p. 38.

344 562 ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the man's life was the men's house and that of the women the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Mundurucú culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their new village.

342 [598] 254 The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the griddle on which the beiju was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large babricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the 264 men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

264 to the men's house. A loud whoop signalled to the other men that the food was ready. Due to their hunting activities, the men usually ate in the morning and at night. The women and children ate small portions all day long if there was food in the village. When the men were in the village they often joined in these small repasts between the meals taken in the men's house.

592 The dwelling house

Whereas the primary locus of male social life was the village men's house, that of the female was the dwelling. Each dwelling had a headman, the husband of the oldest woman in the female line represented in the house. However, the focus of his activities was the men's house and the coordination of female activity was in the hands of his wife. He was a man of prestige and influence in the house and village, but his wife always insisted that it was she who told the other women what to do and not her husband. In general, the Mundurucú woman worked harder than the men, but she was by no means dominated by them. She had certain duties that she knew were those of the women and she knew how to do them and when to do them. It was not the place of the male to interfere except if she was lazy.

The interior of the house was completely unpartitioned. Each woman and her children occupied a given section of the house where her belongings were kept. Closer relatives, such as true sisters, usually hung their family's hammocks adjacent to each other. Only if the husband was sick and

592 needed the attention of his wife did he hang his hammock in the house.

593 The nuclear family within this context was clearly a less important social unit than the extended family. Its most important functions were, of course, procreation and the raising of children. The man always brought his game to his wife, but unless it was only enough for a few people, it was cooked and shared by the whole household and even the village. Man and wife performed small personal services for each other, but these could easily have been done by any other member of the opposite sex. Since the children grew up in a large family, a great deal of their upbringing was entrusted to other members of the household. By the age of five years the boys were already incorporated into groups 867 of their age mates. The younger children usually played in the village, but the groups of boys over eight years of age began to range out on the savannahs and in the smaller stretches of gallery forest, shooting small birds, gathering fruit, and bathing in the streams. The boys had great freedom and a minimum of parental supervision. Only when they were about twelve years of age did they begin to become a part of the adult economy and even this was only in certain tasks such as garden clearing, planting, and fishing. After they were married and had achieved warrior status they became fully functioning members of the community.

Girls began to help their mothers in all of the female chores at an early age, but served especially to tend the smaller children when the mothers had to work outside the village.

000 the village. The children were reared in a stable group
855 that provided a large degree of emotional and economic security. The Mundurucú were and are devoted parents, and there was great affection between parents and children. However, the sudden death of both parents would have caused no great change in the social and economic life of the child.

Marriage

584 Marriages were sometimes arranged for the children by the parents when the children were still very young. Most of these arrangements were made between brothers and sisters for their children and were within the pattern of intermoiety, cross-cousin marriage. The parents of either the boy or girl could take the initiative. In many cases, a young man who had developed a desire for a girl either asked her father and mother for her directly or used the intermediary of his own parents or older relatives. There was no gift exchange or bride price or service involved. If
585 the match was found suitable by both families, the young man
591 merely moved to the girl's village and took up residence in the men's house there. If he married a girl of his own village, as was often the case, he merely changed his household affiliation. He had socially recognized sexual rights to her and became a part of the economy of her household.
[836] In most cases, the man and woman had entered into sexual relations with each other before the marriage. If the young man had lived in the same village as his wife, the social recognition of the bond caused little change in the life of the couple or their families. The man began to bring

585 his game to the house of his bride and the products of his
591 garden went to the new household. He didn't even have to
586 move his hammock. Marriage was unstable especially in its early years before children were born to the couple. However, separation frequently occurred even between couples with two or three children. In these cases, the man went back to his old village or house affiliation and the children stayed with the mother. The commonest causes of marital breakup were laziness or infidelity on the part of the wife, in which case the husband might simply gather his hammock, weapons, and personal belongings together and leave. The same reasons on the part of the husband might cause the girl's family to turn the husband out of the household. Her relative lack of mobility made it difficult for the female to take the initiative in these cases.

595 Polygamy was not commonly practiced among the Mundurucú and the number of wives in such unions never exceeded two. It was generally confined to the chief of the village since the chief and his sons were exempt from the rules of matrilocality. The sons of the chief remained members of the father's household and their brides were incorporated into it. Usually the second wife was taken at some considerable time after the first marriage and often only when the first wife grew too old to fulfill her economic functions. A situation akin to polygamy often existed when a man took a new wife before taking his leave of the old one. These episodes were usually stormy. There was frequently bitter hostility between the two wives if they shared

595 the same residence or village. There is no evidence that polygamy was ordinarily sororal nor did the sororate and levirate have significant occurrence. None of these traits, so common in many primitive societies, was felt to be obligatory or even especially desirable.

684 Adultery was common and a frequent source of strife in the village. The men regarded their own adulterous escapades as highly diverting, harmless adventures. However, they did not take so lenient a view towards those of their wives. A husband whose wife was unfaithful usually beat her and verbally harangued her. No physical action was taken against the offending male, although an argument might ensue. [586] When the wife became so promiscuous that she lowered her husband in the eyes of the community, he left her. The woman whose husband was unfaithful had little recourse except to fight with him and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself." If the husband's behavior became outrageous to the wife's family he might be invited to leave. The problems of sex caused few open ruptures in the Mundurucú village, but they were always a source of ill feeling.

614 <u>The sib-moiety system</u>

The Mundurucú social organization is rather complex for a Tupian group. They had thirty eight sibs divided into red and white moieties. The red moiety had sixteen sibs while the white had twentytwo. Of these thirty eight, eight are already extinct and my informants indicated that there were several more old sibs that they could no longer remember.

614 The existence of the sib system was first reported by Mme. Agassiz in 1865[16] and was more thoroughly described by Fr. Alberto Kruse, O.F.M. in 1934.[17] The latter reported only thirty four sibs, but this is understandable by the fact that no one Mundurucú can remember more than twenty five to thirty. In addition, these sibs were grouped by now obscure linkages into unnamed phratries. For the purposes of this paper, it will be unnecessary to give a list of the sibs and their affiliations. Sib and moiety membership was inherited in the patrilineal line. The exogamic moieties were the ultimate marriage regulators as they subsumed the sibs in this function. There were no other exogamous groupings.

Totemic features were generally lacking in the Mundurucú sibs. Each sib was named for an animal, plant, [784] or fish but there were no taboos on the killing or eating of the fish or animals. However, they were vaguely considered to be ancestors, or "the old people," a term that is also applied to the people of the mythological age. Kruse reports [773] the myth that the various sibs in ancient times were warring tribes that were united to form the Mundurucú tribe and were given names and ancestors by the culture hero, Karusakaibõ.[18] My informants could not confirm this myth but said merely that the Mundurucú were already existent and that Karusakaibe divided them into sibs and assigned ancestors to each one. The Mundurucú term for these sibs is <u>diwat</u> (literally,

16. Agassiz, 1869, p. 320.

17. Kruse, 1934.

18. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 51-52.

614 "dwellers of the river"). The Aru (parrot) sib is referred to as ahodiwat, or "people of the river of the parrot." There was no legend of a geneological descendancy, but each sib recognized its eponymous object as their particular "old person." In addition, many sibs had other "old people" who were linked with the sib through those sacred trumpets belonging to it. These ancestors were spoken of as "companions of the trumpets." Sibs whose trumpets had one or more of the same companions were considered to be more closely allied to each other than to the other sibs of that moiety. This linkage was so close in some cases that the members of one were considered the members of the other. During my residence in Cabruá a young Mundurucú man of that village used the sib names of both Karu and Kaba because they were linked. Another case in Cabruá was that of a father who had so many sons that he assigned the last two to another sib in his phratry that had suffered from a decline in membership.

614 344 All of the external manifestations of the sibs were to be found in the men's house. It has already been mentioned that there were three horizontal poles supporting two rows of hammocks in the men's house. This division was not arbitrary for in the north row of hammocks slept the men of the white moiety and on the south row, those of the red moiety. Also, within this moiety division, each man slept adjacent to his fellow sib members and then fellow phratry members. On the upright posts of the red moietie's side were painted the crests of the red sibs and on the other side of the men's house, those of the white. These crests,

614 simple geometric and slightly curvilinear designs, were
344 painted there by members of the sib depicted, at the time of the erection of the men's house.

614 The sacred trumpets, called karõkõ, embodied the
534 souls of the "old people" of the sib owning them and also had their own proper souls. These spirits exerted a benevolent influence over the village, but had to be offered food and periodically played in order to maintain this protection. Each village had a set of these trumpets and each one was the property of a certain sib. No special supernatural benefits accrued to the sib owning the trumpets. They were the property of a certain sib only because they took the sib membership of the man who made them. The important thing was that they contained the spirits of "old people" and not that they embodied the ancestors of any particular sib.

614 The sibs had no particular functions in the sense of duties or privileges. They served mainly to integrate the society by firm and formalized intervillage kinship bonds. They integrated the whole tribe, but were expressed by outward symbols in the village men's house. The above mentioned arrangement of hammocks in the men's house indicates that sib and moiety membership served to integrate men from various villages. In marriage regulation, the clans were superceded by the moieties. The moieties also buried each other's dead and had certain reciprocal ceremonial duties.

622 Political organization

Each Mundurucú village had an hereditary chief of limited power. In addition, each house had a recognized

622 leader. Descent was in the patrilineal line, with the chief's brother the first in line of succession, or, if no brother was available, the chief's eldest son. One of the chief's sons-in-law who resided with him could succeed if there was no son or if the son was too young or otherwise unsuitable. The chief's sons were exempt from the rule of matrilocality and usually brought their wives to their father's house. This resolved the obvious conflict between patrilineal succession and matrilocality. It also increased the prestige of the chief, for his brothers and their daughters and husbands and his sons and daughters and their families lived in his house. The chief's extended family thus tended to be the largest in the village. The kinship bonds between the male members of the chief's family made this the most cohesive group within the village in addition to being the most populous. In cases of disagreement they could usually be counted upon to back up the chief. They formed an ingroup that was the nucleus of the village, but one towards which there was often substantial suppressed resentment.

The chief was known as the ichõngõp, meaning specifically "chief," and also as the anyokokukat, or, literally, "owner of the village." The suffix "kat," in addition to denoting ownership, implies also, "one who takes charge." Thus, it is suffixed to words denoting material objects and also to names of ceremonies where leadership is clearly indicated.[19] The word for "chief" clearly conveys the latter

19. Among the Tenetehara, ceremonial leaders are also referred to as "owners" of the festivals (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 123).

622 significance. The undisputed right of the chief to his position was recognized by the Mundurucú as a function of the uninterrupted occupation of the village by his family. The chief and his lineage thus gave continuity in time to the village and served as a stable element in the community, the male population of which was subject to considerable flux. The importance of the chief as a symbol of the village as a corporate entity can be derived from the attitudes of some informants who when asked why a certain village was abandoned would almost invariably reply, "The chief died" or "The chief died and there were no more old people left."

The chief's actual powers were vague. He had a position of prestige and his word was respected in decisions of a community nature, such as the choice of a new village location or the time and place of a timbó fishing trip, but he did not make unilateral decisions nor did he assume a role of direct authority at any time except in war, and then it was principally on the warpath and outside of the village that his authority was felt. The chief was generally an older man. Thus, he combined the two features of greatest importance in the Mundurucú prestige scale, age and eminence in warfare. If he happened to be a shaman, this would enhance his status even more.

623 There was no formal system of village council among the Mundurucú. The community decisions were discussed in the course of conversations in the men's house. The chief

623 and house leaders and other older men of the village had the greatest influence in these matters for it would have been highly impertinent of the "children" (as anybody under the age of about 35 or 40 was called by the older men) to contest the wisdom of those who were collectively referred to as "the old men."

624 The house leader was simply the oldest man of the house and generally the husband of the oldest female, who occupied the respected position of older sister, mother, and maternal aunt to the other women of the house. He was a man who married into the village, or at least the house, from outside and his position was the result of circumstances rather than selection or heredity. In our discussion of the household organization and economy, it became clear that the house leader did little to direct the activity of the women. His sons-in-law treated him with the respect due an older man and a father-in-law, but, since most of their activity was carried out in the larger unit of the village, he exerted little authority over them.

476 571 The leadership of collective enterprises was generally invested in the person who initiated the activity and not in the chief. If a man wanted to organize a tinhó fishing trip, he notified the other men in the village of his desire and a date and place was set. The men then went out to the garden of the man who initiated the party and helped him to pull up the tinhó roots. Direction was nominally in his hands and if many people took part, he would carry com-

476 571 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the participants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the tinbé.

[228] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

[714] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Mundurucú 157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain 554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Mundurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old man would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their counsel. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were sufficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was no elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important functions of the village chief were to lead war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

Warfare

The greatest single interest of the Mundurucú was warfare. It was waged continuously and successfully against all other tribes of a vast region until the beginning of the 20th century. Such was their reputation for unalloyed fierceness that the explorer Henri Coudreau remarked, "Les Mundurucús se prestiquent si la justice, si le duel, si la guerre, mais seulement l'assassinat."[80] The range of their operations was enormous, especially when one considers that their war parties journeyed on foot. On the north, the Mundurucú attacks reached the south bank of the Amazon between the mouth of the Tapajós River and the city of Óbidos. To the south, they terrified tribes on the headwaters of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajós River and the headwaters of the São Manuel and Juruena Rivers, well into the high Planalto do Mato Grosso. Tocantins claims that the Mundurucú even knew the city of Cuiabá on the Paraguay River to Mato Grosso.[81] Mundurucú attacks were felt as far east as the Tocantins River and west to the Tapajós and probably beyond. This would be an enormous range even for a mounted people but in a foot-going group it bespeaks a remarkable singularity of purpose and the expenditure of enormous time and energy.

We have already discussed the intervillage cooperation in warfare that made these extended sorties possible.

80. Coudreau, 1897, p. 148.

81. Tocantins, 1877, p. 98.

[726] A campaign might start at the beginning of the dry season in one year and end at the end of the next dry season, a total of a year and a half in the field. During its course, several villages of different tribes might be attacked. The warriors sustained themselves principally by hunting, and the collection of wild foods.

[721] The purpose of aboriginal Mundurucú warfare was to secure trophy heads and to bring back captive children to adopt into the tribe. Wars were usually initiated by young men eager to gain war prowess and prestige by taking heads and captives. These young men would resolve among themselves to go to war and would then approach the chief to ask him to lead them. If the chief and the older men approved of the project, the chief took over the organization of the party. [108] Invitations were sent to other villages via a messenger who [724] belonged to the mushacha'arpen, a society of older, valiant [578] warriors having an intimate knowledge of certain songs. On [574] his route, the mushacha carried a special trumpet known as the pem, on which he gave a distinctive signal when just outside one of the villages to be invited. A mushacha of that village gave an answering signal and then went out to meet him. Upon their encounter they played a song of the society on their trumpets and danced slowly back and forth towards each other. They then proceeded to the man's house where the messenger, in front of the assembled warriors, addressed an invitation to join in the war. The two most distinguished chiefs of the participating villages assumed

72 the leadership of the party, but the other chiefs were influential, also.

726 The warriors who accepted the invitation then busied themselves in making an enormous number of arrows, bows, and fresh bow strings. The warrior usually was accompanied by his wife or a female relative who carried hammocks and utensils, and with the other accompanying women, prepared food. The warrior carried only his arms and confined himself to hunting and scouting. The party moved slowly as it was necessary to procure subsistence and to scout the territory ahead. When the enemy village was neared, a temporary shelter was made in the forest and the women left there. The men then proceeded under cover of darkness to surround the village. At the first signs of dawn the warriors were already assembled in the forest on the village perimeter and the chief gave the signal to attack. The signal was sounded by two *murhapha* on their special war trumpets. Arrows, the points of which had been coated with resin, were ignited and launched into the roofs of the houses, and the warriors charged into the village making as much noise as possible to confuse and terrify the inhabitants. As the latter ran from their houses and attempted to escape they were seized by the Wundurucú.

727 Men and women were slain and decapitated while the children were taken captive. Loot was confined to a small amount of arms and ornaments that had more trophy value than anything else. Surprise was the major element in the attack and the Wundurucú always retired before the enemy had the opportunity to regroup and inflict losses on them. They retreated rapidly

[27]to their temporary shelters to pick up the women and their belongings and proceeded on a forced march until safety was reached, usually after a large river had been put between them and the enemy. If any of their own number was killed or too seriously wounded to keep up with the party, the member of the opposite moiety who had the privilege of burying his stepped long enough to cut off the upper arm of the fallen one, even if he was still alive. Needless to say, death came quickly to the wounded subjected to this operation. The arm bones were brought back to the village flayed of their flesh and after a suitable mourning period were buried.

The trophy heads were prepared as <u>tsuka</u>. The retreating party stopped long enough to preserve the head by cleaning out the brains, boiling it slightly, and drying it near a fire. This process was repeated about three or four times. The head was not shrunken.

The return of the war party to their villages was an occasion of great rejoicing for those who remained behind, but one of sadness for the close relatives of the fallen. The warriors announced their return by blasts on [28] a type of trumpet called the <u>ahuna</u> and were met by the older boys of the village. The captive children were turned over to the boys to be guarded and the warriors triumphantly entered the village. The children were adopted by their captors, tattooed, and eventually became Mundurucú warriors and wives, themselves. According to informants, these people taken as captives were given full status within the tribe

727 and were so successfully incorporated that there were never any cases of defection, even in wars upon their native villages.

556 The greatest honor went to the man who had taken
786 heads. They were referred to as dahohaibi, or, literally
727 translated, "mother of the game." Such was their distinction that they were usually addressed by the short form title ahabui. Prescriptions were relatively rare in Mundurucú culture, but a very elaborate series of taboos was observed by the trophy head owner and his wife. For a period of three years after his return he was not allowed intercourse with his wife, and he was not even supposed to look at other women. He spoke to the men only when necessary and avoided familiar contact with them. He didn't hunt, but went into the forest at a distance from the hunting party and after the first kill retired to the village. His presence brought the
[78] magical charm of the head into the forest and made the animals fall an easy prey to the arrows of the hunters. The Mundurucú still say that in the days when the men's house had many heads in it there was a lot more food in the village.

During this period, certain taboos were observed by the wife of the trophy head owner. She did no household work, and she could not bathe in the stream. In general, she held herself aloof from the other women. She was aided
556 at all times by a woman of the other moiety who acted as a
727 servant to her. During three successive winters, the trophy

[556] head owner was responsible for holding ceremonies center-
[557] ing around the enemy heads. These ceremonies were partici-
pated in by people from many villages. After a successful
expedition, a number of villages might hold these ceremonies,
[558] thus involving a great deal of intervillage visiting. Cane,
beiki, and non-alcoholic vegetable and fruit drinks were
assessed to feed the visitors. In the first ceremony of the
cycle the trophy head was decorated by stringing cords
through the mouth and out of the nostrils via a hole in the
roof of the mouth, attaching brightly colored feathers to
the ears, and affixing pecs teeth over the eye sockets. On
the second occasion, the skin was taken from the skull and
it was hung in a corner of the man's house, and on the third
and last, the teeth of the trophy head, which had been re-
moved immediately after the attack, were strung on a belt
of woven cotton. A great dance was then held by the Jawab-
[559] ahut'uxum (literally, "owners of the arrow"), a singing
society to which most of the Mundurucú males belonged.
After this ceremony, the trophy head owner and his wife
[illegible]

[554] The highest honor achievable for a Mundurucú man
was to become a mushahe, or one of the society of learned
and distinguished warriors. All members of this society
had at one time taken a head and all were fonts of Mundurucú
learning, especially of the all-important songs. The greatest
chiefs and war leaders were members and such membership did
much to enhance the chief's prestige. Below the status of
the mushahe was that of the trophy head owner (daiabutahi).

554 In addition to the glory of being an owner of a head, he was a valuable economic asset due to the share that the head exerted over game.

726 Warfare was an occasion upon which the position
422 of the chief became of great importance. The young warriors depended heavily on his experience and leadership. His authority was not unlimited, but it was more fully exercised and more necessary to successful results than during any peaceful endeavor in the village.

726 This is only a brief sketch of Mundurucú warfare
(8) for its complexity rivaled the war patterns of the North American Plains Indians. To the Mundurucú, themselves, it was the most important single pursuit and characterized their way of life more than any other activity. Its results were extremely destructive to other tribes but was a source of élan and vitality in Mundurucú culture.

Religion

771 The following discussion of Mundurucú religion will be brief and will touch mainly on those points pertinent to the problem of [illegible] formity with Tropical Forest patterns, the religious system was of great simplicity. There were the typical Tupian spirits of animal, fish, and plant species, souls of the dead and certain malignant spirits.[22] Magic was simple and usually directed towards antisocial ends. The only specialist was the shaman. All the males participated in the ceremonials

22. cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 108-109; Oberg, 1953, pp. 53-4.

771 to a degree that varied slightly with their ceremonial knowledge.

775 Spirits

[774] The Wundurucú spirits consisted of three rough classes. These were souls of the dead, spirit "mothers" of animals, fish, and plant species, and a variety of malignant beings. The soul was known as the Ibimbok, which also means shadow and image, and lived after death in the land of the sky, which was a hemispherical dome placed over a flat earth. The afterworld was a pleasant place where there were Wundurucú villages and the old Wundurucú culture was active. The souls of the dead were not dangerous and remained aloof from human society with the exception of that of the sorcerer which had to be destroyed after he was killed. Otherwise, the only time that the soul was malignant was when a very sick person lost his soul during sleep or a coma. The soul wandered abroad and tried to rob the souls of sleeping people. The Wundurucú distinguished the "real" soul (Ibimbok), which was located in the center of the back, from the Ibimbok which was the reflection or the shadow of the person. The latter persisted after death also and, under circumstances to be discussed later, could come the world as a certain type of evil spirit.

Souls could also be lost through offending the spirit "mother" of a game animal. The spirit "mother" robbed the soul and passed it from one game animal to another and finally through all the species of fish. This journey of

775 the soul was very serious for there were a number of dangers along the path that could destroy the soul and consequently kill the sick person who had lost it. A special ceremony was immediately performed to get the soul back, for the person became sicker as his soul traveled farther, and when the end of the journey was reached the person died. It was necessary to recover the soul before it reached the final and fatal point when it was taken away by the smallest fishes. Game animals also had souls and when an animal died its soul returned to the "land of the game" where it lived on in human form.

776 825 The most important class of spirits was that of the "mothers" of the species. Of these, the <u>mutchashi</u> (mother of game) was the spirit owner of all game animals, collectively, and the most important of all these spirits. The "mother of game" existed in two forms: a wandering type that traveled within the bodies of certain game animals, especially the land tortoise, and the "real" "mother of game" which had the form of a stone and could only be seen by the shaman. This type was usually found in the springs and deep, cool pools at the headwaters of streams. These are places where game is usually to be found due to the constant [illegible] ever, they also say that the game is here because it is attracted by the "mother of the game."

The "mothers" of the different species of game were of less importance, but could be equally dangerous when

776 offended. These spirit owners were angered when a hunter
825 killed an animal just for its hide and left the meat to rot, when someone ridiculed the game, when the spirit "mothers" were not "fed" by the shaman both privately and at ceremonies, and for a variety of lesser reasons. They took revenge by robbing the soul of the malefactor or causing him to have some accident.

Species of fish also had spirit "mothers," but these were of minor importance. There was also a "mother of fishes" which could be found in occasional alligators. As with all of the spirit "mothers" that resided in animals, only a shaman could detect in which particular animal it was located. In ancient times there used to be a "mother of birds," say the Mundurucú, but a sorcerer buried her deep in the ground and she is still alive but can never get out. Wild trees of [Pr] importance to subsistence had "mothers" too but these were rarely referred to by the Mundurucú. The general "mother of the game" and the species "mothers" of the larger game animals were those that figured most heavily in the ceremonial life.

77% The malignant spirits were an important factor in the Mundurucú belief system for they persist in Mundurucú culture despite the decline of the rest of the native religion. In common with the Tupian tribes and the <u>caboclos</u>, the Mundurucú believed in the evil spirit known as

776 Yurupari.[23] It was a spirit that only attacked at night and appeared to people in the guise of a human. If one came within range, it threw a malignant object "like a stone" at the unwary person and this stone caused illness and possible death. The Yurupari could walk on land, but it often flew through the air making a thin whistling sound in its progress. There were two types of Yurupari. One consisted of fresh water dolphins that traveled at night as Yurupari and the other were the real Yurupari that dwelled in the land of the Yurupari from where they made sorties against humans. Of all the evil spirits that preyed on the Mundurucú, this one was most dangerous.

It was mentioned previously that a person's shadow, as distinguished from his true soul, could take evil form after the death of its owner. This "shadow" turned into the ashik, a very tiny person that could only be seen vaguely and fleetingly by living humans. Only the ashik that were the shadows of girls who died when still small were dangerous, for they stole the souls of infants. Just as the little girl used to reach for the babies pleading, "Come here," so did her ashik take the souls of the children. The mother resorted to magical charms to guard her children against it.

777 23. Métraux points out that the Yurupari was originally a Tupinamba supernatural which was adopted by the Jesuits to signify the Christian Satan, and which has been ascribed various qualities in its diffusion throughout the Amazon. (Métraux, 1928, pp. 58-60.) It is possible that its origin, or, at least some of its qualities, among the Mundurucú may be attributed to caboclo influence.

754 The most common affliction of the supernatural was *caushi*. The *caushi* was not a spirit but an object carved to a certain form by a sorcerer, given malignant animation by him, and sent sometimes against certain people, but usually against anyone that it might encounter. All illness was [753] caused by *caushi* and, therefore, ultimately by witchcraft.

756 Shamanism

The chief function of the Wundurucú shaman was curing. Among his other duties was the ceremonial one of guarding the people against the attacks of *Turunarí* during certain rites. He was also responsible for putting in a deep sleep by a magical spell the people of a village about to be attacked and for feeding the spirit "mothers" of the game.

The power of shamanism was hereditary in the patrilineal line and present since birth. All the children of a shaman, including daughters, possessed the power, but, today, the women do not practice any more. In the aboriginal culture, female shamans had only a few specific ceremonial functions and did not cure. Curing was done by the common [755] practice of blowing smoke on the sick person and then extracting the evil object, or *caushi*, by massage and suction. The shaman then prescribed certain barks and roots applied externally or drunk mixed with water that were supposed to 756 heal the internal damage done by the evil object. During 276 the cure, the shaman smoked a large cigarette to generate the necessary curative smoke, but he did not inhale in large enough quantities to produce tobacco narcosis as do the

754 [276] Tenetehara and Tapirapé shamans.[24] This was done only when the shaman "traveled" to find the "mother of the game" in order to feed her. The shaman performed his services free of charge and was in no way liberated from the work of the man. He enjoyed prestige due to his position as a curer and also due to fear of him as a potential sorcerer.

754 Only the shaman had the sorcerer's power. Others could learn the effective techniques, but they were not able to launch the evil object into the air or endow it with its malignant force. He was also capable of turning himself into a jaguar and creating other jaguars that he sent against people. The penalty for sorcery was death. This severity is explained by the Mundurucú, who say "If we had no sorcerers there would be no sickness and people would not die so fast. So we have to kill them." At present, only men practice shamanism and are recognized as being shamans and only men are killed as sorcerers, but Tocantins mentions three cases of women accused of witchcraft in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[25]

755 All sickness and death were believed to be caused by sorcery, but it was only when a few people died that a powerful shaman was asked to detect the sorcerer. Only [illegible] could do this [illegible] "the shaman is able to see everything." The shaman might not [illegible] tell the

24. Wagley, 1942.

25. Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109-111.

754 residents of the afflicted village who was the guilty party, but after the illness became serious he informed them and they took the decision as a group to kill the accused. His closer relatives were not informed of these plans, but they made no attempt to avenge his death in the face of the community imposed punishment. Most executions were carried out by the suspect's fellow villagers, but this was not invariably the case. Close relatives of persons supposedly bewitched could be suspected, but this was not generally the case, for the Mundurucú sorcerer is said to usually release his evil objects (*caxibi*) or jaguars against anyone that they may encounter. The only explanation for such generalized malice is that "the sorcerer is angry at everything."

Ceremonies

756 In addition to the ceremonies that centered around the trophy head, two ceremonies, both of which can be referred to as "Festival of the Dead," were devoted to the spirit "mothers" as a means of maintaining their good will and thus insuring better hunting. One of these, the *Aralerai*, was held only every three to five years and only in one village at a time, as nearly the whole rainy season was consumed by the festivities. This ceremony was celebrated in a short form that lasted only ten days and which was known as the *Ta'ecurwrip*. It occurred almost every [illegible] *Aralerais* and shifted its location from village to village every year. Hundreds of visitors from villages all over

796 Wundurucania used to attend, and hunting parties scoured the nearby forests to maintain the enlarged village population during the ceremonies. A feature of both rites was ceremonial imitations of the various beasts by the male participants. The imitation of the tapir could only be done by a society known as the hiushi (mothers of the tapir). Members of this society were recruited by ceremonial capture by hiushi of the opposite moiety. The ceremonies were held at the initiative of one of the older men of the village, often, but not necessarily, the chief. This man acted as leader and organizer of the ceremony, but he was aided in the necessary preparations by all the village.

796 778 534 The above ceremonies were centered in the men's house. The men's house was also central to those rites involving the sacred trumpets. When a new men's house was built, the trumpets were shifted under cover of darkness from the old house to the new in a procession accompanied by the sacred flutes of other villages and the male visitors. The women remained confined to their houses and cried in memory of the fact that, according to legend, the trumpets and the men's house once belonged to them. Much the same procedure was followed when new trumpets were installed. The trumpets were made in secrecy in a secluded part of the forest and brought to the village to a similar after dark [illegible]. One ritual so frequent in occurrence as not to warrant classification as a ceremony was the feeding and playing of the

796 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house,
778 the man who carried out the food had to bring a portion into
534 the trumpet chamber and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "Here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

796 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need
775 to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the species "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulas that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

796 All Mundurucú religious ceremonies were male domi-
562 nated. Women served only as observers and were able to participate at times in a play capacity only, except for one or two occasions in which female shamans took part. Parts
796 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was
562 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a
535

796 lesser degree, for the men led the dance and played the in-
562 strements. This was a circle dance in which animals, birds,
535 and fish were imitated and, although greatly enjoyed, had no religious significance.

[pp 70- end, not processed]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Munduruku SQ13

000

A REPRINT FROM

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST

Organ of
THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

VOLUME 58, NO. 3 JUNE, 1956

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Matrilocality and Patrilocality in Mundurucú Society

ROBERT F. MURPHY
University of California, Berkeley

UNILINEAL descent and uniform residence, by definition, follow one of but two possible lines, the male or the female. Simple arithmetic would therefore dictate that there are four possible combinations of common descent and residence. Only three of the combinations, however, are found to have any frequent and reliable occurrence. Kroeber (1952:212) noted the single lapse in the following observation:

> "Logically the possibility arises of a fourth plan of society: matrilineal but patrilocal . . . I do not know of such a society, and should expect its appearance to be rare."

This combination is certainly unusual, and ethnographic literature yields practically no descriptions of its unequivocal occurrence. In most cases, the uniloculity or uniloculity of the group is questionable. For example, Leach and Broch (1947:455) claim the Kachin people of Burma to have patrilineal clans and matrilocal residence. However, the sources which they cite in support of this contention (Marshall 1922; Heine-Geldern 1923) do not warrant such positive affirmations as to the rule of descent. This conclusion with regard to the Kachin is verified by Murdock (1956). Residence rules are likewise subject to misinterpretation, for in many cultures matrilocality is frequently a temporary state followed by permanent patrilocality.

In 1952 the writer discovered the coexistence of matrilocality and patrilocality among the Mundurucú Indians of the upper Tapajós River in central Brazil.[1] Existing information on the Mundurucú had led me to believe, before field research, that the group was patrilineal. Subsequent field investigation proved the contrary to be true, and gives us one of our few authenticated accounts of a patrilineal group in which postmarital residence is permanently matrilocal.

The purpose of this paper is to present the pertinent data for the use of students of social organization, to describe how such a system functions, and to discuss its significance in terms of the evolution of social structure. Considerations of the latter problem will be reserved until the conclusions of this paper, for much of the discussion will hinge upon what seems incongruous, traditional, or dysfunctional in Mundurucú society. This material, when analyzed with reference to the limited amount of historical data available, suggests strongly that the Mundurucú shifted from uniloculity to matrilocality in the first half of the nineteenth century. The bearing of such a change upon Murdock's observations (1949:190) on the difficulty of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent becomes immediately apparent when it is considered that much of Murdock's position depends upon his persuasive argument that a patrilineal society can change from patrilocality to matrilocality only with great difficulty. It would seem that this shift in residence patterns is possible under certain conditions which will be analyzed functionally among the Mundurucú. Matrilocality, following Murdock's use of residence as a determinant

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1955)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of dowry, is one of the preconditions to the development of matrilineality [2]. That the latter change never occurred among the Mundurucú can be partially explained by the fact their subsequent involvement in the commercial exploitation of wild rubber has resulted in bilocality and neolocality (Murphy 1956).

It is because of this later breakdown of unilocality that my description of Mundurucú social organization will refer to mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society. Much of the social structure described below is still observable in certain conservative Mundurucú villages and served to supplement and corroborate information obtained from old informants.

THE MUNDURUCÚ

Since Mundurucú culture is not well documented, even for a South American group, a few prefatory remarks are in order. Linguistically, the Mundurucú have been classified as "remotely" Tupian by Nimuendajú (1948:973). However, a summary comparison of Mundurucú and Tupí indicates that if a genetic relationship does exist, it could only be very obscure and distant. It is possible that the substantial number of Tupian loan words in the Mundurucú lexicon had led Nimuendajú to an erroneous conclusion. The final resolution of this problem will be of importance to the prehistory of the Mundurucú and of the entire central Amazon basin.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of the chronicles in the late eighteenth century when they launched a series of strong raids against other Indian tribes and white colonists in the lower Amazon Valley. Their late appearance on the historical scene and subsequent northward thrust into the vicinity of the lower Madeira River suggest that the Mundurucú originated in the highlands of Mato Grosso and thence migrated northwards. However, their only known homeland is in the region of mixed gallery forest and savannah east of the upper Tapajós River, between 6° and 8° south latitude. This is where the remnants of the tribe are located today.

After their pacification by Portuguese colonial forces at the end of the eighteenth century, the Mundurucú entered into a long period of peaceful symbiosis with the whites (Kiesslin Serra 1869:6-8). Traders and government officials capitalized on the renowned aggressiveness of the Mundurucú by employing them as mercenary warriors against tribes still hostile to the whites. In 1835, their services were sought in the suppression of the Revolution of the Cabanos (Barro 1885:132), and at the end of the nineteenth century their war parties were still being enlisted for the rubber tappers of the Madeira River (Coudreau 1897:38). Fighting was not the only source of trade goods for the Mundurucú. Since earliest times, the white settlers of the Amazon valley have exploited the natural products of the region to the neglect of agriculture. The resultant shortage of local sources of subsistence forced them to rely in part upon the products of the Indian gardens. Thus, the Mundurucú were deeply involved in the sale of surplus manioc flour as early as 1819 (Martius 1867:369). Manioc flour continued to be their principal trade commodity until the late nineteenth century, when wild rubber assumed primacy (Tocantins 1877).

The middle of the nineteenth century found the Mundurucú of the upper

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-195311956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 3000. The communities were located, in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the matrilineal clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outsiders." "Outsiders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outsiders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The customs and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

While unremitting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intergroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since past statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[i.e., the middle of the savannah country.—Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were respected as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path. 726 476 182

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú. 911

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole. 727 796

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society: 591 614

"The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason 614 428

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tabó*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[2] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tabó* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibó, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *dirsai*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *dirsai* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudirsai, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

formed indirectly, for an Aru clan member is really a descendant of the dwellers of the river of the parrot. In short, the word for clan is suggestive of the origin of the clan as a local group.

Each Mundurucú village harbored a sacred trumpet which was kept in the men's house, guarded from the eyes of the women. These trumpets were the functional equivalent of the more widely distributed bullroarer. The trumpets were owned by clans, and within them resided the *tabi* (*ahi* person) of the clan and another class of spirits called the *ahi karibi ipowit*, or "companions of the trumpet." The latter also served as clan spirits, secondary to the *tabi* proper of the clan. The "companions of the trumpets" were similarly named after plants, birds, and animals but, unlike the *tabi*, never bore the same name as the clan. Nearly all of the clans had more than one spirit "companion" and in many cases the same "companion" was shared by two or more clans. Where such overlapping existed, the clans owning the trumpets having common "companions" were considered to have a very close relationship, and they either shared a trumpet or their respective trumpets were considered to be one and the same. In anthropological terms, they were of the same phratry. However, not all clans in the same phratry were equally close. For example, let us suppose that there is a phratry of three clans called A, B, and C. Clan A has spirit "companion" x, B has "companions" x and y, and clan C has "companion" y. Clans A and C have no common "companion" but are linked through clan B with which they share "companions." The closeness of both clans A and C to clan B is such that members of clan A or C can borrow the name B upon their young, and vice-versa. However, clans A and C cannot exchange clan names, although they recognize a common bond.

It might be hypothesized that clans A and C have the same spirit "companion of the trumpet" as clan B because they are offspring of the latter. This hypothesis is reinforced by the existence of four clans having subclans. The subclans have the same name as the main clan but the latter is spoken of as the "real" one, while the members of the subclan are referred to as *kakawet*, which can be freely translated as "dwellers of the same place." An interesting facet of the clan and subclan relationship is that the name of the subclan and its trumpet spirits are, in three of the four cases, diminutives of those of the clan. For example, the Kirishi clan (large tiaba tree) has a subclan named Kirishinan (a small species of tiaba tree). The "companion of the trumpets" of both clan and subclan is the fox, but that of the clan is the large fox and that of the subclan is the small fox. The above factors and the especially close feeling between members of the two groups point to the subclan as an offshoot of the clan. In time, the subclan could probably achieve complete independence merely by assuming a new name, but a phratric relationship would continue through the common trumpet "companion."

The clan had no residential basis in the nineteenth century, and little manifest function aside from a limited number of ceremonial duties. The only external symbols of clanship were geometric designs, which were painted on the posts of the men's house by the clan members in residence, and the clan name,

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1954
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

which was pertinent to each member's given name. However, the clan operated as a powerful force in tribal integration and were of utmost importance in the structuring of interpersonal relationships.

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

The list of kinship terms used by the Mundurucú male presented below should suggest to the reader some very pertinent hypotheses about Mundurucú social organization.

Terms		*Referential*	
ofjut	father's father, mother's father	ofjut djut	father's father, mother's father
ewah	father's mother	ewah ewh	father's mother
ofjung	mother's mother, father's sister	ofjung djung	mother's mother, father's sister
bai	father, father's brother	we bai, bai bai	father
ai !	mother, mother's sister	bai bai	father's brother
wayrd	mother's brother, father-in-law, elder brother, elder cross and parallel male cousins	a ofu, ai !	mother
e kit	sister's son, son-in-law, younger brother, younger cross and parallel male cousins	ai !	mother's sister
de ⅋	sister, cross and parallel female cousins, daughter, brother's and sister's daughter, son's and daughter's daughter	e djorn	mother's brother, father's sister's son
e nam	brother-in-law (of same age), age mate of opposite moiety	wayrd yd	elder brother, elder mother's sister's son, elder father's brother's son
kekit, ralpi	son, brother's son	e kit pit, e kit kit	younger brother, younger mother's sister's son, younger father's brother's son
sapi	daughter's and son's son	we dici	sister, father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters
		de ⅋ ⅋	father's sister's daughter
		ee dici	mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
		e pir	son, brother's son
		e ee dici	daughter, brother's daughter
		nahuyedich	grandchildren (all categories)

The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, resembles the Tupi-Guarani type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão (1946). It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both referenced under the term *ewak*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avunculate, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avunculate marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, is the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this theory comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *ne ole*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avunculate marriage. To further classify the brother's wife as *ne ole* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avunculate marriage. The equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of avunculate marriage. Although contemporary Mundurucú informants deny that sister's daughter marriage ever occurred and affirm it to be proscribed, this disparity between the kinship system and actual practice will be seen to be a result of culture lag.

The method of analysis employed above seems to follow almost completely that used by Rivers (1924), and is no doubt in violation of Murdock's dictum (1949:123) that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society." It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avunculate marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate, or the sororate but by all four practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework. In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock states (*Ibid.*:120) the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following:

> "Since multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."

All Mundurucú considered themselves to be related to all other Mundurucú by ties of varying degrees of closeness. Ego's closest relatives were the members of the nuclear family. Beyond this, the clan became the unit of greatest solidarity, and the Mundurucú emphasized their brotherhood with fellow members. They also felt a closer affinity for members of their own moiety as contrasted

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to the opposite one. Finally, when a Mundurucú is queried about the close solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

Extension of kin terms was complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjai*) or "father" (*ba'i*, depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "older" (*wen ya*) or "younger (*a kit*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*kobit*) and "grandsons" (*ispi*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjang*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ki*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú had "grandfathers" (*adjai*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*ispi*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*wenya*) and "younger (*a kit*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*a ram*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*ami*), "mother" (*ai ki*), and "daughter" (*da ki*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Mundurucú could, and still can, place every other Mundurucú in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguinal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

The picture of Mundurucú society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Mundurucú intervillage connections.

The social structure of the Mundurucú village was characterized by a deep cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Mundurucú village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the western extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five each houses

in each village, and informants say that villages of four or five houses were 421
common in the last century.

The men's house was of square floor plan, but had an unusual silhouette. 422
Although a semipermanent structure, it was built in the form of a huge house, open on three sides. At the southwest corner was a small, completely enclosed chamber which housed the sacred trumpets. Running from back to front of the men's house at an elevation of five feet above the ground were three long, horizontal poles. One pole ran down the middle and the other two were on the outer edges of the structure. From these poles the men hung their hammocks in two separate rows. The men of Red moiety slept in the north row, and the men of White moiety occupied the south row.

The Mundurucú men's house was unlike most such institutions in the de- 423
gree to which it divided the everyday life of the men from that of the women. 424
Here the division was complete. The men neither ate, slept, worked nor relaxed with their women. Every male, from the age at which his tattooing was completed and he became a full-fledged warrior, slept in the men's house. His bows and arrows were kept in the thatch above his hammock. The hammock arrangement followed moiety lines in the north-south separation of the hammock rows, and clan comembers slept adjacent to each other. They, in turn, were adjoined by members of other clans of the same phratry. Due to the fragmentation caused by matrilocal residence, several clans were represented in most men's houses. The contemporary village of Cabruá, for example, has a population of only seventy, but men of six different clans were present.

When a Mundurucú married, there was no ceremony of any sort, and a 425
minimum of formalities were observed. The young man or his parents went to the girl's parents and requested her hand. The request was usually granted except when the young man was for some reason undesirable to the girl's family. Prearranged marriages were common and were often the means by which cross-cousins were united. The actual event of marriage was little more than a public recognition of the alliance. The bridegroom moved to the wife's village and took up residence in the men's house there. He brought his daily kill of game to his bride's house, and his exclusive sexual rights to the girl were recognized.

In most other respects he had remarkably loose bonds with the household 426
of his wife's family. He frequently went there for a between-meal snack or to 427
play with the children. However, the large meals which he ate before and after the day's hunt at morning and at nightfall were taken in the company of the other men immediately outside of the men's house. The women of each household prepared an equal part of the food consumed there, and all of the men squatted around the common pots to eat. The separation of men and women was made complete by the fact that male craftwork, such as the manufacture of arrows and baskets, was done in the men's house, and the men whiled away their idle hours there.

Even when it involved a move to a new village, matrilocality imposed no 428
great burden on the men. They did not shift from one dwelling or household to another, but from one men's house to another. The internal arrangement of

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow classmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc always involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic pastes.

Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the same as in his native community, and he also did not come under the direct 476
supervision of his father-in-law. Any difficulties that might arise due to lack of 621
familiarity with his new territory were mitigated by the fact that nearly all of his activities outside the village were carried out in the company of men who had been in residence for a longer period of time.

Whereas the men's house was the locus of male activity, the life of the female 972
revolved around the dwelling. The result of matrilocal residence was that each 621
dwelling housed an extended family of related females, a rather unusual arrangement in a strongly patrilineal society. This can hardly be called a matrilineage for lineal descent among the Mundurucú was reckoned in the father's line, whereas the members of the household were related through their mothers. In terms of lineal institutions, each generation of females was of the opposite moiety from the women of the generation preceding and following it. The husbands of the women also belonged to the moiety opposite to that of their wives. They could come from any clan within the moiety, with the result that the men of any one household represented a number of clans. Under this system, there was no residential basis even for lineages, and the clans were scattered throughout the Mundurucú villages. Local nuclei, such as are found in most patrilineal clan systems, could consist of no more than a man, his daughters and his unmarried sons, except in the case of the chief's family as described further in this paper.

The internal order of the household is indicative of its organization. Each 842
woman hung her hammock in close proximity to her children and her closest female relatives. The personal possessions of the women were stored near their own hammocks. There was, however, but one food larder and one fireplace. Garden produce, regardless of its origin, was shared by the extended family, and although the husband formally presented his kill of game to his wife, it was butchered, cooked and eaten by the women of the household, and a portion was sent to the men's house and the other dwellings. Only in the case of very small game such as the *cutia* and the parrot was the food cooked and eaten by the nuclear family. Otherwise, the nuclear family had no household economy whatsoever.

It has already been stated that gardens were considered to be owned by 676
individual men but that the labor performed on them was predominantly col- 252
lective. Except for manioc planting, the unit of female collective labor was the household. This pattern extended to the hard and time-consuming *wajabá* manioc processing, in which a true division of tasks was practiced. The manioc had to be dug out of the ground, carried back to the village, grated, the prussic acid extracted and, finally, toasted into the flat cakes known throughout the Amazon as *farja* or made into manioc flour for the cruder. Since all of these steps in the process could be done concurrently, the oldest women of the household delegated certain tasks to the others. While some women were tending the fire and taking the completed product from the griddle, others were loading, unloading, and operating the *tipiti*, or manioc press. The latter women, in turn, were given a constant supply of unpressed manioc pulp by the

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

676 women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be
677 occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

676 Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of
623 shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My main informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either
672 possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exercise of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women
[674] went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

622 There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftainry and matrilineal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilineal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *ewpdobakat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in patrimatrilineal residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal tie of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mundurucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was
[678] a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ15

The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in 512
the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The 778
three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's 539
house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[a]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trum- 782
pets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the 778
chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the 539
trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual 639
which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor 622
from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely unilineal nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruk belonged to the Wawe clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundu- 591
ucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" 774
to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952: 49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1956: 755) to see "social structures and cultural patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as stable as most social sys-

591 tems, despite combining matrilocality and patrilineality. Contemporary in-
179 formants claim matrilocality to be the normal rule since ancient times, but historical data suggestive of antecedent patrilocality among the Mundurucú come from the German explorers Spix and Martius, who encountered ele-
[14] ments of the tribe near the lower Madeira River in 1819. The reader should be warned that these observers are not completely reliable, and several obvious errors were encountered in their works. We can only verify their information by comparing it with what is reliably known of the structure of Mundurucú society.

604 According to Martius (1867:393), the Mundurucú were apparently patri-
179 local, for a man could eject his wife from the household. Every young man,
591 however, had to go through a period of bride service lasting several years (Ibid:392). The same writer claimed that when there was no other potential husband available for a young woman, the mother's brother could marry her (Ibid:393). This is of some significance, not only because it gives historical confirmation for the previous analysis from kinship terminology (and Martius was not aware of the "sociological" interpretation of his terms), but also be-
[17] cause it tends to bolster the hypothesis of antecedent patrilocality. The practice of avunculate marriage is quite widespread in the Amazon basin and in northeastern South America and the Islands (Lowie 1949:317). In all cases, it is correlated with a period of bride service followed by permanent patrilocality. Both Kirchoff (1932:38) and Herman (1949:111-12) state that avunculate marriage serves to liberate men from the period of temporary matrilocal residence. Whether or not avunculate marriage had this function among the Mundurucú is not known, but its wide distribution in the Tropical Forest region in combination with initial bride service and patrilocality argues for its former existence among the Mundurucú where, according to Martius, the same pattern was in existence.

604 The reader will remember that contemporary Mundurucú informants
[28] specifically and vehemently deny the contemporary or past practice of avunculate marriage, and this form of marriage was not collected in genealogies. This
591 is understandable in the matrilocal framework because, although the mother's brother was a member of the opposite moiety to that of his sister's daughter, he was nonetheless a member of the same household until his marriage. In a patrilocal society, the sister's daughter would not reside in the same household and might not even be a resident of her uncle's village. The disappearance of avunculate marriage due to a change from patrilocality to matrilocality would be consistent with much anthropological speculation on the origin of incest prohibitions, whether explained as a result of the necessity to deny sexual access to one's familial intimates, which could disrupt the household (Malinowski 1930:130), or as a result of the need to marry out of the ingroup in order to extend its ties with the larger society (White 1948:425). Titiev (1943:316) has noted the importance of residence in the definition of incest in other cultures:

> "... there are numerous cases in which exogamy is enforced among co-residents even when there is no demonstrable or putative genealogical connection."

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing descriptions of Mundurucú patrilocality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:326-28) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1917), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs.

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilineal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of adhering to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú residual clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phyletic affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', meaning that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and premarital stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1956) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring Tupian groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multiclanal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community premarital uxori marriage influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift from patriliocality to matriliocality, due probably to economic pressures which increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group.* This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matriliocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patriliocality to matriliocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female matrilineal producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Murphy 1960: 263-264). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1948: 313). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilineality in the chief's line would have been amplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be presumptuous to surmise that the patrilineal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú manifested by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineage. Murdock, as has been stated, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineage to the matrilineage is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216-17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on their visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867: 366) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilineal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of the custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

adjustment of the male to a new village was and is not difficult. He was not integrated into a new household but into a men's house in which he would find fellow clan and moiety members from his own and other villages.

Matrilocality, once achieved, sets the residential basis for matrilineality. Murdock (*Ibid.*:218) admits the possibility of change from patrilineality to matrilineality only with an intervening stage of bilateality, but then says (*Ibid.*:212) that such a stage is also "probable" in the transition from matrilineality to patrilineality. It seems obvious that all aspects of descent will not reverse at once. Thus, if the pressures that produced matrilocality overturned in matrilineality, it would be academic to debate whether or not it was a "direct transition," despite an intervening period of bilateality. The question would merely be which mode of change can be accomplished most rapidly and with least stress. I have previously pointed to the ownership of the child by the wife's family and the taboo on avuncular marriage as matrilineal features in Mundurucú society which probably evolved shortly after the change to matrilocality. Whether or not the Mundurucú would have become matrilineal but for the inroads of the rubber trade, I leave as an open question. It is clear that matrilineal influences from other groups might easily have caused such a change, and it is also apparent that the patrilineal clans underwent a change and no doubt a diminution of function due to loss of their local nuclei. By the same token, patrilineality as a mode of reckoning kinship was weakened by loss of its residential basis.

If the Mundurucú were indeed transitional, the very rarity of the case argues in favor of Murdock's hypothesis, especially since he "makes no assumptions about ultimate origins or overall priorities among the several types of social structure" (*Ibid.*:219). If, however, assumptions of priorities are taken into consideration, the Mundurucú fit into a developmental framework which can be traced in terms of more closely definable priorities of cultural evolution. This continuum would range from the patrilineal hunting band (Steward 1936) through the emergence of the localized clan from such bands (Goldschmidt 1960, Steward 1957) to, perhaps, the unilineal patrilineal clan (Tax 1953). Although there is no proof that the Mundurucú went through the latter stage, it may have occurred as a consequence of population increase due to early horticulture. With intensified horticulture, as among the Mundurucú, matrilocal pressures and eventual matrilineality would result. This evolutionary scheme is a model and not an invariant sequence, for local historical and ecological situations influence particular culture continua, as is evidenced by Mundurucú history. The latter variables operate as codeterminants with the factors reproduced by the evolution of technology and economy to produce sequences which are multilinear in nature. The very plurality of the causal process renders any over-all generalizations on the evolution of social structure matters of probability. The Mundurucú example by itself cannot show what is probable, but it does indicate the possible. A change from patrilineality to matrilineality probably occurred in this typical patrilineal, patrilocal society, and a further transition to the matrilineage was therefore possible. More field work, especially in South America, and re-examination of the existing sources with this hypothesis in mind might call up more additional examples.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

NOTES

* The field research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

The writer's wife, Yolanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

* For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and u have the phonetic values of Spanish i and u; ü is pronounced as in German; ł and ł are nasal sounds.

* The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on bilateral systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguished from the matrilineal system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein.

* The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep overlapping sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male informantes is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the harness." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological explanation of this complex. It merely indicates the deep connection between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purposes, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure.

* The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of increase in the economic importance of women. Eggan (1950:120) views the convergence of matrilineality among the Hopi in much the same light.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Nimuendaju Unkel, Curt-Ehrenfried von
1909 Viagem do Rio Tapajós para o Pará. Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 71:1-18. Rio de Janeiro.

Orton, Harold W.
1963 The naturalist on the river Amazon. London.

Crevaux, Henri
1887 Voyage au Tapajos. Paris.

Steward, Julian
1937 The Chaco tribes: a social anthropology of South American tribes. F. Eggan, ed. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press. pp. 35-62.
1950 Social organization of the Western Pueblos. Chicago. The University of Chicago Press.
1956 Social anthropology and the method of controlled comparison. American Anthropologist 58:740-42.

Gifford, Edward W.
1940 Social organization in native California and the origin of class. American Anthropologist 42:444-56.

Ribeiro, Gonçalves F.
1907 Contribuições para a etnologia do Vale do Amazonas. Archivo do Museu Nacional 11:1-174. Rio de Janeiro.

Steinen, Karl von den, R.
1927 Zeitschrift. ed. Brazilian. G. Shanxiera Villanhanda, vol. 11, Stuttgart.

6: Murphy E.-S (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[illegible] Kroeber, Ruth.
1952 [illegible]. Zeitschrift für Ethnologie 84:61-72.
Kroeber, Alfred L.
1952 Basic and secondary patterns in social structure. In The Nature of Culture, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, pp. 210-18.
Kunze, Aubrey
1956 Mundurucú societies. Primitive Man 7, No. 4:55-67.
Lewis, Oscar M. and Jan O. M. Broek
1947 Social organization and the long house in Southeast Asia. American Anthropologist 49:444-53.
Lowie, Robert H.
1948 Social organization. New York, Rinehart.
1949 Social and political organization of the tropical forest and marginal tribes. Handbook of South American Indians 3:313-90. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 143.)
Macfarlane, D.
1950 Culture. Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 5:[illegible].
Mainwaring, Robert I.
1922 The Karen people of Burma: a study in anthropology and ethnology. The Ohio State University Bulletin 26, No. 13.
Martius, Karl F. P. von
1867 Beiträge zur ethnographie und sprachenkunde Südamerikas, zweite Abtheilung, Vol. 1, Leipzig.
Métraux, Alfred
1948 The Tupinambá. Handbook of South American Indians 3:95-133. (Bureau of American Ethnology Bull. 143.)
Mitchell, Gerald P.
1949 Social structure. New York, Macmillan.
1954 Personal communication.
Murphy, Robert F.
1956 The Mundurucú village. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University. (Ann Arbor, University Microfilms.)
Nimuendaju, Curt
1939 Rapport entre les Mundurucú et les Tupí. Anthropos 33:475-78.
Radcliffe-Brown, A. R.
1952 The study of kinship systems. In Structure and Function in Primitive Society. Glencoe, The Free Press, pp. 49-89.
Rivers, W. H. R.
1924 Kinship and social organization. London.
Steward, Julian H.
1936 The economic and social basis of primitive bands. In Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber. Berkeley, pp. 331-50.
1937 Ecological aspects of southwestern society. Anthropos 32:87-104.
Tyler, Stanley
1953 The influence of common residence on the universal classification of kinship. American Anthropologist 55:753-60.
Tocantins, Antonio M. G.
1877 Estudos sobre a tribo "Mundurucú." Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro 40, No. 2:73-183. Rio de Janeiro.
Wagley, Charles and Eduardo Galvão
1948 Apinayé. Tupí-Guarani. Boletim do Museu Nacional, Antropologia, N.S. No. 6.
Wagley, Lucia
1948 The initiation and prohibition of incest. American Anthropologist 50:422-23.
Warner, Norman W.
1937 The north-west Amazons. London.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Y

CCO

A REPRINT FROM

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST

Organ of

THE AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
AND AFFILIATED SOCIETIES

VOLUME 59, NO. 6 DECEMBER, 1957

[Title page]

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion[1]

ROBERT F. MURPHY
University of California, Berkeley

GEORG SIMMEL (1955:35-4) noted that warfare is frequently the *only* mode of social interaction between primitive societies. He saw the social relations of such groups to be characterized by diametric opposition between the norms of behavior applicable to members of the ingroup, on one hand, and toward members of outgroups, on the other. This dichotomy was internally self-consistent to Simmel, and he wrote (*ibid*:34):

> For this reason, the same drive to expand and to act, which within the group requires unconditional peace for the integration of interests and for unfettered interaction, may appear to the outside world as a tendency toward war.

Intergroup conflict was viewed by Simmel has having positive functions; it provides the basis for group formation and cohesion, and it accentuates and maintains group boundaries. Conflict, then, is not aberrant or dysfunctional. Rather, it structures social relations both within and between societies.

Lewis Coser (1956:38), writing to Simmel's general thesis, points out that social cohesion does not automatically follow from conflict, for "social systems lacking social solidarity are likely to disintegrate in the face of conflict, although some unity may be despotically enforced." The corollary proposition is offered that:

> . . . if the basic social structure is stable, if basic values are not questioned, cohesion is usually strengthened by war through challenge to, and revitalization of, values and goals which have been taken for granted (*ibid*:38).

Coser's view by no means contradicts that of Simmel but is an elaboration of the latter's thesis, as cited above, that intergroup hostility and social cohesion are only analytically *different* aspects of the same social process. Conflict and social solidarity are mutually re-enforcing; conflict promotes social integration, and solidarity is necessary if the group is to take effective common action against the outer world.

The present paper will analyze the warfare pattern of a Brazilian Indian group, the Mundurucú, in the light of the propositions given by Simmel and elaborated by Coser. We will go beyond the thesis that warfare contributes to the maintenance of the social structure to consider also how this social structure organized the membership for military activity. Further, the thesis will be advanced that this type of social structure actually generated the bellicose activities and attitudes that functioned to preserve it, and that this circular relationship allowed Mundurucú society to continue through a period during which it was subjected to severe internal and external threats. Finally, we will conclude with a general hypothesis upon the relation between social structure, social cohesion, and conflict.

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestiso colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Uxituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive
439 sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú
175 had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifica-
648 tions had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained
[178] intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigor-
ously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard
core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other
[177] Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it
was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by
them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains
to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published
sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn
now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during
this period.

22 The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savan-
361 nahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essen-
tially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was impor-
tant throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity.
241 Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits,
439 and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in
Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their
most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

621 The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic
[462] aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried
out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the
[591] horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and
the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen;
each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each
Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house;
the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate,
worked, and relaxed within its confines.

611 The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent.
The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by
591 loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between
patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the
resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages
continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

578 Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village,
and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and
476 cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the
778 minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggres-
sion between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the or-
ganizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *kawéi*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazonas" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 200 miles from home; and 200 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

[132]

721 559 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the paiwari. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

[561]

721 204 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

[575] [701] [594]

621 701 722 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1823:1312) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness.

No various rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments ahead to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew an eagle hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow shaft, were ignited and hurled at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support.

The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in *rigor mortis*. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the wailing warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran

?: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the other men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *ihuwaitiit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the ihuwaitiit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's ihuwaitiit to sever his humerus and return it for the moiety rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The ihuwaitiit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's ihuwaitiit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Machacha society, the shaman, and the ihuwaitiit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajeboili*. Literally, the title meaits "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboili

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where no magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajebuiki spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores.

The Dajebuiki was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, leather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two pace teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of community participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Dawáki* or "mothers of the arrow." The Dawáki was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Dawáki. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajebuiki and his wife resumed their normal life.[9]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

7: Murphy E-1 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

wars. The necessity of ever having to defend their home territory was denied, and provocation by other groups was not remembered as a cause of war in Mundurucú tradition. It might be said that enemy tribes caused the Mundurucú to go to war simply by existing, and the word for enemy meant merely any group that was not Mundurucú.

Despite this seemingly undirected aggressiveness, it was possible to establish through direct questioning and by analysis of field data that certain individual and social goals were realized through warfare. The more important of these goals will be analyzed and their significance as causes of the institution of warfare will be evaluated in the following section.

The Mundurucú were partially motivated to war by the quest for manufactured goods, which, as noted earlier, were obtained from the Brazilians in return for service as mercenary warriors against unspecified tribes. The symbiotic relationship that became established was noted by Chandless (1862:276) who wrote that the Mundurucú were "honest and faithful," and "very friendly toward white people, warring only against unspecified Indians while protecting those friendly with the whites."

The scope and importance of Mundurucú mercenary activities is impressive. In the early 19th century, the whites urged them to attack the troublesome Mura Indians of the lower Madeira River, and so great was their success that the Mura were scattered as far as the vicinity of Ega, hundreds of miles up the Amazon River (Bates 1863:106-8). Keren de Castel (1867:235-6) reported that many of the victims of the Mundurucú, among them the Mura, were forced to seek the protection of the white settlements. The traders who employed the Mundurucú thus obtained a dual advantage; the hostiles were not only quelled but were driven into the arms of the labor-hungry whites.

Later missions also assist to the alliance with the Brazilians. The Mundurucú were enlisted by colonial officials during the Revolution of the Cabelos in 1835-36, and one of their leaders in the war was given an honorary commission in the army in recognition of his services (Harris 1885:132)—Bates (1863:162) reports that in about 1853 the Mundurucú were instrumental in helping the Brazilians of the Madeira River to suppress the Araua Indians, and Tocantins (1877:140) states that shortly before his journey to the Mundurucú, the latter struck at a marauding group of Pumiriatiri Indians at the behest of the Brazilians. Coudreau (1897:39-40) relates another case of mercenary service by the Mundurucú, whom he characterizes as a people "known for selling their military value to whoever wants to pay for it." On this occasion, three traders of the Madeira River had been killed by hostile Indians, and their colleagues went to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River and offered merchandise in return for a retaliatory expedition. The offer was accepted but the sortie was a failure, for most of the 60 men and 40 women who took part in the raid died of illness before contacting the enemy.

Although mercenary service is one of the more interesting aspects of Mundurucú warfare during the 19th century, contemporary informants hardly thought it worthy of mention. They acknowledged their alliance with

the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the enumeration was secondary.

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but necessary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers.

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the movement compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own.

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajabiúli was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his followers. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muhacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means.

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that

the individual who demonstrates proficiency in the attainment of a socially desirable goal will himself be valued and that this will motivate him to appropriate action, but this still does not answer the question of why the goal and the accompanying activity is valued. Newcomb (1950:329) has stated the same case with urgency in regard to Plains warfare.

The trophy head was prized as a symbol of Mundurucú prowess and of the owner's status, but it was also sought because it was the center of a number of magico-religious observances. The trophy was thought to be pleasing to the spirit protectors of the game animals because it had inherent power, contingent upon the proper observance of connected ritual acts. The possession of a trophy head thus resulted in greater economic abundance, and in this sense it served the same general purpose as does the Jíwara festival. However, this aspect of the trophy quest does not cast much light upon Mundurucú headhunting, for alternate wayfind pleasing the spirits were known and practiced. The ceremonial and shamanistic techniques of propitiating the spirit protectors of game animals were complex both in practice and in ideational content. In contrast, the linkage of the trophy head and the spirits was vague and ephemeral, it is probable that headhunting developed subsequent to the rites connected with the animal spirits and had become only loosely integrated with them. It is to be expected that any important social activity will become value and belief collected in this manner, but it would be erroneous to proceed to explain the activity by its supporting ideology.

Finally, it should be considered that the Mundurucú looked upon fighting as a source of sport and excitement. The enemy was looked upon as game to be hunted, and the Mundurucú still speak of the partners in the same terms that they reserve for peccary and tapir. War was a relief from boredom, but it is not surprising that peace would be boring to people who consider themselves warriors. One might ask why they did not relieve boredom in log racing as do some groups, or in drinking bouts as did many of their neighbors. In short, can we not look upon activity and play drives as being inherent within the species and proceed from that vantage to explain the particular way they are manifested in particular cultures?

FUNCTIONS OF MUNDURUCÚ WARFARE

The manifest goals of warfare provide us with an understanding of the motives that motivated the Mundurucú warrior. The religious and sportive aspects of warfare were found to be considerably more ephemeral than were the economic and prestige goals involved, but even the latter two depended upon the existence of a social organization that allowed and encouraged intensive military activity by its very nature. Moreover, the most important single motivation to hostility was a generalized aggressiveness that recognized no specific aims, and this factor yields the most important single clue to an understanding of Mundurucú warfare. If specific goals do not fully explain the extent and intensity of the pattern, and if the pressure of external circumstances did not force battle, then the main dynamics of warfare must be sought

P: Murphy E-9 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucú SQ13

within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, 721
as the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostil- 182
ity against an amorphously inimical outside world.

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a re- 721
examination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of considera- 182
tion for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Dawáši, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads.

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar 619
juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mun- 621
durucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential 182
affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe.

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential 621
basis of patrilinearity and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the 562
only enduring group of corresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended 591
family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed 182
a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house.

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity 621
on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. 182
Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt 578

7: Murphy E-9 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945: 240-4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually prophylactic of social equilibrium.

582 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for
578 male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in intersexual relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[581] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilineal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

81 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of
622 Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his linealy eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

?: Murphy E-3 [1952-1953]1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intersocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was society and the killing of enemies, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be intensified without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world an ab enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intersocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

?: Murphy E-9 (1952-1953)1957 BQ13 Mundurucu BQ13

CONCLUSIONS

Our analysis of the functions of Mundurucú warfare has concluded that the institution operated to preserve the integration and solidarity of Mundurucú society. These findings accord closely with Simmel's theory of conflict and are also substantiated by Fernandes' (1952:356) conclusion on the functions of Tupinambá warfare. The means by which this social end was accomplished can be viewed as a variable of the Mundurucú type of society. The latter was of a unique order; it was structured so as to nearly kindly bonds throughout the tribe, but it was extremely vulnerable to any open display of aggression within the group. This, and the ambivalent position of the men, resulted in the suppression of hostility and the emphasis upon solidarity that characterized male social relations. Such solidarity could be maintained only through the release of latent aggression in a socially valued manner upon surrogate objects. Mundurucú warfare thus corresponds to Coser's (1956:40) formulation of the "safety valve" mechanism in society:

Social systems provide for specific institutions which serve to drain off hostile and aggressive sentiments. These safety valve institutions help to maintain the system by preventing otherwise probable conflict or by reducing its disruptive effects. They provide substitute objects upon which to displace hostile sentiments, as well as means of elimination. Through these safety valves, hostility is prevented from turning against the original object.

The achievement of specific ends or the defeat of a particular enemy were secondary considerations in Mundurucú warfare. They fought any group and they fought for the sake of fighting. The ultimate source of their belligerency was the repressed hostility generated within the society, and the ultimate source of repression was the potential destructiveness of intrasocietal aggression.

Safety valve institutions of one kind or another are probably universal in culture. Coser (*Ibid.*:41) distinguishes two means by which aggressiveness may safely be released by the members of a society. These are:

. . . *Ventilation*, which provide a socially sanctioned framework for carrying out conflict without leading to consequences that disrupt relations within a group, and those safety-valve institutions which serve to divert hostility onto substitute objects or which function as channels for cathartic release.

Mundurucú warfare and mourey fall into the class of "safety-valve institutions"; the structure of the society is such that Ventilation would be impossible insofar as the Mundurucú cannot publicly acknowledge the existence of intrasocietal hostilities. The institutionalized public arguments and wrestling matches of the Trumai Indians (Murphy and Quain 1955:57–59) and the spear throwing bouts between Upper Xingú tribes (Galvão 1950:366) are illustrations of cases in which hostility is allowed to appear in a controlled and sanctioned context and is thereby dissipated. Sides are drawn and the issue is resolved among the Upper Xingú groups; the Mundurucú cannot even afford to take sides openly.

Coser (1956: 156-7) has considered the relationship between conflict and the rigidity of the social structure, which he defines as "the degree to which it disallows direct expression of antagonistic claims," and concludes:

> Our hypothesis, that the need for safety-valve institutions increases with the rigidity of the social system, may be extended to suggest that unrealistic [i.e. ambivalent and not directed toward the frustrating object] conflict may be expected to arise as a consequence of rigidity present in the social structure.

Mundurucú warfare was clearly "unrealistic" and the social structure was rigid in Coser's sense. It is possible to broaden our example to include a larger category of rigid social structures and to consider their functional concomitants. I would propose as a statistically testable hypothesis that matrilineal societies must suppress open aggression in order to insure cohesion and continuity. If we take any matrilineal and matrilineal or bilateral society as our model, the system of residence tends to disperse males at least throughout the local community. Thus, any male will have close ties of kinship and economic interdependence with his housemates, his natal household, the households of his maternal uncle, and the households of his brothers. The same is true of patrilineal societies from the viewpoint of the women, but males are the principal political role-players in all human societies. Any conflict involving men therefore becomes a matter of deep community concern. As among the Mundurucú, if the lines of allegiance in a conflict situation are drawn according to kinship in any matrilineal society, bonds of local contiguity will be sundered; if primary loyalty is given to bonds of residence, the ties of kinship will be broken. In short, when the residence and kin groups of the male do not coincide, he acquires multiple commitments that may come into conflict. Also, the individual male will more readily repress his grievances if he cannot rely upon the full support of a military group.

Brief reference to the ethnographic literature suggests that the social solidarity of matrilineal groups is not restricted to my model. Writing of the Apinayé, Nimuendajú (1939:129) says:

> I have never heard of a case of rape nor witnessed anything of publicly scandalous adultery, larceny, or slander. Only when intoxicated do these natives inflict damage on property and bodily maltreatment on persons or commit manslaughter. Compared with any Šerente settlement the village of Bacaba, at least, is a model of internal peace and harmony, and this would hold for Gato Preto, too, in the absence of alcohol.

The Šerente and the Apinayé are Gê-speaking groups of eastern Brazil and are culturally quite similar. The principal difference between them is that the fractious Šerente are patrilineal and patrilocal, while the harmonious Apinayé are matrilineal and matrilocal. Turning to North America, we have the classical example of the matrilocal and "Apollonian" Pueblonns. Ellis (1951:199) has noted of Pueblo warfare:

> Beyond protection, warfare served to provide legitimate outlet for the frustrations and aggressions arising from unpermitted competition or suspicions thereof among peoples of the same general culture.

7: Murphy E-9 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The repression of open conflict among the Purihinaua accounts for the latent hostility that many ethnologists have seen seething below surface relations. Under modern conditions this often results in community fission, and the same process can be noted among the contemporary, outwarring Mundurucú. Lacking adequate safety-valves for the release of aggression, the Mundurucú now tend to withdraw from the frustrating situation.

Not all matrilocal groups repress aggression to the same extent as do the Mundurucú, nor are they as warlike. The greater emphasis of the Mundurucú upon social cohesion and external aggression stems from the persistence of patrilineal clans in a matrilocal society. This factor, combined with inter-village matrilocality, made hostility even more explosive and internal release systems less workable. It oriented the group toward warfare and provided the organization for its effective pursuit. Some deviation from our model is expectable, for there is no fixed and unvarying reservoir of aggression in society; it has its roots in the social structure, as does its expression. Our thesis states only that matrilocal societies must repress the open expression of intersocietal conflict and that this repressed hostility, variable in intensity, will be released through acceptable and nondisruptive means within the society, or through warfare, or through both. But warfare, it can be concluded, is an especially effective means of promoting social cohesion in that it provides an occasion upon which the members of the society unite and submerge their factional differences in the vigorous pursuit of a common purpose.

NOTES

[1] The field research upon which the article is based was conducted by my wife and me during 1952–53, and was supported by a Research Training Fellowship, granted by the Social Science Research Council, and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. Grateful acknowledgment is made to these institutions.

The present article was read in manuscript by David M. Schneider and profited greatly from his suggestions.

[2] This seemingly incredible metric was still remembered by the Urubú Indians of the upper Gurupi River in the state of Maranhão, according to a personal communication from the Brazilian ethnologist, Dr. Darcy Ribeiro.

[3] A fuller description of the ceremonies held subsequent to a successful raid will be published in a forthcoming monograph (Murphy n.d.).

REFERENCES CITED

ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO
1869 Navegação do Rio Tapajós para o Para (1770). Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro 9:1–16.

ALVES DE CASTRO, MANOEL
1917 Geografia brasileira. Rio de Janeiro.

BATES, HENRY W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazons. London.

CHANDLESS, W.
1862 Notes on the rivers Aritaua, Jurueua, and Tapajós. Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 30:119–128.

COSER, LEWIS A.
1956 The functions of social conflict. Glencoe, The Free Press.

CORMIER, HENRI
1957 Voyage au Tapajós, 1896. Paris.

ELKIN, FERNANDO RAMOS
1951 Patterns of aggression and the age cult in Southwestern Pueblos. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 7:177-203.

FURTADO, CELSO
1959 The structure and economics of Midwest southern. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 15:97-118.

FURTADO, FERNANDO
1952 A fronte social de in guerra no sertanejo Tapirapeno. São Paulo.

GRAMS, MEYER
1965 The dynamics of chastity among the Talmud. London, Oxford Press.

GUANÃS, EDUARDO
1950 O uso do propulsor entre as tribos do alto Xingu. Revista do Museu Paulista 4: 353-68.

HARTT, CHARLES F.
1885 Contribuições para a etnologia do Vale do Amazonas. Archivos do Museu Nacional 6:1-174. Rio de Janeiro.

MONTEIRO NOGUEIRA, JOSÉ
1862 Roteiro da viagem da cidade do Pará até as últimas colonias dos Domínios Portugueses no Rio Amazonas e Negro, 1768. Pará.

MURDOCK, GEORGE P.
1949 Matrilocality and patrilocality in Mundurucú society. American Anthropologist 59:414-26.

N. d. Mundurucú religion. Ms.

MURPHY, ROBERT F. and BUELL QUAIN
1955 The Trumai Indians of Central Brazil. American Ethnological Society, Monograph XXIV.

NIMUENDAJU, W. W.
1950 A re-examination of the causes of Pueblo warfare. American Anthropologist 52: 357-60.

NIMUENDAJU, CURT
1939 The Apinayé (translated by Robert H. Lowie). Catholic University of America, Anthropological Series No. 8.

SIMMEL, GEORG
1955 Conflict (translated by Kurt Wolff). Glencoe, The Free Press.

SPIX, JOHANN B. VON and KARL F. P. VON MARTIUS
1831 Reise in Brasilien, Vol. 3. München.

TOCANTINS, ANTONIO M. G.
1877 Estudos sobre a tribu "Mundurukú." Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro 40, No. 2:73-161. Rio de Janeiro.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NHC

Reprinted for private circulation from
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE
Vol. IV, No. 4, July 1956
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

TAPPERS AND TRAPPERS: PARALLEL PROCESS IN ACCULTURATION[1]

I. The Problem

The purpose of this paper is to show how two cases of acculturation exemplify parallel processes of culture change, that is, cross-cultural regularities of function and causality, even though differences in outward form and substantive content are such that the acculturation might also be considered as convergent development.

As subsequent sections will show in detail, the Mundurucú of the Tapajós River in Brazil and the Northeastern Algonkians in Canada differed during precontact times in social structure, in the general nature of their culture, and in their cultural ecological adaptations. The first were tropical forest hunters and horticulturalists living in semi-permanent villages and given to warfare. The second were hunters of large migratory game and were loosely organized in nomadic bands. Despite these differences, however, both represented roughly the same level of sociocultural integration. That is, individual families were related to one another through certain supra-familial patterns--village activities in the one case and band functions in the other--but the local unit in each instance was politically autonomous.

Since this paper is essentially an illustration of methodology, it is important to stress that the concept of level does not classify cultures according to concrete and substantive form and content. Different cultures may be wholly unlike in their particulars in that they are the products of distinctive area histories or traditions and of local adaptations to environments. At the same time, the largest integrated and autonomous social units may be of a similar order of inclusiveness. While, therefore, similarity of level must underly formulations of cross-cultural regularities, such similarity alone does not at all imply typological identity. The aboriginal tropical forest Mundurucú and the sub-arctic Algonkian hunters were wholly unlike in most cultural particulars and in social structure, although both were integrated on comparable sociocultural levels.

They were alike, however, in the acculturative processes to which they were subjected and in the final cultural type which is now emerging in both populations. The processes were similar in the special manner in which outside

---

1. The acculturational phenomena described in this article were apparently found among many, although not all, Northeastern Algonkians, including native groups of New England as well as Canada. Speck, Steward, and others have considered this problem for many years. They were also found among certain Mackenzie Basin Athabaskans, as Jenness has shown. A very comparable case of acculturational process was studied by Steward among the British Columbia Carrier. These cases will be cited in the concluding comparative section. The Montagnais are taken as our principal example because Eleanor Leacock studied them in detail from this point of view.
The Mundurucú of Brazil are analyzed on the basis of a year of field research by Yolanda and Robert Murphy during 1952-53. The research was conducted under the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, and was made possible by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mu
121
171

commercial influence led to reduction of the local level of integration from the band or village to the individual family and in the way in which the family became reintegrated as a marginal part of the much larger nation. The resultant culture type was similar in each case in that the local culture core contained the all-important outside factor of almost complete economic dependence upon trade goods which were exchanged for certain local produce and because the functional nature of local production, the family, and other features were directly related to this new element. The common factor postulated to have causal importance is a kind of economic activity--the collection of wild produce--which entailed highly similar ecological adaptations. While rubber production differs as greatly in particulars from fur trapping as the tropical forests differ from the sub-arctic barren-lands of Labrador, the result of the acculturative processes in the two cases was the independent emergence of the same type of culture, as defined in terms of level of integration and culture core. We shall use the latter term to denote the structural interrelationships of the basic institutions of the culture.

This case study should also help clarify the heuristic concept of cultural ecology, and especially to illustrate how fundamentally it differs from environmental determinism. It will be shown that total environment is in no way the decisive factor in the culture-environment relationship. In analyzing the creative processes in the adaptation of culture to environment, it is necessary to determine the crucial features in the environment that are selectively important to a culture of a particular level and a particular area tradition. In this sense, it does not matter how different the subarctic and the tropical forests are in their totality. The primary fact is that each environment afforded a resource for trade purposes which could best be exploited by individual families controlling these products within delimited territories. These products did not achieve importance until the native populations became parts of larger sociocultural systems and began to produce for outside markets in a mercantilist pattern.

The process of gradual shift from a subsistence economy to dependence upon trade is evidently irreversible, provided access to trade goods is maintained. It can be said, therefore, that the aboriginal culture is destined to be replaced by a new type which reaches its culmination when the responsible processes have run their course. The culmination point may be said to have been reached when the amount of activity devoted to production for trade grows to such an extent that it interferes with the aboriginal subsistence cycle and associated social organization and makes their continuance impossible.

II. Northeastern Algonkians

Mo
114
177
423

Our discussion of the acculturation of the Northeastern Algonkians assumes that the family-owned fur-trapping territories widely reported among these Indians were post-white in origin. The supposition of Speck [1915; 1939; 1942], Cooper [1939], and Eiseley [1939; 1942; 1947] that such territories were aboriginal lacks support in early historical documents. Moreover, indisputable cases of post-white formation of family territories have been reported by Leacock among the Eastern Montagnais [1954], Jenness among certain of the Mackenzie Bahin Athabaskans [1932, p. 257], and Steward among the British Columbia Carrier [1941]. Leacock's study [1954] deals with the processes of development of trapping territories in greatest detail and consequently provides the most illuminating material. We shall constantly refer to it in the following delineation of the aboriginal culture core and the subsequent changes in it.

Mo
621

According to Leacock, the Eastern Montagnais formerly possessed very loosely integrated bands. The basic aboriginal social unit was the "multi-family" winter hunting group consisting of two to five families. These groups were nominally

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu
Montagnais NH6

patrilocal, but there was considerable deviation from this pattern, and individual families readily shifted from one group to another [Ibid., p. 34]. The continual splits and reamalgamations of these winter groups depended upon the vicissitudes of the subarctic Labrador winter. Game, never abundant or highly concentrated, became thinly scattered during severe winters. Families then had to break away from the winter multi-family group in order to exploit the country extensively. In better times, they might reassemble with a different group of families. While each of these groups had a leader, his following was ill-defined and fluctuating in membership. 621

Despite the frequent necessity for the winter group to split into smaller units, the Eastern Montagnais preferred to live in larger social groups, for collective hunting was generally more efficient for taking large game. Leacock's more conservative informants, in fact, regarded solitary or semi-solitary hunting as a white man's technique, and they expressly said that it was not appropriate for Indians. Moreover, in the absence of outside sources of food, which are available today, sharing of game was essential to survival since any family might be unlucky in hunting. The rigors of the environment necessitated a degree of social fluidity and amorphousness that was essential to physical survival. Owing to variations in environmental factors, especially in the quantity and distribution of game, crystallization of more rigid and permanent winter groups was impossible. 621 224

The Montagnais were, however, grouped into somewhat larger units during the summer season of fishing and caribou-hunting. Each summer, several multi-family winter groups gathered together on the shores of the lakes and rivers, where they could obtain fish in some quantity. These groups, according to Leacock, did not maintain ownership of well-defined territories in native times [Ibid., pp. 14-15]. Each band had only a rough and generally-recognized territorial locus of operations. But it would have been contrary to the interests of any one band to encroach upon the lands of other bands; for band areas represented an approximate division of resources in relation to population. But since local availability of game differed each year, it was customary that a temporarily favored band offer hospitality to one that was starving. 221 621 423 [576]

These "bands" had little or no formal organization. There were no band chiefs or definite mechanisms for integrating the band as a social entity. The bands existed principally upon the basis of economic reality. They had greatest functional significance during the season of hunting large, migratory animals. While both the Montagnais and the culturally indistinguishable Naskapi hunted caribou, the relatively greater reliance of the latter upon caribou probably accounts for the stronger development of band hunting territories in northern Labrador. 621

Leacock divides the development of the family trapping territory into three general phases [Ibid., p. 24]. In the first stage, when the Indians were only slightly involved in the fur economy, the trapping of fur-bearing animals and trade for hardware and food-stuffs was secondary to native subsistence activities. In this stage the Indians were only partially dependent upon the trader and could still subsist on the native economy. Since the small, nongregarious and nonmigratory fur-bearing animals were not killed in great numbers by the more primitive techniques of wooden traps and firearms and since they yielded inadequate meat, the primary winter dependence was upon deer and other larger game. The Indians could devote themselves to the luxury of securing trade articles only after assuring themselves of an ample food supply. 177 224 439

These marginal trappers, however, rapidly became so involved in the barter system that certain western goods, such as pots, pans, knives, axes, steel traps, and firearms became necessities to them. Since these available manufactured articles were much more efficient than the corresponding native implements, the latter were rapidly displaced and knowledge of their manufacture was eventually lost. The basic process therefore was one of increasing dependency upon trade,

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu
Montagnais NH6

177 which eventually brought the loss of many useful arts. During this early stage
224 of dependency, the customary use of ill-defined territories by amorphous bands
439 was still the only approximation of land ownership to be found, and bonds of intra-group dependency were still tight.

In the second period of Montagnais acculturation, the same fundamental process continued to the point where certain basic readjustments became necessary. Dependency upon the trader increased to such an extent that fur trapping became more important than hunting for subsistence. The Indian was now forced to buy the major part of his winter's provisions from the trader, and game formed only a supplemental food source. Owing to the difficulties of transporting a supply of food adequate for the entire family, the men began to leave their families at the trading post during the winter while they trapped in the company of other men. Debt obligations and credit facilities had already linked Indians with particular trading posts. The practice of leaving families at the posts throughout the winter tightened these bonds. The families depended upon the store for subsistence, and the post became the center of the trapper's social world as well as economic world.

177 Leacock states that during this second stage, which is typified by the pres-
224 ent day Natashquan band of Eastern Montagnais, there is still considerable ter-
[423] ritorial shifting of fur trappers and that family trap-line tenure is temporary
[476] and unfixed [Ibid., pp. 30-32]. Older informants expressed a preference for collective activity, which is exemplified today by trapping in groups, lack of definite proprietary rights in trapping territories, and the sharing among the men of the trapping groups of the fur from animals shot with guns. That animals trapped were claimed by the trap owner is probably also native.

177 The stages outlined by Leacock, however, are not presented by her as clearly
224 distinguishable periods during which cultural stability was achieved. They are
423 no more than transitory phases, and the Eastern Montagnais are now, in our terminology, moving toward the culmination of the processes of change. Certain men, says Leacock, show an increasing tendency to return to the same trapping territory year after year [Ibid., p. 30]. Within these more limited precincts, usually no more than two trappers can work together. To a certain extent, the example for this pattern has been set by the white trappers, but the Indians follow it primarily because it is the most efficient working arrangement. When, a single Indian enjoys the yield and has a vested interest in the vital resource of his territory, he attempts to protect and perpetuate it by practices of fur conservation which were not native to the culture. The more conservative Montagnais trappers do not wholly approve of the new mode of work followed by their compatriots, but they respect their tenure of exclusive trapping rights to a limited region. What emerges is a system of ownership by usufruct, a system also found among the Western Montagnais and, in fact, in many other areas of the world in which controls of law and government are loose and population density is low.

As more and more Eastern Montagnais adopt this new exploitative pattern, the group as a whole increasingly acknowledges family rights to delimited fur territories. Such rights will extend over much if not most of this area, and it will undoubtedly encroach seriously upon the semi-nomadism of the more conservative Indians. Ultimately, these latter, too, will have to change. What finally emerges will be the classical family trapping territory system in which definitely limited tracts are held by the head of a family and inherited patrilineally.

224 In order not to confuse or oversimplify theories of the origin and develop-
423 ment of property rights, it is important to recognize that rights to fur trapping territories mean merely customary or usufruct rights to the furs of animals within a defined area. They by no means give exclusive rights to control of and profit from the land itself and everything thereon or even to all its wild life. Anyone

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

may pursue and kill deer or caribou on any fur area. In some instances, another may kill and take the meat of a beaver, provided only that he give the pelt to the man having exclusive rights to the furs within the territory in question. Mo 224 423

Two basically different concepts of rights to resources within the same area co-exist, each justifiable and explainable in its own way: the right to hunt large game for subsistence purposes practically anywhere and the right to monopolize fur-bearing animals within prescribed areas. In British Columbia the provincial government recognized these differences some years ago and registered family owned trapping territories of the Carrier Indians and protected them by law while permitting moose-hunting anywhere. Mo

This end product of acculturation is substantially Leacock's third stage. The nuclear family now becomes the primary economic and social unit, and the old bonds of inter-familial economic dependency become attenuated. The new individualism has even penetrated the nuclear family. Among the Western Montagnais, the son of a trapper owns the beaver lodges which he discovers, whereas among the most acculturated of the Eastern group, only the family head may own such a resource. 177 224 423

With the breakdown in interfamilial ties among the Northeastern Algonkians, the economic centers of gravity for the families are the trading posts. Leacock says: Mo 177

> "The movement of trading posts has obviously been the most important factor determining recent shifts in the size and location of Montagnais bands. However, it would be wrong to infer from this that increasing dependence on trade has acted to destroy formerly stable social groups. The reverse seems to be closer to the truth--that the changes brought about by the fur trade have led to more stable bands with greater formal organization". [Ibid., p. 20] 439 621 593

Leacock gives the Seven Islands band as an example of this post-contact development. This new "band", however, is of a different order entirely than aboriginal hunting bands, for the principal bond between the members is that they all trade at the Seven Islands trading post. They claim no band territory; in fact, all present trends are towards familial tracts and not band lands. The modern band has a chief whose principal function is to act as intermediary with the Indian Agent. Also, the Indians refer to themselves as the "Seven Islands" (derived from the name of the trading post) people, and are so called by other Indians. In the interest of taxonomic clarity it is best not to describe such an arrangement as a "band". Such a group is reminiscent of the post-white Shoshoneans of the Great Basin, who classify themselves principally by reservation, for example, Warm Springs Paiute, Burns Paiute, Owyhee Shoshoni, and so forth. Prior to the Reorganization Act, the only basis for these groupings was common residence on a reservation and representation by a spokesman, who generally attained his position partly through prestige, but probably more importantly through recognition by the Indian Agent. Since the agents preferred "cooperative" men, the chiefs often did not truly represent the Indians. These reservation people, like Leacock's Seven Islands band, had little formal structure and a very limited raison d'etre. The stability of these groups is almost entirely a function of their linkage to the whites, an outside factor. Among the more acculturated Eastern Montagnais, the basic socio-economic unit appears to be the nuclear family.

III. The Mundurucú

We shall discuss the Mundurucú in somewhat greater detail than the Algonkians not only because they are less known ethnographically but because the special Mu 121 128

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1965].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 593

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [586] [462]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by warm and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224 226]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipití, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [439]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [622]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce: 439

> "They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of mandioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

439 also gather large quantities of salsaparilla, india-rubber and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily-wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucus beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares--cheap cotton cloths, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaça--amongst the minor chiefs, and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce". [1863, pp. 243-244]

439 When rubber became the major product of Amazonia the same pattern of trade was perpetuated among the Mundurucu. All of the rubber collected was turned over
622 to the chief, who alone negotiated directly with the trader. The merchandise
624 given for the rubber was, insofar as could be ascertained through contemporary informants, equitably distributed to each man in proportion to the rubber he had
[314] produced. But since chiefs were commonly more prosperous than other men, it can be assumed that they did not suffer in their role of middleman. The share taken by the chief, however, was never so great as to result in truly significant wealth differences. In fact, the traders usually managed to keep the Indians in debt, and this debt was charged against the chief as the representative of the village. Tocantins, who visited the Mundurucú in 1875, published a bill presented to one chief [Tocantins, p. 154]. If this bill is typical, the Indians' indebtedness was frequently very heavy. These debts were used to force the chief to extract greater production from his followers.

As the Mundurucu depended increasingly upon trade, the chief became more subordinate economically to the trader, who manipulated him accordingly. The trader eventually was able to appoint "chiefs" to carry on the trade. An appointed chief was usually known as the capitao, or "captain", as distinguished from the hereditary village chief, who was called anyococucat or ichongop. By using the "captains" as local trade representatives, the traders were able to increase their control over the villages. At the same time, by robbing the hereditary chiefs of their trade function, they weakened the entire structure of leadership. In time, the capitao displaced the hereditary chief almost entirely. To increase the prestige of the trader-appointed chief, the trader often took his protegé on his annual trip to buy supplies in Belém, where the chief's position was confirmed by the governor or some other official.

The Mundurucú dependency upon trade at first evidently increased the peacetime authority of the hereditary chief, for the villagers relied upon him to promote and secure their best interests in trading activities. The appointment of capitoes undermined the native chief, and initially increased the trader's control over the village. The people became confused, however, as to whether
[578] the capitao or the anyococucat should be regarded as "chief". Ill feeling towards and suspicion of the appointed chiefs began to develop, for the Indians were always aware of, although powerless to cope with, the sharp practices of the traders, and they usually assigned the capitao a share of the blame. Upon the latter fell the onerous task of goading the people to harder work in the rubber avenues. Since most Mundurucu do not even today consider rubber collecting a congenial occupation, the role of the capitao must have done little to increase his popularity. During the field research among the Mundurucú, the young, bilingual trader-appointed "chief" of the village of Cabitutú was in danger of losing his life. Distrust of the trader, whom the "chief" represented, was centered upon this young man and threatened his position so greatly that he was on the verge of flight.

In later years, as will be described subsequently, individual Mundurucú Indians have tended increasingly to deal with the trader directly rather than through the "chief". For this reason, village political organization has been effectively shattered.

439 The white-appointed Mundurucú "chief", unlike his Northeastern Algonkian
624 counterpart, mediated trade relations between a group of followers and the
178

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

624
439
178

whites. After individual trading had become strongly established among one section of the Mundurucu, however, "chiefs" were chosen by the Indian Agent and by missionaries in order to control the general behavior of the Indians, and not specifically for commercial purposes. This more nearly approximates the modern Montagnais situation, although it was reached through a different sequence of functional roles and from a different aboriginal base. In both cases, the Indians themselves were very conscious that these men were not genuine chiefs in terms of aboriginal leadership patterns, and both groups apparently suspected that the white-recognized chief was promoting the interests of the white men rather than those of his own people. The new leadership patterns never became fully established. While these patterns were functional in terms of white-Indian relations, they were dysfunctional in terms of the native socio-cultural structure.

Among the Mundurucú, therefore, the integrity of the local socio-political groups was, in part, temporarily maintained by a change in the functional role of the chieftain. That the changed pattern of leadership eventually became dysfunctional resulted in part from the ecological adaptations necessary to rubber collection. These adaptations, however, did far more than contribute to the disintegration of political controls. They undercut the very economic basis of village life.

Hevea brasiliensis, the native and most common specie of rubber tree, grows wild throughout the upper waters of the Amazon. It can be exploited only during the dry season, and, in the upper Tapajós River valley, the maximum length of the gathering season is from May to early December, approximately seven months. Since these trees are scattered throughout the low lands near the watercourses, they are reached by circuitous paths cut through the undergrowth. The spacing of the trees and the work involved in rubber collection generally limit the number of trees tapped daily by one man to one hundred and fifty or less. Some collectors improve their yield per tree by maintaining two or three separate avenues which they visit only every second or third day. The distribution of rubber trees is such that each avenue gives access to trees within an area of about three to five square miles. The actual size of this territory depends, of course, upon the density of the rubber trees. In some sections of the Amazon drainage wild rubber is more abundant than are others. One may travel ten to twenty miles on reaches of river where rubber is sparse without passing a single habitation, but, where rubber is more plentiful, one encounters houses at intervals of a mile or even a half-mile. 314

The rubber tapper must work in his avenue or avenues almost daily, and therefore must live near them. Since each tapper exploits a considerable tract of land, his physical remoteness from neighboring tappers is a matter of necessity. Thus, on the Tapajós River, which has a population of about 3,000 excluding the Mundurucú, there are only two Brazilian villages of any consequence. One of these has a population of about 700, and the other has only 150 people. The other settlements are merely hamlets consisting of a trading post and from two to seven houses. The majority of the population live in isolated houses on the river banks. [36]

The exploitation of wild rubber is a solitary, individual occupation in that the tapping of the tree, the subsequent collection of the latex, and the final coagulation process are one-man jobs. The last phase, carried out at the end of the day, consists of solidifying the latex over a smoky fire. The simplicity and the daily time-schedule of the entire rubber process in Amazonia is such that no one can profitably leave off collection to specialize only in tapping or collection or coagulation. For similar reasons, two men do not work in the same avenue. However companionable, it would not be a practicable means of increasing production.

This brief account of how wild rubber is exploited is necessary to an understanding of changes in Mundurucu society. In the earlier contact period, the 439

439 Mundurucú traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild product, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 27] that in 1860 the Mundurucu of the upper Tapajos "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Mundurucu product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucú acculuration entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

221 314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, [171] out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-26].

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucú, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individual hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in [224] isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucú. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy [291] the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Mundurucú villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucú, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucú dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, fire-[415] arms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal [323] pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucú barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Despite the flourishing trade in gewgaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucú economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous. 439 177

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucú and the Montagnais are porbably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucú, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inexorably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucú families, like those of the Algonkians, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucú. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucú were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucú country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucú villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucú was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucú to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucú warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective. [622] 721 177 439 [797]

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucú acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucú society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucú who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy. 177 621

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucú villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large [221] 314 361 177

361 portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods
364 could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their
[183] resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable
[571] during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves
177 passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the Cururu River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucu until the
797 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururu River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

177 The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to
621 nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organiza-
594 tion, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

621 Political authority on the Cururú River was almost nonexistent. The migrants
178 began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururú River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the
[221] Cururú River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NM6

to the disorganization of Cururú River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Cururú River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber avenues or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucú. Over one-third of the Cururú River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

Mu 178 621 Mu [578]

IV. Comparative Summary

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing ties of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon became necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

Mu Mo 177 171 439 452 Mu Mo 171 177 439 [434] Mu Mo [433]

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

Mo Mu 171 177 439 622

[text continues on p. 349]

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
M4
171
177
105

Tabular Comparison

Mundurucú

1. Pre-rubber

Village consists of men's house, matrilocal extended family households; population divided into patrilineal clans and moieties.
Village males form collective hunting and garden-clearing group.
Household females form the horticultural unit.
Intensive warfare for headhunting and as mercenaries allied to whites; partial dispersal of villagers in dry season for fishing and war.
Chief the war leader and representative of village in trade of manioc flour.

2. Marginal involvement

Chief continues as mediator with trader, but is now often trader-appointed--trader gains influence.
Dry season population dispersal for rubber production rather than fishing and war--war continues, but lessened in importance.
Basic pre-rubber economy and settlement pattern unchanged.
Continuing displacement of aboriginal crafts.

3. Transitional

Further displacement of native crafts, increased need of trade goods, increased dependence on trader.
Chieftainship undermined due to new type chiefs who now represent the trader.
Agricultural cycle and village life inhibit larger rubber production.
Trend toward individual trade.

4. Convergence and culmination

A. Intermediate
Move to new villages in rubber regions.
Chief now intermediary with Indian agent and missionaries.
Individual trade, individualized subsistence economy--end of men's house and traditional village--

Montagnais

1. Pre-fur

Nomadic composite band hunts large migratory game animals.
Frequent band breakup during winter scarcity.
Amalgamation of several winter groups for summer hunting and fish-fishing.
Chieftainship weak and shifting--leader of winter group; no summer band chief.
Residence bilocal, frequent shifts of winter group membership.

2. Marginal involvement

Trade by family heads--leaders do not trade for followers.
Trapping secondary to subsistence hunting--subsistence still gotten traditionally, basic social patterns persist.
No trapping territory.
Linkage to trading posts.

3. Transitional

Further displacement of native crafts, increased need of trade goods, increased dependence on trader.
Increased fur production interferes with subsistence hunting.
Individual trade conflicts with group solidarity.

4. Convergence and culmination

Fur trapping now predominant; winter provisions purchased
Winter groups not necessary with end of collective hunt--family or individual hunting gives greater efficiency, allows conservation.
Shift of economic interdependencies from group to trader.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

3

Mo Mu 171 177 105

Mundurucú (cont.)

village held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability.
Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B, below.

B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A)
Leadership no longer integrative.
Individual trade undercuts kin obligations.
Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenues--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.

Montagnais (cont.)

Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries.
Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year.
Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.

Mo Mu 171 177 [439 622]

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

Mo Mu [601]

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

Mu 177 439

The Brazilian rubber tapper--the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucu who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

Mo Mu 171 177 593

The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Mo Mu 177 621 622

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NHL

Mo
Mu
177
594
621

The culmination of the long acculturative processes shows a high degree of structural parallelism. Both Mundurucu and Montagnais populations are divided into loosely integrated and dispersed communities centering about particular trading posts with which the individual families have ties. The Indians still recreate, associate, and intermarry with one another, but the nuclear family is now the stable socio-economic unit. It is the highest level of integration found among the native population itself, but it is linked to the nation through the intermediary of a regional economy. The integration of the family with the national level is highly specialized and limited. These families do not yet share a substantial part of the common denominator of the national culture or even of the regional sub-cultures of their non-Indian neighbors.

Mo
Mu
177
184

There is a final phase, which, though occurring at different dates in the different localities, is characterized by assimilation of the Indians as a local sub-culture of the national sociocultural system and virtual loss of identity as Indians. At this point, the acculturational processes and results diverge, since the Indians participate to a much greater extent in the national culture. So long as the families maintain their marginal relation with the national society, they are quite unlike the basic populations of the nations in which they lived and much more like one another. When, however, they learn the national language, intermarry extensively with non-Indians, and acquire many of the non-Indian values and behavior patterns, they have to be classed with the special regional sub-cultures that have developed in portions of these nations.

000

It can be predicted that the drastic shift in mode and level of integration will do much to hasten the loss of cultural distinctiveness. Fortes has cogently expressed the relationship between social structure and formal culture contest in such a situation:

> "I would suggest that a culture is a unity insofar as it is tied to a bounded social structure. In this sense I would agree that the social structure is the foundation of the whole social life of any continuing society.....The social structure of a group does not exist without the customary norms and activities which work through it. We might safely conclude that where structure persists there must be some persistence of corresponding custom, and where custom survives there must be some structural basis for this" [Fortes 1953, pp. 22-23].

V. Further Comparisons

Mo
Mu
171
177
121

We can delimit and refine the Mundurucú-Algonkian parallel by the cross-cultural examination of structural changes caused by acculturation in other areas. We will not seek further parallels, however, but will discuss cultures in which divergence appears manifest. One instance of such apparent divergence is the Northwest Coast, where the fur trade at first strengthened or intensified rather than weakened the aboriginal social structure. The florescence of the potlatch and class system on the Northwest Coast as a result of new wealth in trade goods is a thesis which has been ably expounded by a number of students [cf. Barnett 1938; Drucker 1939; Collins 1950; Codere 1950]. It would be very misleading, however, to consider <u>any</u> trade in furs as the crucial factor. What really matters is <u>individual trapping of fur-bearing animals</u>. The sea otter was the principal fur bartered by most Northwest Coast tribes, and collection involved neither individual effort nor delimited territories. The amount of land trapping was probably fairly limited and in any event did not offset the cultural effects of the great salmon wealth which created surpluses rarely if ever paralleled by hunting, gathering, and fishing people.

The trapping activities of the Skagit of Puget Sound more nearly paralleled those of the Northeastern Algonkians, according to Collins description [1950, p. 335]:

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953), 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
M4
171
177
121

"The [trading] posts played an important part in altering the economy of the Indians. First, they encouraged a shift in their hunting habits. The skins in which the traders were most interested were beaver and land otter. These animals had small value in the aboriginal economy, since they were less desirable for food than deer or elk, for example. At the traders' behest, however, hunters pursued these animals eagerly. Another economic shift took place when the hunters, instead of killing game for meat, began to exchange skins for food."

The result of this trade was, however, quite different from its effects in Eastern Canada.

"The effects of these changes upon Skagit social organization were pronounced. Distinctions in social rank began to be more marked--a shift made possible since, though social mobility had always been within the grasp of any person of good descent who could acquire the distinction of wealth, new sources of wealth were now available" [Ibid., pp. 329-330].

The new wealth acquired by the Skagit was funnelled into the class structure and ultimately the potlatch. The difference, then, between the processes of change which occurred among Northwest Coast and Northeastern Canadian groups is that the former integrated the new wealth into a pre-existent class structure created and perpetuated by a fishing economy. Among the latter, since there were no cultural means or goals promoting the concentration of surplus wealth in the hands of a select few, the benefits rebounded to all persons. The same was true of Mundurucú society which also was unstratified. The differences between the Skagit on one hand as opposed to the Mundurucú and Montagnais on the other are attributable to the stratification of society among the former, which in turn is partially explainable by the greater aboriginal resources of the Skagit. In effect, this constitutes a difference of level of socio-cultural integration.

The impact of trapping upon a pre-existing social structure can be even better appraised among the Carrier of the interior of British Columbia, where the wealth in salmon was far less than on the coast. The fur trade among the Blackwater River Carrier involved intimate interaction with Northwest Coast groups, especially the Bella Coola. Goldman summarizes the effects of this contact upon the simple, bilateral Carrier hunting bands [1941, pp. 416-417]:

"Undoubtedly the Bella Coola, like all Northwest Coast tribes, became relatively wealthy as a result of this trade. And in Bella Coola where wealth was the decisive factor in building rank, the fur trade must have been particularly welcome. And the lowly interior Carrier who hunted for furs in order to trade with the Bella Coola, who traded them to the whites, became an important part of the scheme of elevating one's rank. Although a Bella Coola did not gain valuable prerogatives from a Carrier son-in-law, if he could get a monopoly upon his furs he could make enough wealth to purchase new prerogatives. And as the Bella Coola benefited by this trade, so did the Alkatcho Carrier. The latter took up products obtained on the coast and traded them to the Carrier villages eastward on the Blackwater River drainage. As they obtained guns and steel traps, economic productivity spurted so that they were able to build up the necessary property surpluses for potlatching. Potlatching obligations in turn stimulated economic activity, and the degree to which they were able to potlatch made possible the full integration of crests as honorific prerogatives.

Given our previous hypotheses, developments more or less parallel to those in Eastern Canada might be expected. But these Carrier did not trade with European traders; they dealt instead with stratified Northwest Coast tribes in the context of an economic system, the rationale of which was the validation of rank by potlatch. As the following example of the Stuart Lake Carrier suggests,

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais. NH6

Mo
Na
121
171
177

direct trade with the whites and the end of potlatching result ultimately in the family trapping territory system.

The effect of the fur trade among the Carrier of Stuart Lake to the north of the Blackwater River ran a similar course but culminated in family trapping territories, according to Steward's research. In pre-white times, the wealth of salmon fisheries, although far less than those of the coastal tribes, had provided some surplus, while contacts with the Tsimshian of the Skeena River had introduced a pattern for channeling this surplus to nobles who controlled the fishing rights of large territories in the name of patrilineal societies. This wealth circulated through small-scale potlatches. The fur trade, carried on directly with the whites more than through coastal contacts, created a new source of wealth and intensified the native pattern. Although furs were trapped by individual society members, a noble had rights to certain percentage of the furs taken in his society's territory.

In the course of about 50 years, however, several processes combined to bring about individual trapping territories as among the Indians of eastern Canada. Most importantly, the new wealth in trade goods brought hardward that was of value to individuals. Pressures mounted to force the nobles to divide the trapping territories among their own children rather than to pass them on intact to their sister's sons, who had traditionally inherited their titles and rights. This process was aided by the activities of the Catholic missionary-ethnologist Father Morice, who effectively undermined the native religious sanctions of the class of nobles, and by the government, which banned potlatching. The older pattern survives only in isolated localities, where it is carried on clandestinely. At Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, where there is located a Hudsons' Bay Trading Post and some few hundred whites and Indians, the processes have reached a culmination almost identical to that of the Montagnais.

> "Present-day Carrier society at Stuart Lake consists of individual families that have exclusive rights to certain trap-lines that are registered with and protected by the Provincial Government. The family is the kinship and economic unit" [Steward 1941, pp. 500-501].

It seems likely that the Blackwater River Carrier have not yet reached the final stage of acculturation. The same may be true of the Skagit. The critical consideration is whether wealth in salmon among these tribes was so great that it offset the importance of trapping. This was not the case at Stuart Lake. On the Lower Skeena River, salmon are so important that canneries have been built, and the Tsimshian and Tlingit have given up fur trapping to become commercial fishermen and cannery laborers.

Certain Plains Indians in North America also engaged in the fur trade but developed in distinctive ways. This is another illustration of the need to examine specific features in the taking of furs. There is a significant ecological difference between the collection of fur on the Great Plains and in the coniferous forests of Canada that lies essentially in the difference between hunting and trapping. It is incomplete and misleading therefore to make comparisons simply on the basis of "fur trading". In the Great Plains, buffalo hides were the chief item traded, whereas in eastern Canada, small, non-gregarious and non-migratory animals were trapped. The trade on the Plains resulted in an emphasis upon the buffalo hunt beyond the needs of subsistence and served to strengthen the collective and cooperative techniques traditionally used in the pursuit of migratory herds. Moreover, band cohesion in the Plains was enhanced by acquisition of the horse and gun and by intensification of warfare, the latter carried on in part to obtain horses.

It is possible that a non-stratified society which acquires surplus wealth may develop a class structure, but this involves special conditions not ordinarily

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6
Behavior Theory W3

Mo
Mu
121
171
177

found among collectors of wild products. Some of the North American Plains Indians showed an incipient development of a class society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the tribes were decimated by epidemics and overwhelmed by the advancing frontier when intensified wealth and significant prestige differences had begun to emerge. A parallel between the Plains and the Mundurucu can be found in the increased authority of chiefs owing to their functions as intermediaries between the traders and the Indians. Jablow notes such a flowerence of political controls among the Cheyenne [1951, p. 88], and Lewis specifically states of Blackfoot trade [1942, p. 42]:

> "In periods of monopoly [of the Indian trade by one company] the fur trade has a positive effect, that is, it increased the prestige and authority of the chiefs. In periods of competition it has a disruptive effect, that is, it weakened the power of the chiefs."

The Plains head chief traded a commodity which was obtained by collective effort. The Mundurucu chief served as middleman in the pre-rubber period when trade in manioc flour, which was also communally produced, was of primary importance. But he eventually lost his position when individually produced rubber became predominant. The Tenetehara Indians of northeastern Brazil have been in contact with civilization longer than the Mundurucu, but, according to Wagley and Galvao, the village chiefs and extended family heads still have a central role in the trading of collectively produced manioc flour and palm oils [1949, pp. 28-32]. It seems apparent that, lacking some other basis for political authority, it is difficult for leaders to maintain control over trade in individually-produced goods.

121
177
439

Our formulations, in effect, state that when certain acculturative factors, defined functionally rather than formally, are present, the core of a culture will change in expectable and predictable ways. These formulations assume the constancy of certain other preconditions, which, though well worth investigation of themselves, can be regarded as given factors for methodological purposes.

This can best be exemplified in our present cases by reference to the basic, though incompletely explained, acculturative factor common not only to the Mundurucu and Naskapi but to most primitive peoples throughout the world. This factor can be stated simply as follows: When goods manufactured by the industrialized nations with modern techniques become available through trade to aboriginal populations, the native people increasingly give up their home crafts in order to devote their efforts to producing specialized cash crops or other trade items in order to obtain more of the industrially made articles. The consequences of this simple though world-wide factor are enormous, even though they vary in local manifestation. The phenomenon is of such a high order of regularity that special explanations must be sought for the few departures from it.

The main hypothesis arising from the present study is that: When the people of an unstratified native society barter wild products found in extensive distribution and obtained through individual effort, the structure of the native culture will be destroyed, and the final adaptation will be a culture type characterized by independent families having individual rights to marketable resources and linked to the larger nation through trading centers. Naqpaw, Trapper, and an doubt other collectors come under this general statement.

Robert F. Murphy

University of California
Berkeley

Julian H. Steward

University of Illinois

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Notes

2. The tenuous and diverse legal rights of the traders to control of rubber areas has been discussed by Wagley [1953, pp. 91-92].

References Cited

Barnett, H. G.
1938 "The Coast Salish of Canada", American Anthropologist, 40, pp.118-141.

Bates, Henry Walter
1863 The Naturalist on the River Amazons, London.

Chandless, W.
1862 "Notes on the rivers Arinos, Juruena, and Tapajós" Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, Vol. 32, pp. 269-280.

Codere, Helen
1950 Fighting with property, Monograph No. XVIII of the American Ethnological Society.

Collins, June
1950 "Growth of Class Distinctions and Political Authority among the Skagit Indians during the Contact Period", American Anthropologist, 52, pp. 331-342.

Cooper, John M.
1939 "Is the Algonquian Family Hunting Ground System pre-Columbian?", American Anthropologist, 41, pp. 66-90.

Drucker, Philip
1939 "Rank, Wealth, and Kinship in Northwest Coast Society", American Anthropologist, 41, pp. 55-65.

Riesley, Lorne C.
1939 see Speck and Riesley.
1942 see Speck and Riesley.
1947 "Land Tenure in the Northeast: A Note on the History of a Concept", American Anthropologist, 49, pp. 480-481.

Fortes, Meyer
1953 "The Structure of Unilineal Descent Groups", American Anthropologist, 55, pp. 17-41.

Goldman, Irving
1941 "The Alkatcha Carriers: Historical Background of Crest Prerogatives", American Anthropologist, 43, pp. 396-418.

Jablow, Joseph
1951 The Cheyenne in Plains Indian Trade Relations, 1795-1840, Monograph No. XII of the American Ethnological Society, New York.

Jenness, Diamond
1932 The Indians of Canada, 2d ed., National Museum of Canada Bulletin 65, Anthropological Series No. 15.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

113

Leacock, Eleanor Burke
1954 The Montagnais "Hunting Territory" and the Fur Trade, American Anthropological Association Memoir 78.

Lewis, Oscar
1942 The Effects of White Contact upon Blackfoot Culture, Monograph No. VI of the American Ethnological Society, New York.

Murphy, Robert F.
1955 "Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society", unpublished.

Speck, Frank G.
1915 "The Family Hunting Band as the Basis of Algonkian Social Organization", American Anthropologist, 17, pp. 289-305.
1939 (— and Loren C. Eiseley) "The Significance of the Hunting Territory Systems of the Algonkian in Social Theory", American Anthropologist, 41, pp. 269-280.
1942 (— and Loren C. Eiseley) "Montagnais--Naskapi Bands and Family Hunting Districts of the Central and Southern Labrador Peninsula", Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society, 86, pp. 239-242.

Steward, Julian H.
1941 "Determinism in Primitive Society?", Scientific Monthly, 53, pp. 481-501.

Tocantins, A. M. G.
1877 "Estudos sobre a tribu Mundurukú", Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, Pt. 2, pp. 73-182.

Wagley, Charles
1949 (— and Eduardo Galvao) The Tenetehara Indians of Brazil, New York.
1953 Amazon Town, New York.

9: Nimuendajú E-4 (no date) 1938 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

000 The Relations Between the Mundurucu and the Tupi
(Rapports entre les Munduruku ú et les Tupí)

By Kurt Nimuendajú

Wien: 1938
Anthropos, Vol. 33

Translated from the French by Mrs. Ruth Horine

Human Relations Area Files
1958

(Title page)

The Relations Between the Mundurucu and the Tupi

Kurt Nimuendajú

197 On the basis of the comprehensive study of the language of the Mundurucu, one of the Indian tribes of Brazil, undertaken by the Rev. Father Albert Kruse, the learned Franciscan missionary and indefatigable explorer of Brazil, Mr. K. Nimuendajú [976] traced the relationship between the Mundurucu and Tupi. He established their kinship, which manifests itself "in vocabulary as well as in grammar. With regard to vocabulary, it is striking that precisely the most important nouns from the categories 'parts of the body' and 'natural phenomena' are without exception related to Tupi. In the field of grammar the close relationship of the pronouns is of great importance. [177] These similarities cannot be possibly explained by the influence of the Apiakás and Parintingtings, quite apart from the fact that, while such an influence might conceivably have been exerted on the Tapajós-Mundurucus and Madeira-Mundurucus, it must be ruled out entirely for the Xingú-Mundurucus, who do not even know the names of these tribes. I, therefore, classify the Mundurucu language with the Tupi family, without saying, however, that the Mundurucus are [174] Tupis ... What little information I have at my disposal makes me doubt that the Mundurucus were originally Tupi.." (Lose Blätter vom Cururú, 1938, p. 80)

9: Nimuendaju SQ13 Mundurucu

Revue Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Linguistique

ANTHROPOS

Ephemeris Internationalis Ethnologica et Linguistica

Rivista Internazionale d'Etnologia e di Linguistica

Revista Internacional de Etnología y de Lingüística

International Review of Ethnology and Linguistics.

Internationale Zeitschrift für Völker- und Sprachenkunde.

Fundator P. W. SCHMIDT, S. V. D.

Herausgegeben vom Anthropos-Institut

unter Mitarbeit der

P. P. Th. Bröring, Martin Gusinde, Josef Henninger, Georg Höltker, Wilhelm Koppers, Rudolf Rahmann, Paul Schebesta, Michael Schulien und Bernhard Vroklage, S. V. D.

Schriftwalter: P. Wilhelm Schmidt, S. V. D.

Band / Tom. XXXIII 1938.

Mit 6 Tafeln
73 Textillustrationen
10 Karten

Avec 6 planches
73 gravures de texte
10 cartes

Eigentum und Verlag der Internationalen Zeitschrift „Anthropos":
St. Gabriel, Wien-Mödling, Deutsches Reich.
Mechitharisten-Buchdruckerei in Wien, VII., Mechitharistengasse 4.

[Title page]

beiden Rivalen *Horus* und *Seth* während ihres Streites um das Amt des aus dem Götterrate ausscheidenden *Osiris*. Es ist dem Verfasser gelungen, manche schiefen Urteile über das wichtige Dokument richtigzustellen. (Leipziger Ägyptol. Studien, Heft 9, 1937. Verlag J. J. AUGUSTIN, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York. 141 SS. Mit einer Tafel. Preis: RM. 9.—.)

Bestattungsgebräuche im heutigen Ägypten (MOHAMED GALÂL). — Der Verfasser hat sich längere Zeit unter den Fellachen in verschiedenen Gegenden Ägyptens aufgehalten und ihr Folklore studiert. Er beschreibt die während der Krankheit und der Agonie vorgenommenen Zeremonien, die Zurichtung der Leiche, das Begräbnis und die Besuche an den Gräbern und behandelt die religiösen Überzeugungen und die moralischen und sozialen Voraussetzungen, die diesen Riten zugrunde liegen. Am Schluß sind eine Anzahl Klagegesänge in Transkription und Übersetzung beigefügt. (Essai d'observations sur les rites funéraires en Egypte actuelle, relevées dans certaines régions campagnardes. Paris 1937. PAUL GEUTHNER. Extrait de la Revue des Etudes Islamiques, 1937, 131—299. Mit 18 Tafeln.)

Über neolithische Beile in Nieder-Kongo, West-Ubangi und Uele (H. M. BEQUAERT). — Der Verfasser setzt sich mit den Meinungen von COLETTE und MENGHIN (vgl. in diesem Heft S. 959) über die neolithische Kulturentwicklung am Kongo auseinander. Er kommt hierbei zur Überzeugung, daß zwischen den einzelnen genannten Gebieten enge kulturelle Beziehungen bestanden haben dürften, wobei über die Abstammung des Kongo-Neolithikums nichts gesagt wird. (Bijlen uit Neder-Congo, Bijlen uit West-Ubangi en bijlen uit Uele. Institut Royal Belge, Bulletin des Séances VIII [1937], 807 bis 823. Mit 2 Tafeln und 1 Karte.)

sirant accaparer les fonctions d'*Osiris* qui s'était retiré du conseil des dieux. L'auteur a réussi à redresser maint jugement erroné sur ce document important. (Leipziger Ägyptol. Studien, fasc. 9, 1937. J. J. AUGUSTIN, éditeur, Glückstadt-Hambourg-New York. 141 pp. Avec une planche. Prix: RM. 9.—.)

Rites funéraires dans l'Egypte actuelle (MOHAMED GALÂL). — L'auteur, qui a séjourné longtemps parmi les fellahs, dans différentes régions de l'Egypte, et étudié leur folklore, décrit les cérémonies accomplies pendant la maladie et l'agonie, la toilette du défunt, les funérailles, les visites aux morts; il expose les convictions religieuses et les idées morales et sociales qui sont le fondement de ces rites. A la fin il ajoute la transcription et la traduction d'un certain nombre de chants funèbres. (Essai d'observations sur les rites funéraires en Egypte actuelle, relevées dans certaines régions campagnardes. Paris 1937. PAUL GEUTHNER. Extrait de la Revue des Etudes Islamiques, 1937, 131—299. Avec 18 planches hors texte.)

Les haches néolithiques au Congo Inférieur, dans l'Ubangi Occidentale et dans l'Uélé (H. M. BEQUAERT). — Par l'examen détaillé des opinions de MM. COLETTE et MENGHIN (cf. p. 959 de ce fasc.) sur l'évolution de la civilisation néolithique au Congo, l'auteur doit avoir la conviction que des rapports civilisateurs intimes ont existé entre les régions mentionées; il ne dit rien cependant sur la provenance du néolithique du Congo. (Bijlen uit Neder-Congo, Bijlen uit West-Ubangi en Bijlen uit Uele. Institut Royal Belge, Bulletin des Séances VIII [1937], 807—823. Avec 2 planches et une carte.)

Amerika.

Beziehungen der Mundurukú zu den Tupí (KURT NIMUENDAJÚ). — In Verbindung mit der umfassenden Erforschung der Sprache des brasilianischen Indianerstammes der Mundurukú durch den kundigen Franziskanermissionar P. ALBERT KRUSE ist der unermüdliche Brasilien-

Amérique.

Rapports entre les Mundurukú et les Tupí (KURT NIMUENDAJÚ). — Partant de l'étude minutieuse que fit sur la langue des Mundurukú, tribu indienne du Brésil, le savant missionaire franciscain, le R. P. ALBERT KRUSE, l'infatigable explorateur du Brésil qu'est M. K. NIMUEN-

forscher K. NIMUENDAJÚ den Beziehungen ihrer Sprache zum Tupí nachgegangen. Er stellt fest, daß die Verwandtschaft des Mundurukú mit dem Tupí „sich sowohl im Wortschatz als in der Grammatik äußert. In dem ersteren ist auffällig, daß gerade die wichtigsten Leitwörter aus der Klasse der Körperteile und Naturerscheinungen ausnahmslos dem Tupíschen verwandt sind. In der Grammatik ist die Verwandtschaft der Pronomina von hoher Bedeutung. Es geht wohl nicht an, Ähnlichkeiten solcher Art aus dem Einfluß der Apiakás und Parintingtings zu erklären, ganz abgesehen davon, daß selbst, wenn ein derartiger Einfluß für die Tapajós-Mundurukús und Madeira-Mundurukús in Betracht käme, er für die Xingú-Mundurukús gar nicht in Frage kommt, weil diese jene Stämme auch nicht einmal dem Namen nach kennen. Ich stelle also die Mundurukú-Sprache in die Tupí-Familie. Damit ist nun nicht gesagt, daß die Mundurukús Tupís seien ... Das wenige, was mir zugänglich ist, läßt mich an dem ursprünglichen Tupítum der Mundurukús zweifeln". (Lose Blätter vom Çururú, 1938, S. 80.)

Beurteilung der Albinos (HENRY WASSÉN). — Bekanntlich treten Albinos in Darien häufiger als in anderen Teilen Amerikas auf. Die Cuna-Indianer von San Blas, deren reichhaltige Mythologie durch die Forschungsarbeit H. WASSÉN's gehoben worden ist, räumen ihren Albinos eine besondere Stellung ein. Im Vergleich zu den normal gefärbten Stammesmitgliedern hält man sie zwar nicht „für gute Arbeiter, wohl aber gelten sie als intelligenter. Darauf beruht eine gewisse Abneigung gegen sie. Die Stammesältesten versichern, daß Albinos in früherer Zeit umgebracht worden seien. Albinos sollen es auch gewesen sein, die gekommen sind, um den Dämon niederzuschießen, der es versucht, zu Zeiten einer Eklipse die Sonne oder den Mond zu verschlingen. Diese Anschauung deckt sich mit dem Glauben der alten Leute, daß ehedem die Albinos ein besonders tugendhaftes und sündenfreies Leben geführt haben". (Etnologiska Studier, 6 [1938], 155—160.)

Bevölkerungsschwund in Baja California (S. E. COOK). — Für Baja Cali-

DAJÚ a recherché les rapports entre leur langue et le tupi. Il constate que l'affinité entre le mundurukú et le tupí «se manifeste tant dans le vocabulaire que dans la grammaire. Pour le vocabulaire, il est frappant que précisément les plus importants des mots principaux désignant les parties du corps et les phénomènes de la nature font voir, sans aucune exception, leur affinité avec le tupí. Pour la grammaire, l'affinité des pronoms est de la plus haute importance. Il est absolument inadmissible d'expliquer des ressemblances de ce genre par l'influence des Apiakas et des Parintingtings. Alors même que cette influence aurait pu s'exercer sur les Tapajos-Mundurukú et les Madeira-Mundurukú, il ne saurait en être nullement question pour les Xingu-Mundurukú qui ignorent jusqu'au nom de ces tribus. Je range donc la langue mundurukú parmi la famille tupí, sans dire par là que les Mundurukú soient des Tupí ... Le peu de données dont je dispose me font douter que les Mundurukú soient originairement des Tupí». (Lose Blätter vom Cururú, 1938, p. 80.)

Jugement sur les albinos (HENRY WASSÉN). — On sait que les albinos sont plus nombreux au Darien que dans d'autres parties de l'Amérique. Les Indiens-Cuna de San Blas, dont la riche mythologie a été rendue accessible grâce aux recherches de M. H. WASSÉN, accordent une situation particulière à leurs albinos. Par comparaison aux membres de la tribu ayant la couleur normale, on ne les prend pas, à vrai dire, «pour de bons travailleurs, mais ils ont la réputation d'être plus intelligents. De là une certaine aversion à leur égard. Les plus vieilles gens de la tribu assurent que dans les temps anciens les albinos étaient mis à mort. On dit aussi que c'étaient des albinos qui sont venus pour tuer le démon qui essaye, aux temps des éclipses, de dévorer le soleil ou la lune. Cette manière de voir se couvre avec la croyance des vieilles gens qu'autrefois les albinos auraient mené une vie particulièrement vertueuse et exempte de péché». (Etnologiska Studier, 6 [1938], 155—160.)

Décroissance de la population à Baja California (S. E. COOK). — Pour Baja

10: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

000

MUNDURUCU INDIANS
A Dual System of Ethics

by
Robert F. Murphy

Reprinted from
Encyclopedia of Morals

Vergilius Ferm, editor

Philosophical Library, Inc.
New York 16, N.Y.
1956

[Title page]

121 **Mundurucú Indians, A Dual System of Ethics**

[101] The Mundurucú Indians, an aboriginal people of central Brazil, share with most of mankind a propensity to apply one moral standard to relationships among themselves and quite another to their conduct towards the rest of humanity. One may say that this phenomenon is universal. This paper shall maintain the view common to many social scientists that ethical values, whether norms implicit in observed behavior or overt ideals, are parts of social systems. It is to be expected, therefore, that desired and valued behavior will be different among members of any one system than between participants in different systems.

In a sense, all members of modern,

[p. 369 (B)]

[pp. 1-369 (A) not processed for the files. - Analyst]

121 complex societies are a part of the same social system. Therefore, the moral values of in-groups are commonly extended outward to a considerable degree. Moreover, the ethical norms reflected in everyday social interaction are complicated by class differences and other categories of sub-cultural variation. The individual is an actor in many situations, each of which prescribes rather different modes of behavior. He may be the bearer of several standards of ethics, which become manifest according to the particular status and role context in which he is acting. Our "real," as opposed to "ideal," values are heterogeneous in the extreme.

The complexity of our ethical values arises from the very complexity of the social structure of which they are an integral part. Beyond the realm of situationally desirable behavior, the general ideal value system, or thematic moral values, in Kluckhohn's terms, shows somewhat more uniformity and internal consistency.[1] But they are frequently in conflict with sentiments, which, while less lofty, are just as strongly value charged.

577 186 Since it is more simple, and because it is less ambivalent, the Mundurucú ethic should provide some insight into our own. It varies from our own in degree of intensity of ingroup harmony and outgroup hostility and is perhaps

---

[1] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: an Exploration in Definition and Classification" in *Towards a General Theory of Action* (Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, eds., Cambridge, 1952). [P 370 (A)]

577 different in kind, for the central theme
186 makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between desirable behavior within Mundurucú society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

648 The Mundurucú first came to the
[131] attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forests and savannah country east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú
[726] warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a
[105] peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

181 Mundurucú warfare represents one
577 side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[2] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[2] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946). [p. 370(B)]

181 non-aggression to an extent compa-
577 rable to the Zuni Indians of Arizona; in this light their culture is Apollonian.

121 The apparent disparity between these two concepts of desirable conduct towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedict and others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a central theme which pervades all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If major ethical themes are analyzed, on the other hand, as being an integrated and integrative part of the social structure, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the total culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, does not have to show ideational consistency, for its rationality lies in the structure of the society and, ultimately, of the culture.

186 The major unifying theme of the Mundurucú view of humanity lies in the division which they make, explicitly and verbally, between those who are Mundurucú and those who are not. Only the former are called "people," while the latter are referred to categorically as "outlanders." In times
[609] past, all "outlanders" were considered to be enemies and proper objects of attack.

This is not a racial or genetic concept; the name "outlander" is frequently applied today to many fellow
[177] tribesmen who have adopted white men's ways to such an extent that they no longer operate within the closed circle of Mundurucú society. Further-

186 more, children were captured from
[597] other tribes and raised as Mundurucú
without prejudice. To adult "outland-
186 ers" of either sex, however, the Mun-
727 durucú gave no quarter; the enemy was
summarily dispatched and the head
severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

648 The establishment of peaceful and
177 symbiotic relations with the whites
726 added a further dimension to the
577 values connected with warfare, which
the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The
726 means used to attain the new ends were
traditional. Enemy villages were

726 burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

721 It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú.

[626 554] 157 A young man who made great claims of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

181 577 578 The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

754 [689] The execution of sorcerers was the only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

[p. 572(A)]

754 ple were loathe to even speak of it. Interestingly, the sorcerer was not thought to practice his art against particular individuals, but was believed to make and disperse evil spirits which might attack anyone with whom they came into contact. A general malevolence was said to pervade the sorcerer; he was simply "angry at everything."

754 Sorcery provides interesting insights
181 into the mechanisms by which the
577 Mundurucú ethic was maintained and the dangerous forces which they believed to be inherent in man and nature kept in check. While the practice of black magic may be considered as a covert channel for the latent aggressions of the sorcerer, only persons who had inherited shamanistic power were able to manipulate the evil forces. But the locus of sorcery and its punishment was social and not individual. Just as black magic was directed towards society, at large, so was the ultimate function of retribution of importance to the well-being of the social system.
[72] The universe of the Mundurucú was permeated with potentially harmful supernatural beings and forces, which could be appeased and controlled with proper techniques, and the killing of the sorcerer was a personalized means towards this important end. Furthermore, the generalized anti-social tendencies attributed to the sorcerer were a projection of similar suppressed emotions carried by the population. The destruction of the practitioner of black magic was effectively the destruction of centrifugal tendencies within the society.

181
577 Internal harmony within the house-

[p.372 (B)]

181 Internal harmony within the house-
577 hold and within the village were
476 thought to be a necessary part of social and economic life. The men of the vil-
[562] lage as a whole hunted and cleared forest for gardens in cooperation, and the women of the large, extended family-household carried out their tasks in unity. Foods were shared among house members and by all the people of the village. The individual
[156] and the biological family of man, wife, and children had no independent existence external to their roles within the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in rec-
[554] ognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

554 Although prestige was attainable
156 through the above accomplishments,
577 it was not considered good for a man

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

139 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[141] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

186 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[721] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[754] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

181 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

181 ganization of the men's house, which
577 also formed a focus for male social participation. Cooperation in the econ-
[476] omy was elaborated far beyond the minimum necessary for effective exploitation of the environment; warfare
[72] was pursued beyond the requirements of security and its overt magico-religious purposes.

War and fraternity were ritualistic in nature. The relationship between them was causal in the sense that they were interdependent; intense militarism was made possible by male cohesiveness and male cohesiveness was fostered by warfare. Mundurucú society was welded by kinship and the ethic of harmony and cooperation. No
[54] commitments were owed to those outside the system; the humanity of others was recognized, but it entailed no duties. To have extended the intense moral obligations between Mundurucú to persons outside the system would have effectively vitiated and devitalized it.

Robert F. Murphy
University of California

[p. 374 (A)]

[pp. 374 (B) – end not processed for the files. – Analyst]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

MUNDURUCÚ RELIGION

BY

ROBERT F. MURPHY

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES
1958

[p. i]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology
Editors (Berkeley): T. D. McCown, R. F. Heizer, A. L. Kroeber

Volume 48, No. 1, pp. 1–154, plates 1–8, maps 1–2

Submitted by editors November 8, 1957

Issued October 8, 1958

Price, $3.00

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles
California

Cambridge University Press
London, England

Printed in the United States of America

[p. ii]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PREFACE

THIS MONOGRAPH is based primarily upon data gathered in the course of research among the Mundurucú Indians of the state of Pará, Brazil, in 1952 and 1953. The field work, in which my wife Yolanda and I collaborated, was conducted with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded by the Trustees of Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. At the time of the investigation, we were graduate students in the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, and our work was under the guidance of Professors Julian H. Steward and Charles Wagley. 122

The focus of the research was upon those changes in economic and social structure consequent upon the involvement of the Mundurucú in the rubber-extraction industry, but we set as a further goal the collection of as much ethnographic data as was possible during the year available. This aim was partly motivated by a desire to add to the information about South American Indian groups, but it was also felt that completely concentrated and problem-oriented research could be done only in cultures upon which a good background of reliable information was already available. 121

Actually, the Mundurucú are probably better known than most South American Indians, except for those few groups which have been the subject of prolonged and intensive study. This speaks less for the wealth of published data than for the poverty of our knowledge of the area. A certain amount of data is available from the early nineteenth-century explorations of Spix and Martius, and a fine source on Mundurucú culture in the latter part of the century is available in the report of the Brazilian engineer, Antonio M. G. Tocantins. More limited and fragmentary data are available in the work of Manoel Ayres de Cazal, Henry Walter Bates, William C. Farabee, João Barbosa Rodrigues, Henri Coudreau, José Monteiro Noronha, and Ricardo de Almeida Serra. Some excellent material has been published by the Franciscan missionaries to the Mundurucú, especially Fathers Albert Kruse and C. Strömer. Unfortunately, I have not had access to the information published by these priests and their colleagues in the *Provinzeitschrift der Franziskaner in Nordbrasilien*. The information available in most of the above sources is based upon limited residence among the Indians, and some contain most questionable data. None was written in the light of modern anthropological problems and theories or with the aid of contemporary field techniques. 114

Accordingly, my wife and I proceeded to gather as wide a range of data as was possible within the limits imposed by the necessity to accumulate material pertinent to our main interests. The present work represents one aspect of this research. The reader will see that a great deal of the native religion has been lost as a result of contact with Brazilian society, and certain items reported were not actually witnessed by me. It was continually necessary to resort to the memories of older Mundurucú, but we made every attempt to insure the reliability of our facts by cross-checking our data with several informants. I stated in the text which activities and beliefs are extinct and which are still practiced. The final [177]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

114 chapter of the work systematically explores the processes of disappearance and retention of religious traits and offers an explanation of the phenomena. The analysis relates changes in the sphere of religion to corresponding alterations of the socio-economic structure. In this sense the volume continues my main interests and represents an additional treatise on the problems of culture change.

000 I wish to acknowledge the helpful comments of my colleagues, Professors Robert F. Heizer, Alfred L. Kroeber, and Theodore D. McCown. Mr. Sheldon Klein, a graduate student in anthropology, gave me valuable assistance in research on South American mythology. Funds for aid in the preparation of the manuscript were made available by the University of California.

The debt that my wife and I owe to our friends and colleagues in Brazil is inexpressible, and I regret that their numbers are so large that they cannot all be mentioned. Our research was especially aided, however, by Drs. Eduardo Galvão and Darcy Ribeiro, who were at that time ethnologists on the staff of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Officials of that agency in Rio de Janeiro, Belém, and in the field were unstinting in their coöperation, and our work owes much to their kindness. Mr. George Colman, then United States consul in Belém, gave aid far beyond the requirements of his official duties, as he has to all anthropologists who have worked in the Amazon during the last decade. The priests and nuns of the Cururú River mission were especially warm and hospitable to us, and the Superior of the mission, Father Placido Toelle, O.F.M., was generous in imparting knowledge derived from forty years residence among the Mundurucú. Finally, the Indians who accepted two inquiring strangers into their midst with understanding and kindness can only be repaid by this volume, which is a partial fulfillment of our promise to tell our people of their way of life.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

CONTENTS

PAGE

I. Habitat and History 1 000
Habitat 1
History 5
Recent missionization 7
Social and economic changes 10

II. Heroes and Spirits 12
Culture heroes 12
Spirit mothers 13
Evil spirits 17
Spirits of the underworld 20
Mothers of the rain 21
Karökö spirits 22
The soul 23

III. Shamanism and Sorcery 29
The shaman 29
Disease and its treatment 32
Shamanism and spirits 39
Other functions of the shaman 41
Sorcery 43

IV. Ceremonialism 51
Contemporary ceremonialism 51
The Duparip ceremony 52
Warfare ceremonies 53
Ceremonies of the game 58
The curing ceremony 61
The karökö 63

V. Mythology and Folklore 68
The Karusakaibö cycle of world creation 69
The Bible: Mundurucú version 79
Cosmological myths 82
Cultural inventions and innovations 89
Adventures and sagas 94
Tales of animals and people 113

VI. Religion in a Changing Society 133

Appendices 141
Glossary of Mundurucú words 141
Glossary of Portuguese words 142

Bibliography 145

Plates 149

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

I. HABITAT AND HISTORY

101 THE MUNDURUCÚ INDIANS are a tribal group of some 1,250 people living on the
13 Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. The remnants of a formerly much more
[161] numerous population, they have maintained a considerable part of their native culture despite more than one and a half centuries of contact with Brazilian society.
197 Linguistically, the Mundurucú are Tupian-speaking, but their language is not
101 mutually intelligible with the so-called classical Tupian of the Brazilian littoral. Rather, they appear to form a Tupian substock in company with the near-by Shipaya, Curuaya, and Juruna Indians of the Xingú River drainage. Other cultural characteristics indicate some discontinuity between the Mundurucú and the bulk of the Tupian-speaking peoples and suggest that Mundurucú history had a relatively independent course from that of the coastal groups. Some of these differences are manifest in mythology and religion.

HABITAT

133 The Mundurucú habitat is rather different from what might commonly be expected in the Amazon Valley. Although stretches of flat jungle terrain abound, the area is in a northward-reaching finger of the Planalto de Mato Grosso; the topography is characterized by low hills, and the forests are interspersed with rock outcroppings and large stretches of grassy savannah. Actually, the northernmost extension of these central Brazilian highlands overlooks the Amazon behind the city of Santarém at the mouth of the Tapajós River.

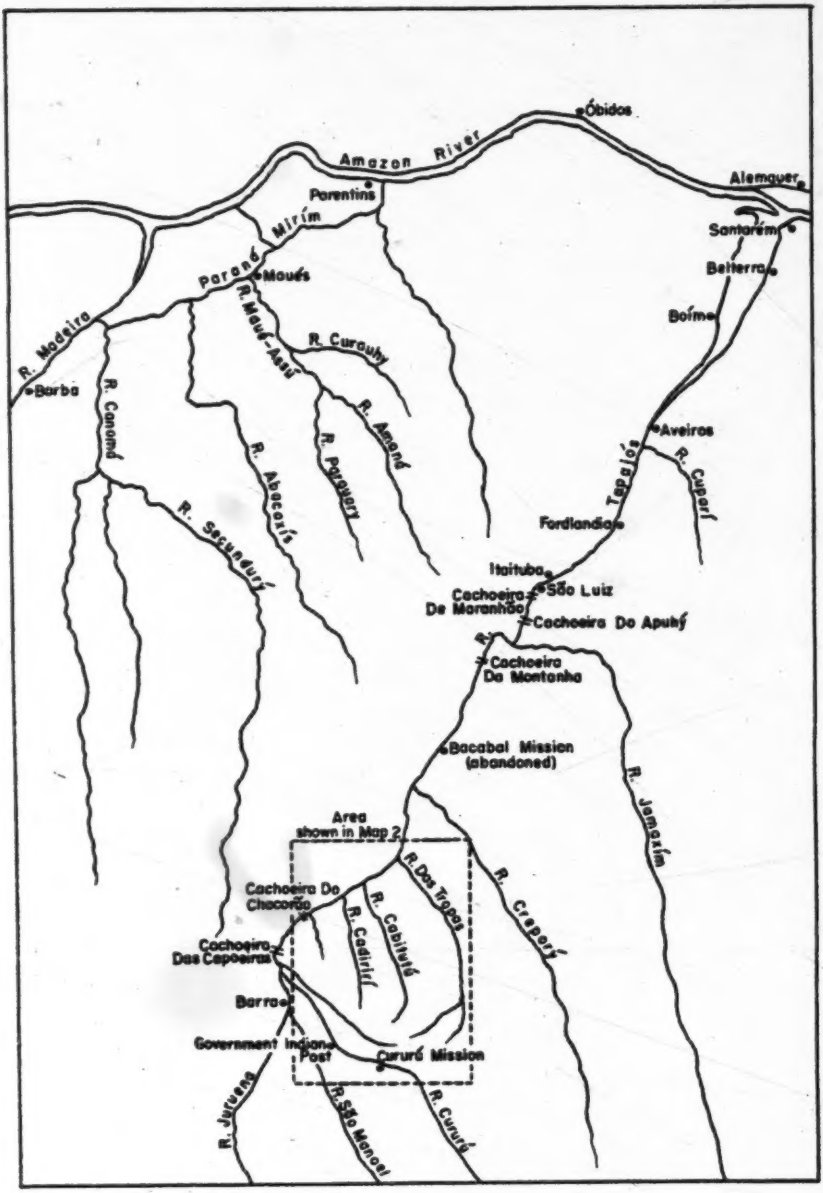
131 The traveler en route to the Mundurucú country usually ascends the Tapajós River from Santarém; recent completion of an emergency landing field some 300 miles upstream can shorten the weeks-long trip to a matter of two hours flight.[1] During the first 150 miles of the water route the steamer or launch carries one up the deep blue and usually tranquil stream between shores that are at first more than 10 miles apart, but which narrow to a width of about one mile. The hills on either side rise to a few hundred feet and are covered with the vegetation characteristic of most areas of terra firma in the Amazon. At the point where the more elevated country and the banks of the river finally merge to form a narrow gap, the Tapajós River plunges furiously over the almost impassible rapids called the Cachoeira de Maranhão. These rapids form an effective block to navigation, and the traveler must debark and by-pass them by truck or on foot. The truck and the road, which are frequently not usable, are the property of a rubber-trading concern that maintains warehouse and commercial facilities at the lower end of the rapids. The company town has a population of less than 1,000, but it is the metropolis and entrepôt of the upper Tapajós; one can continue for 1,000 miles farther upstream without finding a settlement one-fifth that size.

The next stage of the trip is made in a shallow-draft diesel launch, especially built to negotiate rapids. The shores of the lower Tapajós River are lined with pleasant sand beaches and are broken by occasional villages, but the upper reach

[1] The reader will find it convenient to consult the maps on pp. 2 and 3 during the following discussion.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

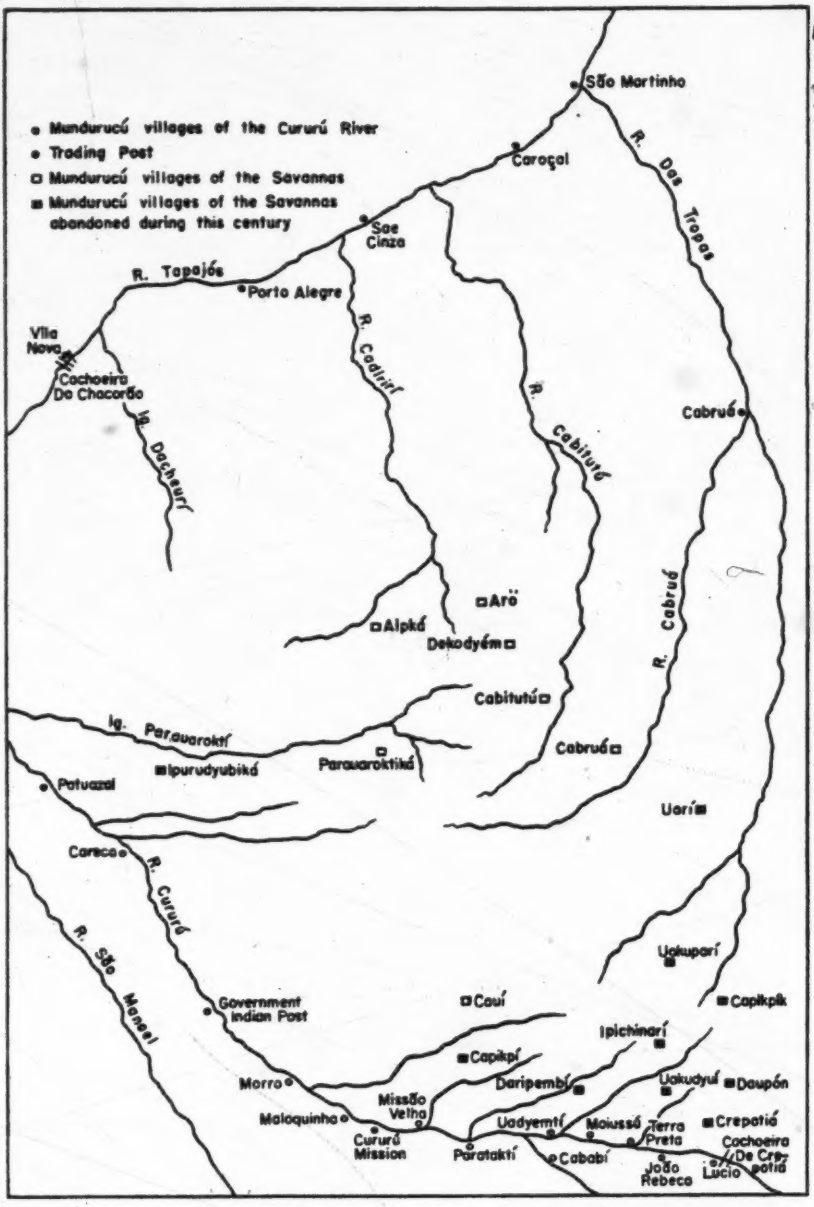
131



Map 1. The Tapanjós River region.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131
103
361
133



Map 2. Mundurucú territory and villages.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only once in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers of the scattered collector population.

[439] Several days and barely 400 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Mundurucú population. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadirirí, Cabitutú, and das Tropas. A number of Mundurucú villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and an occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually ragged or ill-fitting clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading posts. Racially, the Mundurucú does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes [144] are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes among the local Brazilians.

If one wishes to reach the village of Cabruá, a typical Mundurucú community of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabitutú River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of dawn-to-dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 100 yards away. The house is usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabruá go there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village, one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from the valley of the Cabitutú and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a sun-scorched savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one to the village.

361 The majority of the Mundurucú now live on the banks of the larger streams of the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there. Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 reside on the Cururú River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated part of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River. But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River [173] is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the historic period and, according to Mundurucú tradition, since the creation of man.

178 The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Mundurucú
621 architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each
341 has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance precincts and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbush. And the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tribe in general and the extended family in particular. Also, although the men's 178
hou[illegible]re still built according to the traditional pattern, the dwellings are now 621
built on a rectangular floor plan in contrast to the older elliptical shape. 341

Modification of the traditional Mundurucú village is even more striking on the shores of the Cururú River. Some villages number almost 100 inhabitants, but others are tiny hamlets of two small houses; none has the men's house. All dwellings face toward the river, but there is no over-all village plan. The houses are constructed of wattle and daub and, but for a few distinctively Mundurucú characteristics, are much like those of the Neo-Brazilian population. This conformity to the architecture of the whites[2] is even greater on the Tapajós River, where the Mundurucú live in single-family isolation.

The decline of Mundurucú culture is also evident in the physical appearance and 291
dress of the people. All now wear the cheap cotton shirts and trousers or Mother 178
Hubbard dresses sold to them by the traders. The more traditional men of the savannah villages generally wear penis sheath and bark belt beneath this raiment and usually hunt in the latter accoutrements only. The elaborate body and facial 304
tattooing that were formerly the hallmark of all Mundurucú, both male and female, is also on the wane. It is common now to see young people who are half-tattooed, or who have only the first few lines, never completed because of the lapse of the practice.

History

The current decadence of Mundurucú culture is not unexpected. On the contrary, 175
it is remarkable that the Mundurucú have preserved so much, and that they still have a semiautonomous society after more than a century and a half of continuous peaceful relations with the whites. They arrived late on the Amazon historical scene, and were not noted in published reports until 1768.[3] Whether the Mundurucú reported at that time were the members of a war party or had migrated from their home territory is uncertain, for they were seen far to the north of the upper Tapajós country on the Maué-Assú River, a tributary of a channel of the Madeira River named the Paraná Mirím. But their center of strength remained roughly in their present habitat, and they fought a colonial military detachment in that region in 1795.[4] Their defeat at the hands of government troops ended more than two decades of Mundurucú raids upon the Portuguese settlements of the Amazon and ushered in a period of peaceful relations and active alliance with the whites.

Subsequent to their pacification, large numbers of Mundurucú drifted into 175
the vicinity of the growing towns and missions on the lower Madeira and Tapajós 797
rivers. The missions are of especial interest to the subject matter of this study. In 1803 the mission of Santa Cruz was established on the lower Tapajós River

[2] The term "white" as applied herein to the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon is used as a shorthand way of saying, "people bearing a local variant of Luso-Brazilian culture, and who identify themselves with Brazilian society." Actually, the local people represent varying degrees of Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid admixture.

[3] Monteiro Noronha, 1862.

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 and was followed by others at Boim and Pinhel.[5] Spix and Martius visited the
797 Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River, another affluent of the Paraná Mirím, in 1819, and reported 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[6] Baptism and catechization of the Indians proceeded apace with their increasing involvement with the whites, and by 1817 Ayres de Casal stated, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians."[7]

175 The missionaries were by no means the only whites having contact with the
439 Indians, nor was religious instruction the only way in which they were exposed to European culture. The Indians manufactured manioc flour and collected the wild products of the region and sold these articles to the missionaries and traders, who probably were in active competition for the labor and production of the Mundurucú. The influence of the missions weakened with the deterioration of their economic hold over the Indians, and the Mundurucú tended to drift into a single-family settlement pattern along the banks of the streams. Today the Mundurucú of the Madeira River region are nearly assimilated, and those of the lower Tapajós are wholly so.

The bulk of the population, which remained in the area of the upper Tapajós River, experienced no such intensive contact. No missions were established above the great obstacle of the Cachoeira de Maranhão until 1872, and the area became settled by significant numbers of whites only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Before that period, the Mundurucú obtained the manufactured articles which they so avidly desired through mercenary warfare[8] and through the sale of surplus manioc flour and other products to traders who seasonally ascended the Tapajós River.[9] After about 1850, the upper Tapajós country was also penetrated by rubber collectors, to whom the Mundurucú frequently sold foodstuffs. The collectors traded with merchants in the growing town of Itaituba, below the head of navigation of the Tapajós, and returned each rainy season to the less isolated existence there. The contact of the Mundurucú with the Brazilians thus remained seasonal and sporadic.

By the 1870's, the commercial importance of rubber was growing rapidly; greater numbers of whites sought the product each year, and the Mundurucú were drawn increasingly into the extraction industry. The importance of the Indian population in the chronically labor-short Amazon region resulted in renewed efforts to attract or press greater numbers of them into commercial production. This problem and one solution of it were expressed in rather delicate and diplomatic terms by the Brazilian engineer, Antonio Tocantins: "The
175 imperial government has not spared efforts to call into the arms of civilization
797 the hordes that wander in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was with this
439 purpose that in 1872 the establishment of the Mission of Bacabal was ordered."[10]

The superior of the new mission of Bacabal, Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva, under-

[5] Martius, 1867, p. 395.
[6] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.
[7] Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[8] See Murphy (1957) for a discussion of this pattern.
[9] Cf. Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[10] Tocantins, 1877, p. 134.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his task with some energy. But his methods were somewhat unexpected by the Itaituba merchants, who had strongly favored the establishment of a mission. The priest established himself at a point on the east bank of the upper Tapajós River and proceeded to gather into his "reduction" some 500 Mundurucú who had been dwelling on the banks of the stream. According to a later report by the French explorer, Henri Coudreau, the missionary had little or no contact with the main population in the savannah villages.[11] The mission Indians continued to collect forest products, principally rubber, and to sell them, but they traded only with the priests, who in turn, traded directly with Belém. Thus by-passed, the businessmen of Itaituba immediately protested to the governor of the province of Pará, claiming that the mission monopolized the Indian trade but made little effort toward catechization. The priest inveighed with equal vigor against the corrupting influence of the traders, whom he also accused of gross exploitation of the Indian population. Fr. Pelino lost the fight, and the mission was abandoned in 1876.

It would be extremely difficult to assay the effect of the Mission of Bacabal upon Mundurucú beliefs, for other avenues of communication with the white Christian population were opening rapidly during this period. As the rubber-extraction industry went into its boom period, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós and as far south as the waters of the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. And the rubber collectors correspondingly became more sedentary. Whole families settled in the rubber regions and remained there throughout the year. The new Brazilian population settled among and married with the Mundurucú of the Tapajós shores and had occasional contact with the more isolated dwellers of the interior. The latter fell increasingly into the skein of debt relations upon which the rubber economy was and is based, and the structure of their relations with the traders provided the means by which Christianity and other aspects of Western culture were communicated to them.

Recent Missionization

Active catechization of the Mundurucú Indians effectively lapsed with the abandonment of the Mission of Bacabal. Efforts were renewed by the Diocese of Santarém in 1911, however, and in 1912 German priests of the Franciscan order established a mission on the Cururú River, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing through the southern part of Mundurucú territory. The first task undertaken by the priests was to end Mundurucú warfare. Decline in numbers and involvement in the rubber trade made the Indians receptive to exhortations against war. Their prowess had been on the wane for some time, and wars were infrequent and of small scale by 1912. The next problem, that of bringing the Indians under the complete influence of the mission, met with very limited success until the classical pattern of trading with them was adopted. The priests bought rubber at a higher price than did the traders, and they sold merchandise more cheaply. So great was their success in attracting the Mundurucú that a

[11] Coudreau, 1897, p. 28.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

797 rise in rubber prices in the latter part of the 1920's was partly responsible for
175 causing the people of some savannah villages to migrate to the rubber-yielding
[161] forests along the Cururú River. Today, some 200 Indians reside at the mission, and another 300 are also clients of the priests.

797 Although this is not a study of changes in Mundurucú religion consequent upon proselytization, it is necessary to survey briefly the effects of the mission
771 upon native belief in order to interpret the data to be presented. Catechization is most actively pressed among those Indians on the Cururú River with whom the mission has trade contacts. The other 200 residents of the Cururú River have their closest relations with the local post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios and only occasionally encounter the priests. The residents of the Tapajós River are far too scattered to be accessible with any frequency to the missionaries; these Mundurucú receive Christian influences through prayer sessions and religious fiestas held at the trading posts and through informal discourse with their Brazilian neighbors. The residents of the savannah villages maintain trade relations with the traders of the Tapajós River, but they are visited once a year by a priest who performs baptisms and remains for two or three days in each village to give religious instruction.

The personnel of the mission have proceeded with some degree of tact and restraint in their conversion of the Mundurucú population. All Mundurucú are technically Catholic, having been baptized, but only a minority have received all the subsequent sacraments. Children in residence at the mission school are administered Communion, and at intervals of several years the Bishop of Santarém visits the mission to hold Confirmation rites for those ready to receive them. All Indians in the villages under mission influence are married in religious ceremonies. These rites generally are the result of considerable pressure by the priests and follow a period of marriage according to native custom. The Indians themselves look upon the public marriage ceremony as most embarassing and shame-provoking and make every effort to avoid it. The sacrament of Extreme Unction is administered only to people who die at the mission itself. Otherwise, the customary funeral rites are followed and the body is interred under the floor of the dwelling.

Each Sunday a number of Mundurucú arrive at the mission for the primary purpose of trading and with the secondary intent of visiting; they are strongly urged to attend Sunday Mass, and most do as a means of keeping in the good graces of the prestigeful and respected missionaries. The superior of the mission has spent more than thirty years among the Mundurucú and speaks the language fluently. All of the Mass except the part universally recited in Latin is given in the Indian tongue. The Mundurucú observe the social division of the sexes while attending church. The front pews are occupied by the nuns and the 40-odd children usually resident at the school, and the remaining seats are occupied by the men. Most remain in a rigid kneeling position throughout the service, with the exception of one or two old men who imitate and even anticipate the ritual postures of the nuns. The women sit cross-legged on the floor of the center aisle; many nurse their children during the rites.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Attendance at church services is always greatest on such special holy days as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of St. Francis, the patron of the mission. The nuns serve refreshments to the participants, and dances are held in the houses of the Mundurucú who reside at the mission. These occasions unite hundreds of people and thus serve as the social equivalents of the now defunct tribal ceremonies devoted to the game-animal spirits. 797 771

Most Mundurucú ceremonies are no longer practiced by any segment of the population. The priests have made special efforts to discourage the practice of native rites in those Cururú River villages under their influence, and only the ceremony to regain stolen souls is still held. This rite requires the participation of only three or four shamans and two men who possess knowledge of certain songs, and is held in the closed house of the sick person. It is thus quite easily concealed from the attention of the priests, and the rites have been held in houses only a stone's throw from the priests' residence. Ceremonies involving a large number of participants have fallen out of practice, even among the more traditional savannah dwellers, who are not readily responsive to the dictates of the priests. As in the case of warfare, it is obvious that culture change was on the side of the missionaries and that their efforts were not the crucial factor in the decline of these aspects of Mundurucú culture. On the other hand, more individualized religious practices are still quite active among the Mundurucú. The priests recognize the psychological value of shamanism and have made little effort to inhibit its practice. They are quite realistic as to its tenacity among not only the Indians but the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon. But the position of the missionaries is of necessity ambiguous, for the ideological basis of shamanism is inextricably connected with the concepts surrounding sorcery, to which they are adamantly opposed. Frequent sermons are delivered against belief in witchcraft as the cause of illness, and the priests are extremely severe with those of their parishioners who take part in sorcery killings. Their efforts in this direction have had the net effect of causing the Mundurucú to withhold information on their religious beliefs, but it can be confidently stated that even the most acculturated Mundurucú believe firmly in witchcraft.

One of the more interesting facets of contemporary Mundurucú culture on the Cururú River is the general indifference of the people to Christian beliefs, in spite of their acceptance of the mission as an institution. There can be no denial of the fact that the priests are greatly respected by the Mundurucú and have great power among them. Chieftaincy in the Cururú villages is dependent upon recognition by the missionaries, and the major function of the chiefs is to act as intermediaries between the villages and the mission. The priests continually recruit children for the mission school in spite of the passive resistance of their parents, and they are able to bring considerable coercion to bear upon individuals through their economic power. But the Indians are only nominally Christians in spite of this influence and the intensive catechization to which they are exposed. [622]

The following chapters describe the manner in which the Indians have integrated and syncretized Christianity into their own belief system. This process

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

797 had doubtless begun long before the establishment of the present mission; it
771 is probable that items of Christian belief have diffused to the Mundurucú and been reinterpreted by them for a period of more than 150 years. These items of belief are now, from the viewpoint of the Indians, Mundurucú ideas. They recognize the affinity between Christian concepts and stories and some of their own, but they shrug off the former by saying that that is the way the priests tell the stories. Some informants thought that the priests had learned them from the Mundurucú—and learned them poorly.

The vast majority of Christian teachings have not, of course, been integrated into Mundurucú culture, and the Indians are exposed to these alien beliefs whenever they visit the mission or are visited by priests. Some of these, as the concepts of sin and damnation, are well known to the people, but make no emotional impact upon them. The idea of sin, especially original sin, is predicated upon the type of internalized authority more characteristic of the members of a complex society. Mundurucú social control is not dependent upon a sense of guilt, and the structure of personal relations is adequate to govern individuals. The Indians look upon this central theme of Christianity with mixed views. Some feel that hell is the particular destination of white people, but others barely bother to think about it at all. This summarizes the attitude of most Mundurucú toward missionary instruction. They rarely disbelieve the priests, for the latter are regarded as wise and sincere men. But their teachings are thought to be those of white men and thus to be true only for white men. There is no single and absolute body of unchangeable truth to the Mundurucú mind. Within their own mythology, for example, there are two separate origins of man; logically, this appears contradictory, but the Mundurucú do not put these beliefs to the test of logic. This statement does not imply that the Indians are illogical. Rather, it merely suggests that they, like most primitives, are not theologians. For this reason, the native and Christian beliefs coexist quite easily; but most Mundurucú have little interest in the latter, although they may not actively resist and reject them.

Social and Economic Changes

178 Although it is doubtful that Christian proselytization has resulted in a large-
174 scale displacement of native beliefs, the fact still remains that many aspects of
105 Mundurucú religion are in full decline. This decadence is not understandable
[771] as the result of a conflict of patterns of belief. Rather we must view religion, with Durkheim, as being in some way an expression of the mode of organization of the society. Also we are not concerned merely with belief, but with the closely connected subject of ritual; and the form of ritual is directly related to the structure of the social group that implements it.

With this thought in mind, we can review some of the major changes that have taken place in Mundurucú society since their contact with the whites. First, the Mundurucú were evidently patrilocal, as contrasted to their later matrilocality, until some time in the early nineteenth century.[22] This change in residence patterns revolutionized Mundurucú social structure. More than 40

[22] See Murphy (1956) for a full discussion of the causes and implications of this change.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

patrilineal clans, ranked loosely into unnamed phratries and divided almost equally between exogamous moieties, persisted, but the residential basis of patrilineality disappeared. Males formerly remained in the house and village of their birth, but now they were dispersed by the new marriage rule. Clans lost their lineage nucleii and correspondingly suffered a loss of function. Bride service had in a sense become permanent, and the men's house, formerly the dwelling of village bachelors and young men in bride service, became a permanent dwelling of the men. 178 174 105

That is essentially the situation in the contemporary savannah villages. But the social organization of the Cururú River settlements marks a further change from the savannah pattern. Matrilocality is still rather vaguely regarded as the ideal residence rule for all but the sons of chiefs, and the custom is followed in a significant number of cases. Actually, however, many marriages are patrilocal, and there is an increasing tendency for couples to become neolocal eventually.

Furthermore, family life and the social division of the sexes has been drastically modified on the Cururú River. The Cururú villages are the result of migrations by nuclear and extended families from near-by savannah villages and do not represent the simultaneous moves of entire villages. The men's house was never instituted on the Cururú and dwellings were characteristically small. Thus, the Cururú River houses are the residences of one to three related families, whereas those on the savannahs, even under present conditions of depopulation, have an average number of about four families each. Men reside in the same houses as do their wives and children on the Cururú River, and the nuclear family approaches being an independent social and economic unit. Under these conditions the village has little cohesion, and recurrent factionalism results in the proliferation of new and smaller villages. Among these units there are individual ties of marriage and kinship, but the mission provides almost the only context in which the residents of different villages interact in a group.[15]

Other factors have modified Mundurucú social structure and religion. The population is probably about one fourth of what it was 100 years ago;[16] this has resulted not only in greatly reduced villages and households, but it has decreased the number of shamans. Other influences have aggravated this decline. The end of warfare did much to devitalize the Mundurucú and to promote the growing disinterest in the native culture. It also eliminated a whole range of religious ceremonies that formed part of the head-hunting complex. Finally, there has been a profound shift in subsistence base among those Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers. In contrast to the savannah dwellers, who are vigorous hunters, these Indians depend primarily upon fish for protein. This has significance for the religious concepts and activities centered on the animal world and hunting. 178 [184] [262]

[15] The respective social and economic organizations of savannah and Cururú River villages are compared and analyzed with reference to the ecology of rubber collection in another work. (Murphy, 1954.)

[16] According to some sources, this decline has been even greater. Martius (1867, p. 390) estimated the Mundurucú population to be 40,000 in 1819, and Tocantins (1877, p. 101) calculated their number to be 18,910 in 1875. [161]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

II. HEROES AND SPIRITS

771 776 MUNDURUCÚ RELIGION is animistic in its broadest outlines, although vague and unpersonalized concepts of power pervade belief. Spirits and powers are active agents in Mundurucú life, and the constant manipulation and propitiation of them are essential to the well-being of the tribe.

CULTURE HEROES

773 Culture heroes were people of great supernatural power who lived in mythological times and who were responsible for creating people and much of the animal world. They are also believed to have endowed the Mundurucú with certain items of their culture, although the origin of most of it is not rationalized by mythology. Culture heroes are considered by the Mundurucú to be people of a remote past who accomplished wonderful deeds and then passed out of contact with the world of people and nature. They are in no way worshipped or manipulated nor are they objects of fear and veneration or, outside of their existence in the myth cycle, the subjects of much thought or interest.

One culture hero, Karusakaibõ, stands above all the rest to such a degree that C. Strömer has referred to him as a "Hochgott."[1] Although the "Gott" stem of the appelation, as applied to Karusakaibõ, does violence to most definitions of deity, Karusakaibõ's dominant position in Mundurucú mythology is undeniable. Like many culture heroes, his origin is unexplained. He exists in a cycle of six myths in the course of which people, the peccary, and the tapir are created, and the hills and sky are formed. Karusakaibõ, although an extraordinary person of great power, was believed to be a Mundurucú who lived in a village named Uacuparí, situated near, but not identical with, a recent Mundurucú village of the same name. His son Korumtau, his wife Shikiridjá, and his sisters also enter into his adventures.

773 797 Karusakaibõ has been syncretized by the Mundurucú with the Christian God preached to them by missionaries from the nineteenth century to the present day. The missionaries followed the example of the Jesuits of the early colonial period and have translated "God" as Tupan, the Tupian thunder deity; the Mundurucú have partly integrated the Christian and native myth cycles by incorporating pleasing tales from the Old and New Testament into their own mythology and substituting their own Karusakaibõ for the missionary's Tupan. However, the subtleties of the concept of the Trinity have resulted in some ambiguity, and Karusakaibõ is equated alternately with the Father and the Son.

773 797 842 Identification of the Christian deity and the principal Mundurucú culture hero has altered the position of the latter somewhat. Many Indians, especially those in closest contact with the mission, offer the influence of Karusakaibõ as explanation for many phenomena not specifically accounted for in the cycle of Karusakaibõ myths. As an example, various women stated that a couple must copulate several times to have children. After sufficient semen is accumulated within the woman, Karusakaibõ (or Tupan, according to some informants) enters

[1] Strömer, 1932, pp. 5-6.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the woman and blows upon the semen, giving it life. Such atypical intervention 797
in everyday affairs by the culture hero remained puzzling until it was learned 773
that the nuns explain pregnancy to the girls at the mission school by telling 842
them that Tupan places babies inside their bodies.

In all his activities, Karusakaibõ is accompanied by his constant companion, 773
Daiïru, a trickster armadillo whose plots and interference are essential to nearly all of the culture hero's acts. In spite of the hero's great power, he finds it difficult to eliminate the wily armadillo and succeeds only at the end of the myth cycle, when he turns him into a tree that now holds up the sky.

The other Mundurucú culture heroes are of decidedly less importance and do not appear in the body of Karusakaibõ myths. There is a three-part saga in which two men named Karuetaouibõ and Wakurumpõ ascend to the sky and become the visible sun. The latter was an especially powerful shaman whose powers were so great that he once caused the sun to grow dark. He ended the eclipse by magically scraping off the face of the sun.

Moraichõkõ is the subject of a brief tale in which he is credited with making the rock paintings that are frequently encountered in the country adjacent to the Tapajós River. Since most of these paintings are on inaccessible cliffs, Moraichõkõ is acknowledged by the Mundurucú to have been a person of considerable supernatural power.

A series of four other stories surrounds Nung-nung, who is now in the Milky Way. In other stories, a man named Karukchewe was transformed into the tree from whose wood bows are made, and an old woman named Kapiru was responsible for the origin of horticulture. Thus, although Karusakaibõ is viewed as the most important and powerful of the culture heroes, he was not responsible for the creation of all Mundurucú culture.

Another class of culture heroes had no part in the creation of the natural or human environment, but are figures in sagas. A long legend is told about the wanderings of Perisuat, and the wars of Yurichungpõ and Karudaibi are related in a two-part cycle. There are several such personages and, though many have some supernatural gifts, none is as powerful as Karusakaibõ and Wakurumpõ. Nonetheless, the stories of these mythical characters are important in the education of the young and in the expression of themes central to Mundurucú values and world view.

Spirit Mothers

The most important single class of supernaturals believed to be active in the 776
world are the spirit mothers of the game animals.[9] The generic spirit mother 224
of all game animals and the various mothers of certain species must be continually

[9] Belief in spirit mothers, owners, or protectors of animals and plants is widespread in the Amazon basin. For example, Oberg (1953, pp. 53–54) reports the concept of spirit mothers of plants and animals from the upper Xingú River, and Wagley and Galvão (1949, p. 102) describe two Tenetehara spirits, the Owner of the Forest and the Owner of the Water, which are closely related to the Mundurucú spirits. Belief in these bush supernaturals is evidently extremely tenacious, for Wagley (1953, p. 225) reports the concept of the "mãe do bicho" among the Brazilian residents of the town of "Ita." Most groups in eastern Brazil visualize these protective spirits as mothers; in contrast, the Tauripang refer to them as fathers (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, pp. 176–177).

776 224 propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community. Moreover, great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to these spirits lest they strike back at the offender. The major Mundurucú ceremonies functioned mainly to secure the [756] benevolence of the spirit mothers, and one of the chief duties of the shaman was to make periodic offerings to them and thus insure their cooperation.

562 224 This preoccupation with animal spirits reflects certain basic facts about Mundurucú culture. The society is male-oriented; women are by no means passive actors in the social structure, but the major foci of the culture were male values and activities. And to the Mundurucú men, at least those of the remaining savannah villages, few activities are more important than the hunt. The male self-image is that of the warrior and hunter, the wayfarer of the forests,[2] and the Mundurucú are intensely concerned with all things arboreal. Hunting was as important as horticulture in the traditional subsistence economy and may well have been more basic to the diet in earlier times. There is some speculation about [174] a more southerly origin of the Mundurucú,[3] which suggests the corollary hypothesis that horticulture was less important in their former habitat. If this were true, it would help to explain why hunting is so heavily emphasized in Mundurucú religion, and horticulture is almost completely secularized.

776 224 756 The mother of the game, or *putcha ñi*,[4] protects the animal kingdom as a whole from human offense. The relation between the *putcha ñi* and animals is conceived by the Mundurucú to be a mother-child relationship. It is believed to be a single, unitary spirit, but it can be found in several places and under several guises at one and the same time. Expressed differently, the *putcha ñi* is a single power having several manifestations.

The mother of the game is not an anthropomorphic personage; it has no form nor does it exist as a mobile and independent entity. Characteristically, the *putcha ñi* is found in two forms; in one it is a very special stone called a *wirakuá*, and in the other it travels in the bodies of the land tortoise and the coatá monkey. The Mundurucú *wirakuá* concept, as many of their beliefs, is not highly conceptualized or rigidly formalized. It is vaguely conceived as a power and is described as a stonelike object visible only to shamans. Thus, the mother of the game and the *wirakuá* are not identical, but the spirit does manifest itself in the latter object. In its *wirakuá* guise, the *putcha ñi* is usually found in the deep perennial springs at the headwaters of the streams that issue from the hills of the Mundurucú country. Hunting is invariably good in these locales because of the desire of the game to congregate about their mother, and Mundurucú shamans have techniques whereby they can place the *putcha ñi* in springs near their villages. So placed, the *putcha ñi* will remain indefinitely unless stolen by a shaman of another village. When the *putcha ñi* is moved by a shaman, it emits

[2] See the myth of Purisant on pp. 197-201 for the expression of this theme in legendary form.
[3] Cf. Martius, 1867, p. 206 and Steinen, 1892, p. 2.
[128] [4] Mundurucú words are italicized throughout the text. The system of phonetic transcription and a complete glossary of all Mundurucú terms used may be found in Appendix A. Portuguese words are not italicized, but Appendix B contains the translations of all terms mentioned and the taxonomic classifications of most flora and fauna for which Portuguese designations have been given.

a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home. 756 776 224

The manifestation of the mother of the game in coatá monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *patoka ñi*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *patoka ñi*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *patoka ñi* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which cururu cherous has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *patoka ñi*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area.

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *patoka ñi* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *patoka ñi*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *patoka ñi* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *patoka ñi* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual sets that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of these ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *patoka ñi* on ceremonial occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *patoka ñi* would become extremely angry. [739] [825] [782] [784]

The *patoka ñi* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are looked upon as the vengeance of the *patoka ñi*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *patoka ñi* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *patoka-ñi* sends another. [752]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 224 925 The *putcha ñi* sends two types of malignant object, called the *yakíp* and the *wirakuá*. The latter has already been explained as a supernaturally powerful, stonelike object in which the *putcha ñi* is sometimes found. The *yakíp*, on the other hand, is thought to be an evil force that is found in the form of a louse. Both the *wirakuá* and the *yakíp* are parts of a general, dangerous power, called *chewoi*, that exists in all animals. The Mundurucú believe that every animal possesses a *wirakuá* and a *yakíp* as part of its power (*chewoi*); these malignant forces apparently can be controlled by the *putcha ñi* and used by it to avenge the grievances visited upon the animal world by humans. The *yakíp* or the *wirakuá* can also be sent by the animal souls as well as by the *putcha ñi*. One shaman stated that the *yakíp* often enters the victim to weaken him, and the *wirakuá* then arrives to kill him.

Finally, every species of game animal has a mother spirit that exerts protection over the species. These mothers are decidedly secondary in importance to the *putcha ñi*, or mother of all game, and the only ones that figure importantly in Mundurucú thought are the *bóü ñi*, the *daje ñi*, the *rupem ñi*, and the *tosú ñi*, or the mothers of the tapir, the peccary, the deer, and the prego monkey, respectively. The species mothers are given offerings at ceremonies and shamanistic performances, as is the *putcha ñi*, and they are capable of avenging any offense given to their respective children. However, the Mundurucú commonly speak of "feeding the *putcha ñi*" and of the "vengeance of the *putcha ñi*," though scant reference is given to the species mothers in these connections. Also, the species mothers are never found in the land tortoise or the coatá monkey, nor are they believed to be manifest in the form of *wirakuá*. On the contrary, the species mothers are found only in certain of their children, and their presence in the animal can be detected only by a shaman.

776 925 926 Another class of mothers is associated with aquatic life and is of less importance than the animal mothers. The *asima ñi* is the mother of the fish, a position equivalent to that of the *putcha ñi* in the animal world. The *asima ñi* travels in small alligators and can be found by the shaman in many places where fish are known to abound. In addition to its association with all species of fish, the *asima ñi* is also believed to be the mother of all aquatic reptilian, amphibian, and mammalian life.

Individual species of fish do not have mothers, but the tartaruga and tracajá, species of river tortoise, have mother spirits that are found within some of their children. The only other aquatic species having a mother is the peixe-boi, or manatee. The mother of the peixe-boi can be found only within certain tapirs. There are no special ceremonies for these spirits, but they, too, are propitiated in the general ceremonies for spirit mothers.

776 927 925 This account of supernatural beliefs associated with game animals represents the norm of informant responses on the subject. Mundurucú beliefs are not, however, absolutely uniform and rigid, and there was a certain variation in individual views on the subject. There was, for example, some disagreement on the nature of the *wirakuá*, although all informants agreed that it was like a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

stone and alive and strong. The *wirabad* is evidently a rather abstract notion of a mystic force that is an attribute of many classes of beings. But beyond this minimal explanation there is a degree of permissible deviation in interpretation. Some informants said that the *patoka ñi* was a *wirabad*, but others said that it was merely found in a *wirabad*. Another body of conflicting information pertained to the belief that there was only one *patoka ñi* but that it could simultaneously be found in many places. Again, a minimal explanation was given that there is but one *patoka ñi*, but it is divided into many. Deeper questioning drew rather different answers from different informants. In this, and elsewhere, I have given the most common explanation. It is to be understood, of course, that a range of variant belief and practice is to be found in all aspects of culture.

Evil Spirits

In spite of the great power to do harm possessed by the spirits associated with the animal world, the Mundurucú do not look upon these supernaturals as inherently evil or malignant. They attack people only when unjustly provoked and are beneficial when properly propitiated. Since man knows the rules that must be followed to maintain the benevolence of the spirits of the animal world, their vengeance is due to human frailty and not to supernatural caprice or malevolence. The proper attitude toward this class of supernaturals is one of respect and caution, and not of intrinsic fear.

However, the Mundurucú believe in other spirits, some of which are dangerous at all times and which attack humans without provocation. The most powerful of these is the class of spirits called *Farapari*, belief in which is extremely widespread among the Tupian-speaking peoples of South America. The Mundurucú recognize three types of *Farapari*. The first is said to be composed of the real *Farapari* and includes the souls of people who have been killed by attacks of the *Farapari*. Another type of *Farapari* is that created by sorcerers to accompany their souls on predatory journeys. These *Farapari* are neither as prevalent nor as powerful as the first type, but they are, nonetheless, greatly dreaded. The last category of *Farapari* includes the fresh-water porpoises that inhabit the Amazonian rivers. The porpoises are believed to swim in the rivers only by day; at night they are transformed into handsome men or beautiful women who dress in white clothes and travel on land. These are believed to be the least dangerous of all the *Farapari*, although they are still considered malevolent and capable of attacking humans.

Mundurucú shamans report that the porpoise class of *Farapari* frequently complains to them that the other *Farapari* are the real demons and that they themselves suffer from their assaults. This third class of *Farapari* is distinguished from the first two types by other characteristics, also. Only the porpoise-spirit travels on land; the others travel through the air. The porpoises are visible to all people in their nocturnal human form, and their beauty frequently leads the unwary to approach too closely. The sorcerer-created *Farapari* and those whose lives and souls were taken by the *Farapari*, however, are invisible to all but the shaman.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 825 These *Tewapari* make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air. Though the porpoise *Tewapari* are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other *Tewapari* is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 793 All types of *Tewapari* travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the periphery of villages, and, consequently, few Mundurucú venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the *Tewapari* is a magical stone that it throws at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the *Tewapari* is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 795 There are no means by which attacks of the *Tewapari* can be prevented, but Mundurucú shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 797 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the *Tewapari* while in the field because the Mundurucú informants hesitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Mundurucú. The priests translated the Devil as *Tewapari*, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the *Tewapari*." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of *Tewapari* beliefs shared by the Mundurucú and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 825 One of the commonest beliefs of *Tewapari* in the Amazon Basin is that of the fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian *caboclos*, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to ensnare victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Itá the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Mundurucú *Tewapari*, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Mundurucú also believe in the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept of the porpoise type *Tewapari* was borrowed from the civilized population. If this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

776 191 177

* Wagley, 1953, p. 344.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

phenomenon is not at all unusual in South America; Wagley and Galvão report the Tenetehara belief in the demon, Zurupari, to have been borrowed by the Indians from the local Brazilian population.[5] Similarly, the Tupinambá culture hero, Tupan, became a mythological figure in many Brazilian tribes through the active agency of the Jesuits. 776 171 171

Another instance of this type of diffusion and syncretism may exist in the Mundurucú belief that the *Yurupari* take the souls of their victims in order to recruit their own ranks. This may well be an aboriginal idea, but it corresponds suspiciously to the classical missionary teaching that the souls of sinners are taken by the *Yurupari*, or Devil.[6] The absence of any concept of sin in the Mundurucú belief is not surprising, for missionaries have labored for generations without noticeable results, to inculcate the idea of sin and punishment among them. 776 177 797

The *Yurupari* attack all people regardless of age or sex, but a class of spirits known as *aïk* is dangerous only to infants. There are hordes of *aïk* wandering over the earth, for the shadows of all people turn into this spirit upon death. Only the transformed shadows of little girls are dangerous to infants, however. The Mundurucú believe that these *aïk*, like all little girls, want to take the children for themselves, and they rob the child of its life to do so. 776

Like the *Yurupari*, the *aïk* kills its victims by throwing a magical stone into them. The *aïk* is clearly visible to the shaman as a little person no more than a foot high; its skin is either black or white, and it is always very beautiful. To ordinary people unendowed with shamanistic powers, the *aïk* is visible only as a fleeting shadow. It is not at all remarkable, therefore, that anxious Mundurucú mothers often see *aïk* on the paths between the villages and the bathing places. These paths are considered to be especially dangerous, but the *aïk* also attacks in the village on days when most of the people are abroad, and only one or two women or girls remain in the village to tend the infants. 776

As a rule, the Mundurucú believe that safety from all supernaturals can be gained by numbers; the various malevolent beings are always especially dangerous outside the village and to the lone person. This idea functions to provide supernatural support for sociability and coöperation, and few Mundurucú hunt, fish, or garden alone, nor does any woman willingly go to bathe or draw water by herself. To be sure, there are other, more concrete and persuasive reasons for Mundurucú gregariousness, but supernatural concepts rationalize and support this aspect of the social structure. 776 571

The shaman must be called to cure an attack by the *aïk*, but there are also means by which such attacks can be prevented. Children are made immune by frequent baths in a solution of water and the crushed leaves of an unidentified shrub, and a piece of ginger root is almost always hung on the child's *tipoia*, or carrying sling, as protection against the *aïk*. Also, mothers bite off and spit out pieces of the ginger root as they walk along the paths between the villages and the bathing places in the belief that this will avert molestation by the spirit. 776 751

[5] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 102.

[6] It is equally possible that this represents a modification of an aboriginal concept of the Yurupari. Métraux (1928, p. 58) notes the antiquity of this belief among Tupian groups, and the Mundurucú might well have shared this element.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Spirits of the Underworld

776 The *kokeriwat* are a class of spirits that are believed to inhabit the underworld. Although they are extremely mischievous, the *kokeriwat* are not specifically malevolent toward humans nor are they especially feared by the Mundurucú. During the old Mundurucú wars, *kokeriwat* warriors used to issue from the underworld and, unseen by all but the shamans, fought side by side with the Mundurucú as allies. One informant stated that the *kokeriwat* were really the souls of Mundurucú warriors of ancient times, but this is not a universally held belief and must be classed with our previously discussed minor variations on major themes. Despite the help given them by their invisible allies, the Mundurucú warriors had to take certain precautions against the *kokeriwat*, for the latter always attempted to steal the teeth from the trophy heads taken by the war party. The Mundurucú guarded against this by extracting the teeth, which were later strung on a cotton belt, and hiding them in the mouth of the head. When all the teeth were extracted, they were placed in a small box which the warriors suspended from their necks.

[342] The *kokeriwat* were also able to make women pregnant without their knowledge by assuming the form of a small bird and flying between their legs. They later returned to claim the issue. Several cases were reported in which the *kokeriwat* robbed the mothers of these surreptitiously begotten children. One child of the village of Parawaröktiká was sent by her mother to fetch water. After a considerable period of time passed by, the mother asked some women who were bound for the stream to tell the daughter to return immediately. The women went to the stream and found two sets of tracks leading away from the beach. They called the men of the village, who followed the tracks to a hill within which was situated one of the underworld homes of the *kokeriwat*. A shaman called out to the girl and asked her to return, but the *kokeriwat* replied in a voice heard only by the shaman, "She cannot return. I am keeping her for she is my daughter." The shaman was afraid to make any further attempt to regain the child, and she was left with the *kokeriwat*.

776 Informants were able to name three separate underworlds of the *kokeriwat*. The
772 one to which that child was taken was known as Paraduá. Another was called Wikotchongpö and was on the banks of the Iririri River, a tributary of the Cururú River. The third home of the *kokeriwat* was Kokeriwatka (literally, the place of the *kokeriwat*), which was near the Morro de Careca on the Cururú River. All these places were abandoned by the *kokeriwat* after they became increasingly subjected to attacks by the Yurupari. They now live in an underworld to the east and no longer have relations with the Mundurucú.

776 The Mundurucú know of the lands of the *kokeriwat* because many shamans are
756 said to have traveled there. Some shamans, as Pöšubaboi, a former chief of Capikpí, even had wives there. The *kokeriwat* have human forms when in their own land, but everything else is the reverse of the terrestrial world. Pöšubaboi, for example, related that the first time he had intercourse with his *kokeriwat* wife he told her to lie on her back on the ground in the usual Mundurucú position. But the *kokeri-*

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

wat do not have sexual relations in the same position as do the Mundurucú, and his wife replied, "If I lie on the ground I will get worms. We will do it standing up, instead." Furthermore, although the sun also rises in the east and sets in the west in the underworld, it is night there when it is day in the terrestrial world. The *kokeriwat* engage in fish-drugging expeditions, as do the Mundurucú, but they poison the water with the sipó snake and not with timbó. Also, they fish for anaconda rather than real fish. Fish-drugging expeditions are always noisy affairs, but those of the *kokeriwat* are so tempestuous that they create a huge wind which is felt in the terrestrial world as the two- or three-day cold spell which strikes the Mundurucú country in June of every year. Conversely, Mundurucú timbó-fishing causes a cold spell in the underworld.

776 756 [821]

Mothers of the Rain

The *mambat ši*, or mothers of the rain, are a number of spirits, each of which is believed responsible for a certain type of rain or storm.[9] The Mundurucú believe that the rains are their children and that atmospheric disturbances are the results of their activities. Informants were not certain exactly how many mothers of the rain exist, but they were able to give the names of seven and to describe some of their attributes. The *mambat ši* are colored in varying degrees of black or white, and all their possessions, such as carrying baskets and penis sheaths, are correspondingly black or white. All the *mambat ši* described by informants are male, but these male spirits have wives who are also considered mothers of the rain. Three of the *mambat ši* are mentioned by name in the legend of Perisuat.[10] They are Tiptaibitum (storm of wind and rain), Ianporungrung (strong thunder and lightning), and Kurobirarinyun (steady, slow rain). Kurobirarinyun was also mentioned by informants as the bringer of a fine, all-day rain and as being of whitish color. Of somewhat darker hue is Churarimunpõ, who appears on those days when clouds gather and thunder rumbles. The storm never breaks, however, and the sun always reappears. Daibiturebõ causes rain and high winds, but, although black, he is not as black as Daibituwatpõ, who brings storms with black clouds. Finally, Karuparabõ, also a black *mambat ši*, carries strong electrical storms with violent thunder and lightning. The thunder is believed to be the sound of his flattus, and the rays of lightning are thought by the Mundurucú to shoot from his anus. Karuparabõ's violent behavior is attributed to his anger because of the intimacies of his wife and Churarimunpõ.

776 821

The *mambat ši* live in houses below the ground; these houses are scattered throughout the world and their occupants determine the weather in their environs. One house of the *mambat ši* is inside a hill near the Cabitutú River, and its residents make the weather in the surrounding Mundurucú country. During the summer dry season, the *mambat ši* wander afar, as do the Mundurucú, and do not return until the beginning of the rains. The people are able to detect the return of the spirits to their homes by the first rumbles of thunder in September.

[9] Tocantins' (1877, p. 116) statement that the souls of Mundurucú dead are believed to produce storms was unsubstantiated by informants.

[10] See page 95.

776 The *mambat ši* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then
821 arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Mundurucú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop
[789] rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a vident electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurucú informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *mambat ši*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Karökö Spirits

534 The *karökö* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which
778 are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurucú
776 village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed
614 bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karökö* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*ibiunbök*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *tubö*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karökö ejewot*). All three categories of spirit, when propertly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

534 The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure
778 of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,[11] but a brief recapit-
776 ulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals
174 in contemporary Mundurucú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurucú
614 at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karökö* of certain villages were also the *karökö* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

[11] Murphy, 1956.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

panion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534 776

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure. 778 174 614

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *ibiunbōk;* the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *ibiunbōk;* one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *ašik* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *ibiunbōk* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 774

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karōkō,* go to Karōkōkai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upötcharō, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

775 rich in game animals, and they and the Mundurucú souls pass their time in dancing. Both Karökökai and Upötcharö lie in a subterranean land called Karubisese. The Mundurucú believe Karubisese has three locations: below the headwaters of the Juruena River, under the Great Falls of the Cururú River, and west of the Tapajós River beyond where the sun sets.

Life in the underworld is far better than in the terrestrial realm. The souls reassume their old bodies, but they are groomed and decorated in the manner followed by the Mundurucú before the coming of the white men. Similarly, the souls do not have to gather rubber, for there are no traders or trade goods; in short, the aboriginal culture is completely reëstablished in the underworld. Food is good and abundant, and the Mundurucú souls make war and take trophy heads. But Mundurucú warriors are never killed in the hereafter—only the enemy dies.

It has already been mentioned that the souls of those people killed by attacks of the *Yurupari* go to the land of the *Yurupari* and are there transformed into these demons. The Mundurucú look upon this as an undesirable fate, although it is not regarded with particular dread and foreboding. The same lack of deep concern for the fate of the soul is found in Mundurucú attitudes toward the afterworlds of the trumpets and the game. Although all acknowledge that life in these realms must indeed be idyllic, no one actively anticipates this existence. The Mundurucú do not learn ceremonial dances or play the trumpets in order to gain a favored residence after death. There were no indications that concepts of the afterlife acted as motivating factors or goals of behavior. Correspondingly, since one's fate after death is not considered as a reward for socially valued behavior, there is no post-mortem punishment or retribution for undesirable behavior. One goes to the land of the *Yurupari* only because one has been attacked and killed by them, and those attacks are the result of misfortune and not of sin. To the Mundurucú life after death is not a subject for worry. When I asked one informant where she expected to go after death, she laughingly replied, "To a termite hill." Another decided to go to Pará (Belém), which all Mundurucú know to be the great city of the white men.

775 797 Missionary teachings have affected the beliefs of the more intensively proselytized Mundurucú to some extent. Those Indians who had spent some time at the mission school knew that people who did things contrary to the teachings of the priests went to "the fire of the *Yurupari*," but those who acted according to those precepts "joined Tupan in the sky." However, it is doubtful if Christian belief in the hereafter influenced the behavior of more than a few of the most rigorously indoctrinated Indians. Although missionary teachings were generally accepted as true (at least as applicable to the white men) owing to the high prestige of the priests among the Mundurucú, the Indians commonly accepted the form of the ideas only and not their meaning. In those cases where the form of a Catholic belief became integrated into the culture, it invariably was made meaningful in Mundurucú terms, and the actual form underwent some transmutation in the process. Usually the same cultural trait will not have the same function in two

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

totally different structures, and the Mundurucú have changed the form and meaning of religious elements in such a way that they function within the structure of Mundurucú culture.

Although the Christian concept of the soul has main reference to the hereafter, the Mundurucú beliefs in the soul are more closely concerned with the here and now. The souls of people afflicted with a certain illness can wander abroad and constitute a threat to society. Also, the soul is highly vulnerable to theft by the game animals. And finally, the soul can be used as a means of obtaining omens and knowledge.

The souls of the dead remain permanently in the afterworld and are not thought to intervene thereafter in the affairs of the living except in one highly limited way. They are not believed to return to the world as ghosts nor are they regarded as a source of danger. But the soul of a living person may turn into an *uantauhuakat*, or wandering soul, during the course of a malady characterized by weakness, fever, and yellow skin. The person so afflicted is generally unaware of the journeys of his soul, but some are said to become *uantauhuakat* willingly and to remember the deeds of their wandering souls. The soul always travels at night and at these times attacks sleeping people. On occasion, it travels with other wandering souls and, thus strengthened and emboldened, may strike at persons who are awake and walking about.

The wandering soul is believed to be especially dangerous, for defense against it consists of purely temporary measures and there is no cure for sick people whose souls wander. The *uantauhuakat* can be driven away by the shaman, who spears it with a five-inch-long lance, but it always returns to the attack. It attacks children and robs their souls, and visits adults as a vampire that sucks the blood from its victims. Only the shaman can see wandering souls, although anybody can hear their footsteps at night. However, the soul travels about on a cord that stretches like a piece of rubber, and its footprints are never visible the next day.

After the sick person dies, the soul goes to an afterworld, and its nocturnal travels cease. People so afflicted are not killed, in spite of the danger to the community. The soul of a young woman of the village of Cabruá was known to wander at night, but no action was taken against her. The residents of the village were extremely nervous during the nights of her illness, and most hesitated even to speak of it.

The vampire aspect of the wandering soul is reminiscent of European folklore, and there exists here also the possibility that the Mundurucú borrowed the belief from their Brazilian neighbors. One Brazilian informant specifically stated that the people of the Tapajós River believed that the souls of some sick people journey at night as vampires, although they do not travel on magical elastic cords. Borrowing in this instance appears obvious, although it is not certain just who borrowed from whom. It is possible in all these examples that the transmission of the themes is extremely complex. The Mundurucú may well have received this concept from the whites but through the intermediary of another Indian tribe

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

774 rather than directly from their immediate Brazilian neighbors. In our present
177 state of knowledge of the ethnology of the Amazon region, reliable reconstructions of such diffusion are most difficult.

774 In the preceding discussion of spirit mothers of game animals, it was mentioned that the *putcha ši* avenges itself upon humans by stealing their souls. This is one
755 of the gravest afflictions that may befall a Mundurucú, and only the performance
784 of a ceremony is sufficient to regain the soul of a stricken person; ordinary shamanistic curing techniques are inadequate. Men can lose their souls to the game through a variety of offenses. The insults to the game already described are the most common means of occasioning the anger of the spirit mothers. One can also lose his soul if he sits too close to a fire over which the head of a game animal is roasting, and he is struck by the optic fluid from an exploding eye. Another means of losing one's soul is to have adulterous relations with the wife of a member of the *Biu ši* (Mothers of the Tapir) society, which is responsible for impersonating the tapir during certain ceremonies. In these cases, the tapir robs the soul of the offending male. The members of the *Biu ši* society, themselves, are in danger of losing their souls during those ceremonies in which they perform. They must
[515] be especially careful not to bathe in the streams during rituals, as the *taue ši*, or mother of the prego monkey, will surely steal their souls. To prevent this they bathe in the house from gourds.

Women may also lose their souls through offenses against the game, but since women do not hunt, this rarely occurs. However, a woman who bathes during her first menses or shortly after the birth of a child may have her soul taken by the jararaca snake. Either the large or small species of this reptile family robs the soul, depending on whether the woman is on land or in the water at that time. The jararaca turns the soul over to the tapir, and it begins the long journey described below.

The journey of the stolen soul is believed by the Mundurucú to be a terrifying
774 and danger-fraught experience. Although the *putcha ši* is often spoken of as stealing the soul, the actual theft appears to be the work of the tapir and, less commonly, of other animals and spirit mothers of species. After the tapir steals the soul, it runs with it through thick underbrush and swims across rivers. The beast then gives the soul to the peccary, which travels for some time with it and then passes it on to a lesser game animal. The soul is finally transferred to the smallest species of monkey which, in turn, gives it to the largest variety of fish. It passes on to smaller fish until it finally reaches the smallest species. At this point the journey ends, and the afflicted person dies.

The person whose soul has been robbed lies in a semicoma and dreams of the trials to which his soul is exposed. The rigors of the trip are such that the person grows steadily weaker, and death may occur at almost any time during the travels of the stolen soul. If the animal with which it is traveling dies, the sick person dies also. Two parts of the journey are especially dangerous. At one point the soul passes within a stone's throw of the house of a prego monkey, which throws semen at it. If the soul is struck by only a drop of the semen, its owner dies. In another

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

part of its trip, the soul travels with the coatá monkey. This animal traverses one 774
section of its passage by bending an assaí palm over, grabbing its branches, and then letting it fling him into the foliage of another tree as it springs back. If the soul is not careful, it falls to the ground, killing its sick owner. The only dangerous part of the journeys with various species of fish, except for the invariably fatal end of the trip, is with the black piranha, which tries to eat the soul.

The concept of soul loss, like the belief in spirit mothers of game animals with which it is associated, is widespread among both Indian and rural Brazilian inhabitants of the Amazon region. Especially interesting because of its similarity to the Mundurucú belief is Wagley's report that the Brazilian population of the community of Ita believes that the mãe de bicho punishes humans by stealing their "shadows."[12]

Although the departure of the soul from a living body is generally an occasion 774
of great danger, there are some circumstances under which it is considered desir- 756
able and beneficial. The souls of shamans frequently travel abroad and are able to visit the underworlds of the *kokeriwat* and the afterworlds of the Mundurucú. Shamans visit the afterworld of the game, (where they serve as shamans to the animals), and that of the trumpets, but they do not visit the Land of the *Yurupari*.
The wounded warrior was believed to acquire temporary shamanistic powers dur- 774
ing the period of his incapacity, and his soul wandered abroad while he lay in his 727
hammock and dreamed of its experiences. These travels were considered desirable, and care was taken to remove the penis sheath of the warrior to allow him to dream. The Mundurucú were unable to explain why the penis sheath inhibited dreams and the wandering of the soul.

The souls of sleeping people sometimes travel harmlessly abroad, and dreams 787
are believed to be the experiences of the soul while away from the body. Dreams 774
are not considered visions or prognostications of future events, but they are thought to be good or bad omens. Thus, if a man dreams of some frightening experience, he will not leave the village for a few days for fear of some unknown danger.

Certain people are able to derive knowledge from their dreams. These people, 787
known as *cheseretaibitchanyen* (those who know how to explain dreams), derive their power through medication administered to them as children. The souls of Mundurucú of times long past appear to them in dreams and teach them certain songs that are sung during ceremonies. Significantly, the songs taught to dreamers are not new or forgotten ones, but songs that are quite actively present in Mundurucú culture and known by other dreamers.

All animals have souls, which return to the afterworld of the game and become 774
transformed into people upon the death of the animal. Fish are also thought to 825
have souls, but they are accorded little importance in Mundurucú thought. Although individual fish and animals have souls, only species of domesticated plants have souls. Dogs, too, are thought to have souls, but the canine soul returns to the Land of the Dogs upon the death of its body. Also, dogs are not considered to be

[12] Wagley, 1953, p. 235.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

774 under the protection of a spirit mother nor do they possess the *chewoi*, or malig-
825 nant power of the game. Finally, all other human beings are considered endowed with souls much like those of the Mundurucú. However, informants had no idea
775 where the souls of the white people and Indians of other tribes went after death, beyond referring to the missionary's heaven. Upon being asked the destination of the souls of white people, one Mundurucú chuckled and replied, "You, and not I, should know the answer to that question."

III. SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

THE PROBLEMS of illness, accident, and death are commonly conceived in supernatural terms by primitive peoples, and the techniques for their resolution are accordingly the province of religious practitioners. The supernatural dangers threatening the Mundurucú currently preoccupy the society more than any other aspect of the supernatural realm, for they constitute the cause of all sickness and death; and epidemic disease has beset the Mundurucú since their first contact with Europeans. But the Mundurucú do not feel broken and powerless before the onslaughts of ailments to which they have little natural immunity. Mystical in nature through the evil may be, it is not mysterious, for it can be explained and controlled. The threat is no less concrete for existing on a level of reality beyond the sensory powers of ordinary mortals, but the protection of the society must, therefore, rest in the hands of persons who are able to see and act in this sphere. These individuals are viewed by the Mundurucú as the possessors of great and manifestly beneficial power, although they recognize the corollary principle that this power is potentially dangerous and corrupting. 753

THE SHAMAN

The Mundurucú shaman, or *mamú*, has the ability to deal with supernatural threats through possession of a mystical power latent within him from the time of his birth. His functions within the society are manifold. The shaman performs cures; he is essential to nearly all ceremonies; he propitiates the spirit mothers of the animal world; he rids the community of evil forces; and he can detect lost people and objects. But through essential to the well-being of society, the power of the shaman can be used for evil ends. His status is ambivalent; he maintains a balanced and favorable relation between the human and supernatural worlds, and he is capable of profoundly disturbing this balance. 756

Most Mundurucú villages have at least one shaman in residence, although some have none. The shaman has high prestige, although the respect accorded an individual practitioner is at times mixed with fear when it is suspected that he indulges in black magic. In spite of the high regard in which he is held, he receives no material benefits for his services. Among the more acculturated Mundurucú, a small present is sometimes given to the shaman for a cure, but this pattern appears to be of recent origin and obtains in only a minority of cases. The shaman does not devote full time to his specialty. All practitioners hunt, fish, and clear gardens with the other men and manufacture baskets, bows, and other objects. [554] [465]

The shaman frequently makes great personal sacrifices in the performance of his duties. Some travel great distances to treat those who are too ill to come to them, and they often make these trips to the detriment of other activities and tasks. The practice is considered dangerous, for the shaman must face the dual menace of contact with hostile spirits and the suspicion of his fellowmen. But most Mundurucú shamans are motivated by a true sense of public service. They feel that they possess a great power that can be used both for good and bad ends and be-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 lieve that it is incumbent upon them to help the sick and to perform their obligations to the supernatural world.

One does not seek to become a shaman among the Mundurucú, nor is shamanism 756 the result of a serious illness or an extraordinary experience, as is true in many 428 societies. The power is acquired only through inheritance from the father, and it 562 is believed that all children of shamans are also shamans, although they may not practice the art in later life. For all practical purposes, however, only male children inherit shamanistic power. The female offspring of shamans are nominally classified as shamans also, and women evidently participated more fully in the practice until a relatively recent period, for Tocantins reports a number of women to have been accused of sorcery, knowledge of which is confined to shamans, in and about the year 1875.[1] Today, active status is limited to men, and the daughters of shamans are considered to be shamans in an academic sense only.

Mundurucú informants were unable to explain the shaman's power beyond 756 saying that it is within him and that he is born with it. It is not thought of in concrete terms, as a supernatural object lodged within his body, nor is the power thought to reside in supernaturals whom the shaman controls. The absence of any concept of control or of coöperation with certain spirits is rather unusual in this section of South America. Métraux, for example, reports the trait for the Tupinamba,[2] and Wagley has written of the use of familiar spirits among both the Tapirapé[3] and the Tenetehara.[4] In the regions to the south of the Mundurucú, Oberg states that shamans are aided by spirits among the Kamayurá, Bacairí, and Nambicuara.[5] Investigation failed to indicate, however, that the Mundurucú shaman was aided in any way by supernatural beings. He is in contact with the supernatural world and is capable of coöperating with it or defeating its intents, but he accomplishes this through direct use of the unlocalized power contained within him and not through the intermediary of spirits. Also, all shamans have some form of contact with all supernatural beings; none has special relations with any particular supernatural.

Some shamans are thought to be more powerful than others. The most effective [888] practitioners are usually the older men, for they are considered to have acquired experience and skill. However, the crucial determinant of a shaman's strength is the strength of his father, for the sons are believed to inherit the degree of power of the parent. Some older Mundurucú men barely practiced, since their power was considered slight, whereas younger men were often highly regarded as shamans. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, two or three shamans are looked upon as being in possession of great strength, and their services are in heavy demand. On one occasion, a man became violently ill shortly after midnight and needed immediate care. The village shaman was away, so it was necessary for one of the sick man's relatives to set out through the forest, which is feared at night, on the path to the next village. He directed its shaman to the aid of his sick rela-

[1] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109–111.
[2] Métraux, 1948, p. 129.
[3] Wagley, 1943.
[4] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 108 ff.
[5] Oberg, 1953, pp. 60, 75, 100.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tive and immediately continued on a long journey to another village, where lived a greatly renowned practitioner. Both returned the next day, and the visiting shaman, after administering to the sick man, was visited by everybody in the village who had the slightest ache or pain. He proceeded to rid the village of the various evil spirits believed to be infesting it and returned home. The most renowned shaman among all the Mundurucú lives on the Cururú River. People are known to make overland trips of four days in order to seek his aid. It will be seen that these great shamans are of particular importance in that they are called upon to detect sorcerers.

The training of the shaman is not very complex or extensive. So far as his effectiveness depends on innate power, he need learn no involved techniques for the control of personal spirits. Curing methods are relatively simple, and the mechanics of the procedure are known to any Mundurucú child through mere observation. But the techniques used to propitiate the spirit mothers of the game necessitate some training, which is usually provided by the father or paternal uncle of the novitiate. The older kinsman also instructs the trainee in the use of various medicinal cures and teaches him the more esoteric aspects of his profession. The novitiate usually makes his debut as a shaman during one of the ceremonies for the spirit mothers of the animals, when his first official act is to call the mother of the game. This event takes place at about the age of puberty, but he generally does not practice curing until he reaches maturity.

The shaman employs a minimum of apparatus and techniques. Among the Mundurucú, he does not practice ventriloquism nor does he use any musical instruments or songs. In common with shamans in most eastern South American groups, a great deal of his effectiveness depends upon the magical use of tobacco smoke. But there is only one shamanistic activity, that of feeding the spirit mother of the game, in which he seeks a narcotic state through the use of tobacco smoke. Unlike the Tenetehara or Tapirapé shaman,* he does not fall into a trance during a curing performance. The Mundurucú cannot give a clear explanation of the efficacy of tobacco smoke; they say only that it is strong. But smoke is strong only when blown by a shaman, and the strength of the smoke is believed to stem from his power.

Only five instruments are essential to shamanistic practice. The most important of these is the *naneh*, a small piece of the root of the genipa tree carved to resemble a two-headed pestle. The *naneh* is used whenever the shaman feeds the mother of the game. It is believed to emit a thunderous noise audible only to the game, which calls together the animals of a wide area. Another instrument used by the shaman is the *ibōbōt* (literally, 'toy'), a small piece of arrow shaft that is sent out by him in search of lost people and objects. The *borombō* is an instrument, made of tucumá-palm-fruit pits, which leads the shaman to the *putcha ki* or mother of the game. The *pōtponchap* is a piece of wood some five inches long, carved in the shape of a knife with a round handle. This instrument is used to kill the intrusive objects sent by sorcerers. Finally, a tail feather of the mutúm

* Cf. Wagley, 1942.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 is used by the shaman to extract from afflicted people the *yakíp*, or malignant object sent by the mother of the game. All these instruments are inert until the shaman blows power-giving tobacco smoke upon them. They are then thought to be "alive" and to have "strength."

Disease and Its Treatment

753 In order to understand fully the important role that the shaman plays among the Mundurucú, their theories of disease and affliction must be outlined. There is practically no human misfortune that cannot be attributed to supernatural influences. If a Mundurucú suffers a slight cut on his foot, he may admit that it was due to sheer mischance. But if he incurs a serious wound, the shaman is usually consulted and invariably attributes the affliction to the vengeance of the mother of the game. Any infection, pain, or other aftereffect of the wound is generally thought to be the work of the *yakíp*, which is sent by the mother of the game or by the soul of the animal offended by the wounded man. Similarly, a snake bite, a fall from a tree, or any other serious misadventure that cannot be classified as a disease is usually diagnosed by the shaman as the vengeance of the animal world.

Diseases also are the result of evil supernatural influences. But whereas serious accidents are attributed to the spirit mother and therefore to the negligence or stupidity of the stricken person, disease strikes people regardless of their activities. And though afflictions that have clear and obvious causes, as cuts or snake bites, are also thought to be the vengeance of the supernaturals associated with the animals, disease is caused by sorcerers. All sorcerers are shamans who consciously [754] wish to hurt their fellow men. The sorcerer causes disease by modeling a variety of objects and blowing smoke upon them to give them life. The evil objects, called *cauši*, are then wafted off on the wind to wander through the air until they encounter some human. Invisible to ordinary people, they enter the body and cause illness. The particular illness depends upon the material out of which the *cauši* was modeled and the shape given it by the sorcerer.

Two distinct processes are required for the proper cure of illness. First the *cauši* 755 is extracted from the sick person's body by the shaman, and he then prescribes 757 certain herbal remedies to repair the damage caused by it. The first part of the cure is uniform for all *cauši;* the herbal remedy prescribed is, however, specific for the malady.

The process of extracting a *cauši* is extremely simple. The sick person strips his 755 or her clothes from the part of the body where the pain is localized and sits or 276 lies on the ground. The treatment most often takes place in the patient's dwelling, but the shaman sometimes receives the ill in the men's house. After the patient is prepared, the shaman takes one of his large cigarettes, which are wrapped in a thin layer of the inner bark of the tauarí tree, and commences to smoke. As he smokes he crouches over the sick person and intently stares at his body. The shaman does not inhale or swallow excessive amounts of smoke, and narcotic effects are specifically denied. Rather, the smoke heightens his extra-visual ability

to see the *cauĩ* within the patient's body, and he is considered to be in a state of 755
intense concentration. During this period the many observers of the cure fall silent, 276
and even the children are hushed. After completing his examination and identification of the *cauĩ* lodged within the patient's body, the shaman blows clouds of smoke over him. This is an essential part of the cure, for the tobacco smoke is believed to dislodge the *cauĩ* from its place deep within the sick person and to bring it nearer to the surface, from where it can be easily extracted. Once the shaman 755
has accomplished this end, he commences to massage the patient's body, stroking inward toward the point where the pain is localized. At the completion of the massaging the *cauĩ* is believed to be directly below the skin and just above the source of pain. The shaman quickly applies his mouth to this point and sucks noisily at the patient's skin. He then draws away and deftly removes the *cauĩ* from his mouth, into which he has supposedly sucked it, and holds it out in his open palm for all to observe. He examines it with great care for some time and throws it into a fire, where it is thought to be completely destroyed. The object exhibited by the shaman is usually a small piece of wood or the pit of a palm fruit. The sleight of hand involved apparently requires no great ingenuity, but everybody is firmly convinced that the shaman has really extracted an evil object from the patient. I was unable to induce any shaman to reveal the innermost secrets of his art, but I am convinced that the shaman, too, believes that he extracts *cauĩ*, elusive though his reasoning may be.

The sole deviation from the above procedure occurs during the extraction of a very large and dangerous *cauĩ*. The shaman localizes the object and brings it to the surface of the body in the usual manner, but he extracts it with a quick, grabbing motion of the hand.

The *cauĩ* is visible to the shaman both when flying freely through the air and when lodged in the patient's body. Ordinary persons can see it only after the shaman has extracted it. There are ten reported varieties of *cauĩ*, each of which represents a type of disease recognized by the Mundurucú. The *cauĩ* is believed to wreak considerable damage while in the sick person, and its extraction and destruction is not sufficient for a full recovery. This can only be through the application of herbal remedies, each of which is a specific for a certain type of *cauĩ*. These medicines are thought by the Mundurucú to be either "hot" or "cold"; the *cauĩ* is believed to cause considerable internal bleeding, and hot medicines remove this old blood from the body, and on the other hand, cold medicines reduce fever and alleviate pain.

The following is a list of the ten varieties of disease recognized by the Mun- 753
durucú and a description of the *cauĩ* believed to cause each and the medicinals 755
used to repair their damage. 278

1. *Dau* (leg) *pipé* (pain), or pain in the leg, is caused by a *cauĩ* carved in the 757
shape of a sting ray and made from its tail. This *cauĩ* lies on the floor in the doorways of houses and waits for an unwary person to step on it. Although it causes intense pains in the leg, its effects are not fatal. To cure the aftereffects of *dau*

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

753 pipí, the shaman heats the leaves of a tracuá vine over a fire and applies them to
755 the center of the pain. This poultice, despite being heated, is considered a cold
278 remedy.
757 2. *Ipoa pipí*, or pain in the stomach, is instigated by a *cauši* that is made from a bitter manioc tuber or a piece of soap. When the object is made from soap it causes a mild stomach-ache, but when made from bitter manioc the poison is believed capable of killing the victim. Three varieties of cold medicine are used to cure the aftereffects of this illness. An unidentified species of potato is grated in water, and part of the mixture is drunk while the rest is poured over the patient's stomach. Another remedy uses a few scrapings from the castanha de arara mixed in water and taken both externally and internally. Also, the root of the jambú plant is beaten into a half-gourd of water and drunk.

3. *Ekubí pipí*, pain in the back, differs from the other ailments in that it is caused by a *cauši* that is actually a living bird. This bird, a species of curujá da noite, can be heard at night, but is never seen. When it flies directly above the house, the inhabitants are in danger of being afflicted with backache. A cold remedy for backache consists of a paste of grated ginger root which is applied to the affected parts. Another medicine is made in a similar fashion from the root of an unidentified shrub.

4. The material and form of the *cauši* that causes *aũnsabí pipí*, or pain in the side, was not known by my informants, although five remedies were listed as effective in its cure. The following three are cold medicines. Pau de candeia is grated into boiling water and the compound drunk while still very hot. A broth is also made from envira de cacao, and grated deer antler is mixed with cold water and used both internally and externally. Hot medicines include a poultice of heated jamarú leaf and a broth made of the ashes of kamaíu cane mixed in hot water.

5. The common cold is called *ochõ ochõ*, an onomatopoetic word, and is believed to be caused by a *cauši* which consists of a bit of talcum powder rolled in paper. Four cold remedies include hot drinks made with lemon, ginger root, the root of an unidentified shrub, and the sap from a tree. The only hot remedy known is made by boiling mel de chupe and taking it internally.

6. The *cauši* that causes *wuchsi pipí*, or pain in the uterus, is made from the root of an unidentified tree. Menstrual pains are not believed to be caused by this object, nor is it thought to cause labor pains. A hot medicine, used to free the woman of the old blood from the intra-uterine bleeding caused by this *cauši*, is made by cutting up the root of a paxiuba palm and boiling it in water. Some of this preparation is administered internally, and the remainder is placed in a pot below the woman's hammock. The rising vapors are believed to aid in the cure. Ashes of the paxiuba palm are also mixed in water and drunk.

7. *Paiat*, or fever, generally accompanies stomach-ache, according to informants. Actually, such a concurrence of the two afflictions occurs during an attack of chronic malaria, and the stomach-ache is, more accurately, a pain in the liver. Two cold remedies are used to reduce the fever. The first is made by grating a

wine in hot water and applying the mixture to the stomach. The other consists of 753
the trunks of very young burití palms crushed in water. Part of this mixture is 755
drunk, and the rest is applied externally to the torso of the sick person. 278
757

5. *Ok pipé*, or intestinal pain, is caused by the same *cauã* as *ipas pipé*, or stomach-ache. However, the term *ok pipé* is in reality reserved for dysentery, for it is always accompanied by severe diarrhea. The medicines used for stomach pains are considered effective in the relief of intestinal pains also, but two additional cold remedies are used as specifics for the diarrhea. The roots of a certain shrub are boiled in water, part of which is taken internally and the rest allowed to steam below the hammock. The leaves of this shrub are also applied to the abdomen as a poultice. The same use is made of the leaves of the *mocucú pagé*, a water plant. The local Brazilians also boil the leaves of this plant and place the steaming pot below the hammock of a bewitched person. The vapors are believed to cause an evil object to fall out of the victim's body.

9. *A pipé*, or headache, is treated by mixing *carica de castanheiro* in water and applying the solution to the head. Unripe Brazil nuts are also grated into water [illegible] that causes headache was not known by the informants interviewed.

10. The tenth and last ailment is a three-stage sickness generally known by the name applied to its first stage, called *ujewsii*. In this primary phase, the afflicted man or woman becomes unhappy and listless and eats mud, soap, and other [261] inedible substances. The symtoms increase in severity in the next stage, or *youkú*, and the victim becomes thin, yellow, and "bloodless." Finally, the patient passes into the state known as *taubokat*, at the end of which he usually dies. During the final illness, the person's soul sometimes becomes one of the dreaded wandering souls. The symptoms are descriptive of the chronic forms of a number of illnesses, such as malaria, dysentery, and jaundice. The Mundurucú attribute it to a *cauã* made of roasted earthworms rolled into a ball and spread in the air. No remedies were known.

A person can be afflicted by more than one *cauã* at a time, and the shaman often recommends a number of herbal preparations. The shaman does not himself administer these remedies, but instructs the kinsmen of the sick person in their use. They then collect the proper herbs and apply them.

The techniques used by the Mundurucú shaman are so widely distributed 756
throughout eastern South America that any attempt to trace their provenience 171
would be overly lengthy. The shaman's use of tobacco smoke and the techniques of sucking and massage are almost universal in the Amazon area. Of equally wide distribution are the use of herbs and the various methods of applying them. Infusions, external applications, and steam baths are, as Lowie indicates,[1] known among a number of tribes of the region.

One aspect of Mundurucú herbal medicine worthy of further discussion is the 278
division of remedies into hot and cold categories. This distinction is made throughout most of Latin America with regard to both medicines and food. The Mun- 171

[1] Lowie, 1948, pp. 51–52.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

279 Mundurucú, however, do not classify their foods in this manner, suggesting that the concept was perhaps borrowed from their Brazilian neighbors together with certain medicinal recipes. Furthermore, although the list of diseases and remedies is undoubtedly incomplete, it is significant that only twenty-four herbal medicines were reported. A much longer list could be collected among rural Brazilians of the area, who also use most of the same herbs employed by the Mundurucú.[6] This leads immediately to the question of whether the civilized inhabitants of the Amazon borrowed the medicinal preparations from the Indians or whether diffusion operated in the reverse direction. Although the use of herbs by the Indian population of the Amazon is undoubtedly a pre-Columbian practice, and although diffusion probably operated in both directions, it is very possible that the greatest borrowing was by the Indians. This is probably true for the Mundurucú, although we cannot be so certain for the first Indian groups encountered by the Portuguese. The herbal knowledge of these coastal tribes is, of course, crucial to the question.

The Mundurucú theory of disease attests also to their contact with western science. Empirical observations on the subject. They are well aware that epidemics are contracted through contact with white people. For example, when either my wife or I caught a cold, the Mundurucú avoided close proximity to us. Even on those occasions when we fell ill after an epidemic had already developed in the village, they were inclined to blame us. Also, they recognized that residence along waterways or near swamps was often accompanied by fevers (malaria), and they knew that the savannah villages were therefore more salubrious. Both contagion and the unhealthfulness of certain locales were loosely connected with the prevalence of the sorcerer's evil objects, or *casiri*, despite the contradiction implied. However, in this as in many other lines of thought, the Mundurucú do not push logic to its conclusion, for the roots of the supernatural concepts are social and not intellectual. The empirical observations and supernatural concepts coexisted with little effort on the part of the Mundurucú to integrate them, if, indeed, they were aware of the mutual antipathy of the two.

757 755 Moreover, despite their supernatural explanation of disease, the Mundurucú freely sought the rational medication, that we provided. Every day, a number of people came to our house for treatment, some from other villages; in only a very few cases did we have to seek out the sick and persuade them to accept our aid. Our experience in this matter was not unique, for both the mission and the Indian Post dispensed large quantities of medicine to Mundurucú patients. Not even the shamans resisted treatment; many were, in fact, our most faithful patients.

There are a number of reasons for this lack of resistance to Western medicine by the Mundurucú. Through long contact with the whites, they had come to recognize the efficacy of the white man's medicines, especially in the treatment of diseases they know to be associated with the civilized population. Some even knew the names of specific remedies; I had the unusual experience of having a tattooed, semiurbe Indian ask me for "*salfá*."

[6] Note also the many herbal remedies reported by Wagley (1953, pp. 243–258) from the Amazon River town of Itá.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

This receptivity has, in part, been communicated to them by the whites. The Brazilian population of the near-by Tapajós River places high value upon modern medicines, despite their accompanying belief in witchcraft, their use of herbs, and occasional resort to shamanism. Wherever we traveled, we were continually visited by sick or wounded people. The fact that we were not medical practitioners did not affect our position as curers. It was sufficient that we were American scientists and must, therefore, possess adequate knowledge and equipment to cure almost any disease. Penicillin was endowed with quasi-magical qualities by the backwoods Brazilians, and they used it to cure backaches, sprains, and intestinal ailments, as well as various types of infection. These attitudes have diffused to the Mundurucú, and our medicines were accorded high prestige by them. But, more importantly, Western medicines accorded with their own techniques for the treatment of disease. They placed the use of aspirin, sulfa, and other drugs in the same category as their own herbal remedies, and believed that they repaired the damage done by the evil objects, or *cauši*, of the sorcerer. Thus, they would [illegible] medication; neither by itself was considered sufficient for a complete cure. 757 755

The accommodation of rational medication to aboriginal curing techniques furthered Mundurucú acceptance of Western medicine more than did the example and prestige of the white man. For example, the Mundurucú were convinced that a feverish person should be made cool. The result of this erroneous, albeit clear and simple, logic was that the sick took frequent baths in cold streams and lay upon the cool floors of their houses rather than in their hammocks. We, and the priests for many years before, repeatedly cautioned them against this practice, but our words went completely unheeded. The result was that a person afflicted with slight cold and fever soon developed a violent grippe. The Mundurucú were not impressed by the clear association between bathing and a worsened condition, for the seriousness of an illness was believed to be a direct function of the type and strength of the *cauši* that caused it. Similarly, we had very little success in convincing the Mundurucú of the savannah villages that they could prevent malaria by purchasing mosquito nets and sleeping in them during their summer stay on the banks of the large streams. Whether our explanation that the *cauši* that caused fever were afraid of mosquito netting was ultimately of some influence could not be ascertained. Needless to say, we were not looked upon as authorities on *cauši*.

The techniques used to cure attacks by the animal spirits or by the *Yurupari* are somewhat different from the remedies for *cauši*. Although both involve the extraction of an intrusive object from the patient's body, different methods are used. Also, no herbal treatments are used to right the damage done by these supernaturals. 755

The malignant stone cast by the *Yurupari* into its victim is considered far too dangerous to be sucked out by the shaman. Special precautions must be taken during a cure, and shamans are truly apprehensive while treating an afflicted person. The following case of a *Yurupari* attack will perhaps illustrate

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

755 this more vividly than could a generalized description. On this occasion, Maria, the wife of the shaman Vicente, had chosen the unpropitious hour of nightfall to walk on the path behind her house. She returned in a few minutes shouting and screaming, her body doubled over with tremendous stomach pains. Her husband, Vicente, diagnosed her affliction as caused by Tawapari attack, an analysis that followed quite naturally from the location and sudden violence of her pains and from the time and place of their onset. Vicente, although the strongest shaman in the village, did not feel able to cope with the Tawapari himself, and he called in three other shamans who were residing in the village at that time. A lone shaman can deal adequately with *ewak*, but the Mundurucú usually try to gather as many practitioners as possible when the Tawapari attacks. When all had assembled, Antonio, one of the assisting shamans, blew smoke on the sick woman and attempted unsuccessfully to extract the object by the common means of massaging the affected part and pushing it from the body with a squeezing motion of the hands. But he was forced to stop, for the malignant power of the Tawapari was already causing pains in his arms. Vicente then took Antonio's place, with somewhat greater success. He, also, avoided direct physical contact with the stone, and massaged his wife's body and squeezed the objects out. He extracted a total of three stones. The first flew from her body into the air and directed itself toward the floor of the house, where the stones usually lodge themselves after extraction. But the stone swerved in mid-flight to avoid a bow, of which it was afraid, and escaped through a hole in the wall. The second, and largest, emerged from the woman's body and flew into the dirt floor near the wall of the house. The third stone was small, and Vicente was able to catch it with a wad of charred cotton as it came out of his wife's stomach. He dropped the stone and cotton in a fire that had been built in front of the doorway.

The shamans then turned to the problem of destroying the stone that had entered the floor of the house. While Antonio stood guard at one door, Vicente watched the other to make sure that the evil object did not escape. Another shaman, José, then pounded the end of a bow along the ground, driving the malignant object before it. When it was directly below the fire, he lifted the end of the bow quickly, and the stone was lifted into the blaze.

The stones destroyed, Vicente sucked at various parts of his wife's body to rearrange the internal organs and cleanse the damaged areas. At the conclusion of the treatment, his wife rested comfortably and no longer felt pain. But both Vicente and Antonio then began to feel ill owing to proximity to the hyper-malignant objects. The other shamans then proceeded to cure them by sucking the parts of the body where the pain was localized.

The emotional tone of both shamans and witnesses during a *Tawapari* cure is quite different from that prevailing in a treatment for *ewak*. The latter performances are characterized by a quiet interest on the part of the audience, the shaman is believed to be in full command of the situation and fear is minimal. But when one of the Tawapari's stones is being withdrawn from an afflicted person, both shamans and audience are nervous and tense. A number of shamans must be called upon to battle the evil, but despite their numbers the practitioners

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

are still believed to be in great danger. The stone cannot be touched; small ones 755
can be plucked from the patient's body or from the ground with a piece of charred cotton, but large stones are allowed to enter the ground and are then safely driven into a fire with the tip of a bow.

The pakip and wirabed sent by the souls of the game animals or by their spirit mothers cannot be touched either, but they are not considered as dangerous as the stones of the *Tawapari*. To extract these malignant objects, the shaman, working alone, blows smoke upon the patient and massages his body. He then flicks the object out of the body with a motion further upon which he has blown tobacco smoke. No attempt is made to catch and destroy the object, for this would further anger the spirits of the game. These curses are usually only temporarily effective, and other pakip or wirabed frequently strike the victim some after his cure.

In addition to their supernatural curing techniques, most shamans are quite 752
skilled in the secular treatment of broken bones, dislocated muscles, and similar ills. On one occasion, my wife was in acute discomfort from a strained muscle in her back. The shaman instructed her to lie face downward across a hammock, and our interpreter was told to hold her legs while I maintained a firm grip on her shoulders. He then probed the musculature in the small of her back with his fingertips. Although she complained only of a generalized backache, he apparently believed that the source of the trouble was to be found in this area. When the shaman found the difficulty, he ordered the interpreter to pull on her left leg at his command. He then pressed gently but firmly into the musculature with his two thumbs and issued the order. The treatment was quite effective, for his patient's pain was relieved immediately.

The preceding account represents a fairly comprehensive description of 777
Mundurucú maladies and their treatment. But a final affliction recognized by the Mundurucú can be classified neither as illness nor wound. The concept of *dokoiem* is best translated as bad luck and is found widely distributed throughout the Amazon under the designation of *pawma*. *Dokoiem* affects only men and becomes evident when a man hunts for several days without killing any game or prowls continually about the underbrush near the village without encountering a woman. So far as could be ascertained, bad luck is not caused by supernaturals. It strikes only men who do not rub their bodies daily after bathing with the ground root of a species of forest vine. The fragrance of this root lingers about the person and is thought to attract game animals and women. To insure good luck fully in one's pursuits, it is also believed necessary occasionally to drink sufficient quantities of this root mixed in water to induce vomiting. Most men undergo this purification process once or twice a year.

Shamans and Souls

Although Mundurucú shamans are not thought to control and use particular 774
spirits, they are believed to be in intimate contact with the supernatural world. 776
The shamans' souls are said to have the ability to travel to the afterworlds and 782
to the underworld of the *Kikoriami*, and they alone among the Mundurucú can

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

75
Ti
782

see and speak to certain supernatural beings. This power is of great importance to Mundurucú society, for the economic well-being of the community is believed to depend upon the proper propitiation of the spirit mothers of the game. Annual ceremonies were formerly held for this purpose, and the shaman had an important role in these rites. But the shaman was also responsible for pleasing the mothers of the game by 'feeding' them throughout the year. The latter required only the cooperation of other shamans and was of short duration and limited participation. Today, say informants, the spirit mothers are no longer fed because of the lack of sufficiently strong shamans. The Mundurucú believe that hunting is correspondingly poorer than in the old days and life less abundant.

The occasions when he fed the *putcha ñi*, or mother of the game, constitute the only instances when the shaman went into a trance. A number of shamans were necessary for this performance. The strongest of them was usually selected to feed the *putcha ñi*, and he prepared himself by magically inserting the three instruments known as *wawk* into his body. One was placed in the back of the neck and two others in the back of either knee. The shaman then lay in his hammock in the men's house and was covered with a blanket of buriti palm leaves. The other shamans lit large cigarettes rolled in tauari bark and, inserting the lighted ends in their mouths, blew dense clouds of tobacco smoke into the hammock. Fortified by the *wawk* in his body and intoxicated by the smoke, the shaman fell into an extraordinary state in which he was able to see the supernatural clearly. He then leaped out of the hammock, seized a bowl of *mirí* (sweet manioc gruel), and, led by his *korombi*, another instrument, dashed off to feed the *putcha ñi*. He ran a short distance outside the village and there plunged into a hole in the ground which only he could see. He then traveled underground, shouting loudly in his passage, and emerged from another hole some distance beyond, from which point he continued his journey on the surface. The shaman visited the various manifestations of the *putcha ñi* and fed *mirí* to all of them. He then selected the one that pleased him most and brought it back to one of the deep springs near his village, where its influence would attract game animals. The shaman returned to his village by the same route used on his outward journey. When he arrived back in the men's house, his waiting fellow shamans seized him and immediately extracted the three *wawks*, lest their power turn him into an animal. They then blew tobacco smoke on his body and washed and dried him, thus bringing him out of his dangerous state.

Only the strongest of shamans could feed the *putcha ñi* personally. Weaker men sent their *wawk* out alone to call the *putcha ñi* together in the Land of the Game, and the shaman's soul went there to feed them. A shaman whose wife was pregnant could not travel under the ground, for the earth would close over him and trap him. One shaman related that this had once happened to a man, and the other shamans dug him out just in time.

75
770

The shaman also has the power to 'manufacture' the mother of the peccary (*daye ñi*) and the mother of the tapir (*bia ñi*). The mother of the tapir is made by killing a pregnant tapir and extracting the fetus, which is brought back

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to the men's house rolled in leaves and then slowly toasted and dried out over a fire. Tobacco smoke is blown upon it, and sweet manioc broth is occasionally poured upon it to please and feed it. The dried fetus is believed to become transformed in time into a baby tapir containing the mother of the tapir, and the shaman places it near one of the pools at the headwaters of the streams. Even weaker shamans can make the *bíu ši*, and any pregnant tapir serves this purpose. 756 776

Although the manufacture of a *bíu ši* was never witnessed during our residence among the Mundurucú, I was able to observe the preparation of a mother of the peccary in the savannah village of Cabruá. On this day, the hunters had chased a band of peccary that had passed close to the village. The band, however, had a fair head start on the hunters and escaped, leaving a half-grown member behind. The dogs cornered the animal in a bush, and the hunters were about to capture it as a pet when the shaman arrived on the scene. He ordered the men and their dogs to stand back while he smoked intently and concentrated his gaze upon the animal. He then announced that the young peccary was carrying the mother of the peccary, or *daje ši*, within its body. As the news spread, all the villagers came out to gaze upon the animal and to admire its "beauty," evidently seeking thereby to gratify the spirit. The shaman then grabbed the squealing peccary and sat upon it, while another shaman secured it by its snout. A third shaman pulled out the animal's eyebrows and some hair from its back and released it unharmed. The first shaman then brought the hairs back to the trumpet chamber adjoining the men's house and placed them inside the hollow limb of a buriti palm. Every day thereafter he blew smoke upon his creation and poured a sweet manioc drink over it. After a period of this treatment it was believed that the hairs would turn into a young peccary with the mother of the peccary inside it. The animal would similarly be carried to one of the deep pools in the neighborhood and would attract herds of peccary. Strong shamans, it was believed, could make the *daje ši* from the hairs of any peccary, but weaker practitioners, as in this instance, had to select an animal that already had a *daje ši* within it.

Other Functions of the Shaman

In addition to his curing activities and his role in the propitiation of the spirit mothers, the shaman performs a variety of lesser duties. When the village is moved to a new locale every ten years or so, the shaman must inspect the site selected. He ascertains if there are many fever-producing *cauši* in the neighborhood, and he looks also for signs of the *Ipupari* and other malignant beings. These malevolent forces can also exist below the surface of the ground, and the shaman must send his *sawak* to inspect the earth below the proposed village site. After the instrument has completed its investigation, it returns to the shaman and tells him of its discoveries. 756 787 361

The shaman, through another of his instruments, the *dibbit*, can also discover lost persons and lost or stolen objects. He blows smoke upon the *dibbit*—a small piece of cane—and sends it upon its mission. In the case of a stolen object,* the 756 787

* Theft is extremely rare among the Mundurucú and probably owes its occasional occurrence to the contemporary acquisition of trade goods.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 instrument follows the thief's tracks and then comes back and reveals his identity
787 and location to the shaman. If the object is merely lost, the *ibōbōt* searches for it and then informs the shaman where it is to be found.

Hunters occasionally lose their way in the forest, and their relatives immediately resort to the shaman to find them. The shaman's instrument locates the lost person and then returns to tell the shaman whether he is alive and homeward bound on the proper trail. If the person is still wandering aimlessly, the *ibōbōt* frequently nudges him in the right direction or enters his body and leads him home. Only the shaman can hear the voice of the *ibōbōt;* his dialogues with the instrument are inaudible to others.

One informant reported that in the old days the most powerful shamans of
756 the tribe were able to turn people temporarily into animals. The Mundurucú in those times performed a ceremony called the *Duparip,* which took place over a three-year period. As a part of this ceremony, the three most powerful shamans participating allowed their hair to grow to their shoulders and were believed able to turn the bizorro, an insect, into the tapir and men into the tapir or deer. Nobody was able to see them perform these acts; the transformed men simply disappeared. It was considered extremely dangerous to be thus selected by these powerful shamans, because the men, in the guise of tapirs and deer, were frequently chased by the dogs and could be killed. However, the shamans recognized the slain animals as their own creations and proceeded to change them back to men. They took out the heart and blood, placing them on the ground and covering the pile with leaves, and then blew tobacco smoke upon it and stamped upon the ground; the man emerged from under the leaves alive and intact. It is said that men who had undergone this experience were considered especially sacrosanct because of their former membership in the animal world, and their presence was especially valued at the ceremonies connected with the animal spirits.

Shamans possessing the power to assume this special ceremonial role were always married to equally strong female shamans. These women were able to transform other women into animals during the *Duparip* ceremony and are said to have been capable of transforming a Brazil-nut husk with a length of vine inside it into a cutia.

Finally, some shamans engage in the practice of making a woman into a
756 *yapō*, or wanton. No respectable shaman would perform such an act, however,
832 and those who use their powers for such disreputable ends are called *mamú*
839 *keren*, or bad or foolish shamans. Reprehensible though this may be to the Mundurucú, the *mamú keren* is not to be classed with the *ibōkaipat*, or sorcerer, who is believed to be a dire threat to society. He causes disease and death, whereas the *mamú keren* merely converts women into nymphomaniacs, a practice that is rather ambivalently considered both disgraceful and highly amusing by the Mundurucú men.

The *yapō* indiscriminately copulates with all men who desire her. Characteristically, she does not smile modestly in the presence of the men, but grins and laughs

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in a manner thought to be quite lewd and suggestive. The other women look upon the *yapõ* as a threat to their own marital happiness, but blame the men for her condition. Any sufficiently disreputable and irreverent shaman can make a *yapõ* of a woman whom he desires. But, unlike love magic in most societies, once he creates her he must be prepared to share her with others, for his magic makes her want any and all men. 756 832 839

To make a *yapõ* the shaman prepares a paste of sorva sap and urucú and mixes it thoroughly with the roasted and powdered body of the uirapurú bird. Smoke is blown upon the preparation and it is magically sent into the body of the unsuspecting woman. Another preparation is made with a piece of uirapurú meat, and a third is made by mixing brilliantine with either the brains of the boa boa bird or of the matrinchão fish. The use of the uirapurú as a love charm or symbol is widespread in the Amazon region, especially among Tupian groups. The Mundurucú believe it to be an enchanted bird and explain that, as the other birds of the forest follow the uirapurú, so also will the men follow a woman who has been bewitched with a charm made from its body.

The *yapõ* is not physically damaged by the spell cast over her by the shaman. She appears happy and laughs constantly; her appetite for men is insatiable, but she enjoys herself thoroughly when in their company. However, her condition is viewed with disfavor by the other women, and she becomes marginal to female society. Also, she soon becomes the subject of widespread gossip and ridicule, both of which are unendurable to a Mundurucú. For these reasons, the *yapõ* generally goes to the shaman to be cured. He extracts the charm by the same techniques used to take out *cauši* and then recommends a preparation made of sorva sap and the root of a tree near which a jaguar has slept or rolled about. The woman applies this preparation to her face and body until she feels that she has been completely cured. The remedy is considered to be effective in keeping men away as it partakes of the qualities of the jaguar, which is considered an ugly and repulsive animal by the Mundurucú. [825]

The treatment is not alwayseffective. A young woman of the village of Cabruá went to the shaman to be cured of her condition. During the following days a marked change was noted in her deportment. She smiled demurely behind her hand and no longer fixed the men with direct and inviting glances. But as the days passed, she returned slowly to her old ways and was soon meeting the men in the underbrush surrounding the village. When the shaman who had performed the cure was asked why she behaved in this manner, he shrugged and replied, "Sometimes the treatment works, and sometimes it does not."

Sorcery

When his power is used for socially approved purposes, the shaman is accorded the respect due a major benefactor of the community. But his power can be used for evil ends, and witchcraft is invariably believed to emanate from shamans gone bad. The sorcerer or *ibikaipat* is thought by the Mundurucú to engage in his nefarious practices with conscious and deliberate intent. All shamans have 754

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 knowledge of the techniques of witchcraft, and the transformation of the shaman into a sorcerer requires only his personal motivation. He is not thought to practice witchcraft with limited goals in mind; once he begins to practice black magic, he continues until apprehended and executed.

The sorcerer usually becomes one because, as the Mundurucú say, "he is angry at everybody" or, less commonly, because he has a grievance against some particular person. He never practices his art on behalf of another person. His chief means of wreaking harm upon his fellowman is through the creation of the previously described, disease-causing *cauši*. He is believed to select an isolated place in the forest to which he frequently repairs to manufacture the intrusive objects. These are spread broadcast on the wind and attack those people with whom they come into contact. Consistent with the belief that the sorcerer has a hostile attitude toward all his fellowmen, the Mundurucú claim that the *cauši* is not usually directed at particular people or at the sorcerer's own village. In actual practice, however, when disease strikes the people of a village a fellow villager possessing shamanistic power is almost invariably suspected. But evidence suggested that the *cauši* is seldom used against particular persons toward whom the sorcerer has some grievance. One informant stated that "the sorcerer's aim is not that good." And it was also specifically disavowed that the *cauši* attack the sorcerer's kinsmen.

When the sorcerer wishes to destroy selected individuals, he usually does so through his power of sending supernatural jaguars against them. These creatures can be made by the shaman by blowing smoke upon the teeth and claws of a dead jaguar. Under ordinary circumstances, the jaguars cannot be seen, but they are thought to become visible to the victim when about to attack. The jaguars act under the instruction of the sorcerer, who frequently changes himself into one and "leads his pack like a hunter leads his dogs." He often attacks persons in distant villages by the expedient of placing a band of rubber about his ankles and magically transporting himself almost instantaneously over long distances. He then summons his so-called pets by wiggling his fingers, and they attack their chosen victim. When their work is done, the sorcerer dissolves his jaguars and returns through the air to his own village. So great is his speed that his neighbors seldom note his momentary absence. In other instances, the sorcerer's jaguars lurk in the vicinity of his village and attack anybody who has the misfortune to encounter them in an isolated place, for like the *Yurupari* and the *aiik* the jaguars generally strike only at the solitary. They are thought to pounce upon their victims and magically to eat out their intestines. These attacks are invariably fatal. The victim is usually able to return, pale and vomiting, to his village, but dies a short time later

Three cases of jaguar attacks will be discussed below to illustrate the vividness of belief in their existence and to document the techniques and purposes of their manipulation. A middle-aged Mundurucú shaman, whose Portuguese name is Bertino, related a frightening experience that he had undergone when a young man. A fellow shaman joined Bertino one day and suggested that they go into

the forest to hunt. The older man then invited him to sit down and rest and talk. 754
"Are you angry at somebody, younger brother?" he inquired. When Bertino denied any ill feelings toward another, the shaman bluntly said, "You must be. Come join me in sorcery." Bertino resisted his entreaties and told him, "I am not angry at anybody, and I do not want to harm others. Before my father died, he said to me, 'Use your knowledge to cure and to feed the *putcha ši* and for other good things. Do not use it to hurt another.' And also," continued Bertino, "I do not want to be killed by my own people." But the older shaman, not dissuaded, brushed his hand down his own arm and produced a *cauši* to impress Bertino. He then waved his fingers in the air and twenty hideous jaguars surrounded Bertino, snarling and waving their tails. "Take ten for yourself, and I will take the other ten," invited the sorcerer. Bertino was paralyzed with fright, but he still refused to practice witchcraft. "Perhaps you would prefer to be killed in a war," suggested the other. Bertino replied, "I would rather be killed by the enemy than by my own people."

Having failed in his purpose, the sorcerer threatened to kill Bertino. He apparently attempted to do so on one occasion, said my informant, for he was shortly thereafter attacked by a *cauši* while fishing. This sorcerer was finally killed by his fellow Mundurucú, and his brother was later slain as a suspected witch, also.

The sorcerer's jaguars emit a whistling sound much like that of the *Yurupari*. A long time ago a shaman who was hunting in the woods climbed a fruit tree and, while gathering the fruit high in the branches, heard a whistling noise that resembled the cry of the blue nambú bird. The shaman knew this to be the signal of the jaguar, but when he looked down from his lofty perch, he saw another hunter looking upward in search of what he believed to be a bird. The whistling grew closer, and the jaguars emerged from the brush. They carried leaves in their jaws, which they jammed into the mouth of the victim to prevent outcry before "eating his intestines." The jaguars departed, and the shaman descended from the tree and returned to his village. A short time later the victim of the jaguars arrived in the village, feverish and vomiting. The shaman was asked to treat him, but, having witnessed the attack, he turned to another shaman and said, "You treat the sick man. It was you who ate him." The stricken man died, and the men of the village executed the accused sorcerer.

The following case of jaguar sorcery is of special interest since it describes an attack of one brother upon another. These occurrences are rare in Mundurucú [593]
society, but they serve to further highlight the strong, latent sibling rivalry that appears clearly in the mythology and folklore. The incident, which was said to have occurred within the last generation, also documents techniques by which one can defend himself against the jaguars and destroy the sorcerer who is traveling in the guise of these creatures.

Two brothers, who had inherited shamanistic power from their father, were at odds because one wanted the wife of the other. The jealous brother decided to kill the husband by turning himself into a jaguar and eating him. The brothers

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 lived in different villages, but the sorcerer leaped the distance to his brother's village and stalked him in the forest. The married brother heard the approaching whistle of the jaguar and backtracked and lay in wait for it. When it appeared, he shot the creature in the head, the only vulnerable point in its body, and thus killed it. He then cut the jaguar's throat, thrust his hand into its body, and dragged out its liver. He mixed the liver with gunpowder and left it on the trail. After he returned home, a group of men from his brother's village arrived with the intent of killing him. The sorcerer, whose jaguar form had been slain, had returned to his village sick and had accused his brother of bewitching him. The brother explained that he had merely defended himself against his own brother, who was the real sorcerer. The assembled men believed him, and the guilty brother wasted away and died.

Cases of jaguar sorcery were extremely common among the Mundurucú. During our residence with them, one of the residents of the mission was suspected of making and spreading *cauši* and turning into a jaguar at night. It was further believed that he had created other jaguars that were constantly lurking behind his house. But the presence of the priests prevented the Mundurucú residing at the mission from killing the suspected man, and they merely avoided his person and his dwelling. Even the powerful shaman who lived in the mission village had resolved to move away rather than live near such a dangerous personality.

753 Although all disease is believed to be caused by witchcraft, a single occurrence
754 of illness within a community does not generally provoke direct action against
689 an accused sorcerer. When, however, sickness becomes rife within a village, and
756 especially when deaths result, the responsible sorcerer is sought out and killed. The practice of destroying a witch is resorted to only when the community is faced by a major threat, and the inevitability of occasional illness is usually rationalized as owing to stray *cauši*. In spite of this inconsistency, the simple formula which attributes disease to witchcraft, and therefore calls for the death of the sorcerer, cannot be more rigorously applied if shamanism is to continue. Even under this modified application of the rule, the shaman's position is most precarious. One or two shamans are executed as sorcerers during an average year, and their numbers are steadily dwindling. Those shamans who are fortunate enough to escape accusation are visibly insecure, especially when the rainy season reunites people in their villages and the annual cycle of colds and epidemic diseases begin.

756 This constant fear induces many shamans to leave their villages and to migrate
754 to the vicinity of the Brazilian population. As an example, there were three shamans in the village of Cabruá, one of whom rarely practiced for fear of accusation. He had been suspected of sorcery once before and had escaped retribution only because of membership in the strong family of the chief. The numerical strength and influence of his family was, however, his only protection from execution, for one need not actively practice shamanism to be accused of sorcery. The possession of the latent hereditary power of the shaman suffices

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to establish eligibility for suspicion. Both of the two active shamans had resolved 756
to move away from Cabruá and to dwell in the isolation of their rubber avenues. 754
But neither would admit to fear of being accused of sorcery. One claimed that he wished to reside with his own kin although he was already living, as is considered proper, with his wife's relatives in Cabruá. The other said that he would find food more abundant at his rubber avenue locale. Such minor subterfuges are common among the Mundurucú when queried on an unpleasant personal subject. In reality, both shamans knew that several years had passed since the last sorcery execution in Cabruá, and neither wished to be present for the next. Also, as soon as one had made the decision to leave, the other had no choice but to follow. To be the only available suspect in the village was not a very promising prospect.

The men of a village afflicted with a great deal of illness usually seek out the most powerful shaman available and request that he not only attempt to cure the sick, but destroy the *cauši* that infect the village. He is also expected to use his great powers to detect and name the responsible sorcerer. Shamans are said to be capable of discovering and naming sorcerers at any time, but they do so only when requested by the villagers after a particularly severe epidemic or after a death from disease. Informed of the culprit, who is almost always a fellow villager, the men collectively decide to dispose of him and delegate the task to two or three of their number. But, as will be shown subsequently, such unanimity of communal decision is the ideal situation; sorcery killings are frequently stormy affairs among the contemporary Mundurucú.

Only a few Mundurucú shamans are considered to be powerful enough to destroy the *cauši* in a village and unerringly point out their creator, and it is, therefore, usually necessary to invite one from outside the community. After he has treated the sick, the visiting shaman proceeds to destroy the *cauši* and other malignant spirits within the village. He first builds a small thatch hut, no larger than necessary to contain him and his instruments, and retreats to it for the day. His first act is to lean his five *pōtponchap* (spears), the previously described dagger-shaped instruments, against a piece of wood laid upon the floor of the hut. Next he places an ordinary steel lock in line with the *pōtponchap*. The lock is considered to be the most effective of all these instruments owing to the *cauši's* fear of metal, and it is referred to as the leader of the others. The shaman then blows smoke twice on the *pōtponchap*, and they suddenly come to life and move from their leaning position to balance perfectly across the piece of wood. He blows smoke on them a third time, and the instruments then stand in a vertical position, their sharp points directed upward. Thus animated, the lock addresses the other instruments to suggest that they attack the shaman in order to test his strength. At this juncture the shaman says, "No. I only assembled you to kill *cauši*, *Yuruparí*, and any other evil thing that you can find. But be careful not to harm anything that belongs to the game animals." He then flips the piece of wood upon which the lock has been lying and sends it through the thatch into the open air. The five *pōtponchap* immediately fly after

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 it and spend the day spearing malignant spirits and objects. At nightfall, they
754 reënter the shaman's hut, their points covered with the blood of these beings, and the practitioner asks them what variety of supernaturals they had destroyed and how many of each there were.

After he has rid the village of the evils inhabiting it, the shaman divulges the name of the sorcerer, if he believes the situation to be sufficiently serious. The accused shaman is usually killed from ambush outside his village, although some are dispatched by direct assault within its confines. Since the sorcerer's soul is believed to be dangerous even after death, another shaman must extract and destroy it immediately after the execution. This is done by brushing it from its position in the back to the top of the head with a mutúm feather. When the soul emerges from the head, it is caught in a hollow bamboo tube and cast into a fire.

754 Most studies of the subject conclude that sorcery executions are conducive to
578 social cohesion, since they constitute a mechanism for the externalization of aggression and release of tension in a socially approved way, and also because they constitute a mechanism of social control. The Mundurucú data tend partly to substantiate this thesis, for sorcery executions are the only occasions on which intrasocietal violence is sanctioned. Interpersonal tensions are rife among the Mundurucú, but during our research no Mundurucú was even heard to raise his voice against another, and the occurrence of overt violence between men was specifically denied by informants. The social structure demanded complete harmony and coöperation; the latent and suppressed aggressions inevitable in such a situation were projected into the person of the sorcerer, and his execution was cathartic for the community. It will be shown, however, that the changing nature of this community has caused sorcery to be involved in its progressive and ongoing fission.

In spite of the fact that sorcery was a perilous practice, resort to black magic served as a covert expression of generalized hostility for the shaman, as well. Although it is impossible to induce any Mundurucú to admit witchcraft, I am inclined to believe that it is actively practiced The techniques by which *cauši* are manufactured and propagated are well known to all shamans, and some informants claimed that sorcerers have revealed their activities to them, as in the case described above.[20] There is no doubt hat many, if not most, accused shamans are entirely innocent of the charges, but this, of course, does not alter the function of sorcerer execution as an escape valve for repressed aggression and hostility within the society.

Aside from the suspicions, fear, and personal insecurity engendered by belief in witchery among prospective victims and shamans alike, the execution of sorcerers is frequently a source of factionalism within the society. During our residence in the village of Missão Velha, the community was split by an impending sorcery execution. Two years earlier, a powerful shaman had been called to the village to destroy the malignant objects believed to have caused an outbreak of

[20] See pp. 44–45.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

illness. This accomplished, the shaman informed the people of the identity of the sorcerer and implied that there was one more in the village whose name he would not reveal at that time. The accused man was duly slain, in spite of the objections of his house mate and brother-in-law. Sickness continued to trouble the village, and the shaman then revealed the name of the other guilty person. The latter, a young man named Antonio, was still present in Missão Velha during our sojourn. He remained somewhat aloof from the other men, but on occasion joined and even joked with some of those most intent upon killing him. However, the latter by no means included all the villagers. The brother-in-law of the shaman who had been killed two years before, Antonio's house mate, and the men of another of the eleven dwellings of the village opposed his execution or were at least in favor of allowing him to depart in peace. The faction that favored killing him was led by the son-in-law and the sons of the chief. The chief, himself, had rather ambivalent feelings about the case. He owed his position as chief to the mission priests, and he did not wish to bring down their inevitable wrath through another killing. But he believed in Antonio's guilt and refused to live in the same village with him. For a time he planned to shift his residence, but those plans were changed when he heard that Antonio intended to leave for the Tapajós River.

We had lived in this village for several weeks before the conflict came to our attention, for there was no external indication of disturbance in the smooth flow of everyday life. Only gradually it became evident that feelings were quite bitter. The faction that favored killing Antonio regarded him with fear and loathing. Those who favored his cause did so not out of disbelief in sorcery, but because they distrusted the honesty of his persecutor's motives, and because they were weary of the interminable conflicts in the village. They knew, however, that their cause was hopeless, and all had decided to move at their earliest convenience. If all carried out their intention, the village stood to lose 36 of its 90 people. Antonio's case was not unique; sorcery was almost invariably and deeply involved in the rapid fission process that was occurring in all Mundurucú villages.

Sorcery killings probably produced such tensions even before Mundurucú society had lost its cohesiveness. But there can be little doubt that the stronger patterns of leadership and interdependency of the past were more conducive to unanimity of action within the community on these occasions. Also, where complete concurrence could not be obtained, the dissident elements undoubtedly remained passive rather than create disharmony. The individual and the family depended completely upon larger groups for their continued existence, and, in any event, there existed no alternate residence pattern.

Sorcery and executions will undoubtedly continue even after the larger social units of extended family and village have become completely fragmented. The priests of the Cururú River mission have inveighed against belief in sorcery for more than forty years with little noticeable effect. Nor were they the first to attempt to suppress the practice. In 1876, Father Pelino de Castrovalva, the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754
578
797

founder of the mission of Bacabal on the Tapajós River, wrote to the governor of the province of Pará the following words:

> Now one of the greatest superstitions with which I have had to battle has been that of witchcraft. What have I not said, what have I not done to wrest this pernicious superstition from their hearts? And how many deaths have they caused with these erroneous principles before the establishment of the mission? Despite all, when I begin to think that I have persuaded them to detest such an abominable vice, the first day that the missionary is missing they do the same things.[11]

[11] Cited in Tocantins, 1877, pp. 108–109.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

IV. CEREMONIALISM

Contemporary Ceremonialism

There exists a deep and nostalgic awareness among the older Mundurucú that they are witnessing the disappearance of their way of life. It is felt acutely that most of the wise and learned men of the tribe are dead and that the remaining few will die within the near future. Only six traditional savannah villages remain and their populations are diminishing steadily. Those Mundurucú who have migrated to the banks of rivers to escape the problems of village life or to have easier access to their rubber avenues are rapidly losing the native culture. The young men who remain in the interior villages tend to be more conservative than the latter but still fail to transmit effectively even the attenuated body of tradition that they have learned. Although this dilemma is known and deplored by the Mundurucú, they view the process with considerable fatalism. Little attempt is made to reinstate that which has lapsed for they view this deterioration as progressive and irreversible; they fully expect to lose the balance of their culture. 178

This realistic appraisal of the precarious position of Mundurucú culture and society is in part the result of the disappearance of some of those ritual aspects of culture that were the expression of its vitality and were important to its integration. These aspects were, in turn, undermined by those modifications in the structure of the culture that have been taking place since the nineteenth century.

One of the integrative bases of Mundurucú society—warfare—ended in the early part of this century as a result of the deep involvement of the Mundurucú in rubber production. The end of warfare and head-hunting concluded a series of ceremonies that centered about the trophy head and the persons of the successful warriors. The status of the warrior, the power of Mundurucú arms, and the supernatural significance of the trophy head were, accordingly, no longer celebrated. These were very real values in the nineteenth century and are still considered by the Mundurucú themselves to be the hallmark of traditional Mundurucú culture. 178 726 796

Another series of rites that were held for the spirit mothers of the game has also fallen into disuse. No clear and obvious reason, such as the end of warfare, can be offered for the cessation of these ceremonies. Informants claim that today they lack a sufficient number of powerful shamans to perform the rites effectively. In a sense, this is true. 178 224 796

Two different ceremonies, named *Arsiarsi* and *Dajearuparip*, were held for the mothers of the game. The former was a lengthy festival that lasted throughout the rainy season; the latter was much like the *Arsiarsi* in form and function but was compressed into a ten-day period. According to our closest possible calculations, the *Arsiarsi* could not have been celebrated since 1930 and must have lapsed during the period when a large part of the Mundurucú population moved to the Cururú River. Communication between the traditional villages

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 of the savannahs and the new ones of the river bank became attenuated, and
224 a lack of powerful shamans in the former communities may well have developed.
196 The shorter *Dajearuparip* ceremony was practiced as recently as 1945 or thereabouts but has since lapsed in spite of a few unsuccesaful efforts to resurrect it. By that time the lack of shamans must have become acute, as it is today in many sections of the Mundurucú country. Also, the early 1940's were a period of intense rubber collection, owing to the stimulus provided by World War II. During these years the Mundurucú of the savannah villages grew more accustomed to clothing and other attractions of the outside world, and involvement with Brazilian society increased. The exact effect of these influences is uncertain, but interest in ritual undoubtedly was replaced increasingly by apathy and fatalism in the face of the decay of other aspects of Mundurucú culture. Ceremonialism not only heightens social cohesion, but it reflects it. So far as the structure of Mundurucú society was undermined by other factors, so also was the basis of the ceremonial reunions.

The form of the extinct ceremonies for head-hunting and the spirit mothers of the game was described by informants. Other rites were reported by them in very fragmentary form and were attributed to a more remote past. Only a curing ceremony and the complex of ceremonial activities surrounding the sacred trumpets are still extant and were observed by me.

The Duparip Ceremony

796 One elderly Mundurucú reported a ceremony called the *Duparip*, which he said
881 had ceased to be practiced long before his birth and which had been related to
952 him as a boy by the old men. The *Duparip* was said to have been held infrequently; it was initiated during the summer, and the associated ritual activities occurred intermittently over a two-year span.

It was not possible to obtain a full account of the purpose or form of the ceremony, for the informant remembered only disconnected items. It obviously had some significance as a rite of passage, for young boys[1] were taken into the men's house and allowed to return to their proper dwellings only at the end of the two-year ceremonial period. During this time they were referred to as pet jacamás by
[302] the men, and three stripes were cut through their hair, from front to back, in imitation of the feathering of that bird. When they were finally released from the men's house, they were given sharp wooden "beaks" with which they "pecked" at the women. During their confinement they could leave the men's house only to relieve themselves. The men periodically hastened the growth of the boys by standing upon their feet and lifting them up by the armpits. The "young jacamás"
[262] could eat only a certain type of deer, the meat of which was carefully examined for traces of skin, which was believed to make the boys ill.

Other passages of the *Duparip* included the previously mentioned rite in which three powerful shamans transformed people into animals.[2] Flutes were played by

[1] My informant reported that boys are recruited for this ceremony at the age of three; I think this most doubtful and believe that five years is a more reasonable age.

[2] See p. 42.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dancers clothed in cloaks of burití leaf, who danced from house to house, playing in each. Another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat.

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing signalized full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Duporip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of pecking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group.

Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundurucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and returned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad.

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.* No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundurucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain clans of the comple-

* Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

727 616 766 mentary moiety have the privilege (or pleasure, as some informants phrased it) of burying the dead of the other moiety, if only symbolically. For this purpose, the humerus of the dead Mundurucú was cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone after the arm was boiled and allowed to dry in the sun. Indicative of the symbolic importance attached to the moieties' prerogative of burying each other's dead was the practice of amputating the humerus of a wounded but still living warrior who was unable to continue the return journey. Furthermore, when the body was lost or a vengeance party was in hot pursuit and such Draconian measures were impossible, a symbolic arm bone was made out of a short piece of arrow cane and duly mourned, treasured, and buried.

727 766 The grisly operation of taking the humerus of the fallen warrior was performed by a member of the latter's *sheiwetipit*, or those clans of the opposite moiety that hold the special burial right over the deceased's clan. This man brought the bone back to his village and guarded it carefully, sleeping with it in his arms "as if it were a baby." After an unspecified period, the man's mourners and many members of his *sheiwetipit* gathered to bury the bone in the floor of its custodian's house.

765 [302] Both male and female kinsmen of the slain warrior were expected to weep loudly upon hearing news of his death. The patterned wailing of the men was of short duration, but that of the women was expected to last for several months. Also, women, as in the event of the death of any relative, had their hair cropped close to the scalp and were prohibited from wearing any body ornamentation. The latter restriction applied also to men, but their hair was not cut. The cutting of the woman's hair was always done by a male member of her *sheiwetipit*.

727 796 The actual cycle of trophy-head ceremonies began shortly after the return of the war party with an observance known as *Jaycobewatapian*, or Decorating the Ears. This ceremony and those celebrated in the two succeeding rainy seasons were held under the leadership of the taker (or takers) of the trophy head, who was thereafter honored by the title of *Dajebolk*, or Mother of the Penary. Food was amassed by the host village under his direction, and invitations were issued to other villages. The purpose of this phase of the trophy-head ceremony was to decorate the head. Implicitly, its function was to inaugurate the head and its owner into the status that both would occupy until the conclusion of the cycle.

The preparation of the trophy head began during the return march from the enemy village. First the brains were extracted with the wide bamboo point of a war arrow, which was inserted into the head through the foramen magnum. The teeth were then knocked out and carefully stored away, and the head was lightly boiled and dried near the fire. This process made the skin dry and parchment-like and effectively preserved it. Finally a woven cord was inserted in the mouth and led out through the nostril by a hole pierced in the hard palate, leaving the unwoven ends of the cord dangling from the mouth and nostril. At a later time, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two jaws teeth affixed across either eye.

The Mundurucú considered the crowning glory of a trophy head to be the

feather pendants that were suspended from either ear, the attachment of which was the central purpose of the *Ixpeshorwaytam*. Feathers from five species of birds were used in the ornamentation, and each type of feather could be attached only by the *Kirúk*, *Akai*, *Chuwpin*, and *Paruní* clans, and those of the muttim by the *Wúsim* clan. The *Karó* clan and subclan, the *Sem* subclan, and the *Waré* clan and subclan used the feathers of the red macaw; the *Kabó* clan attached parrot feathers; and the *Bawín* clan contributed those of the gavião tawaú. Those clans sharing the same feathers were always linked within the same phratry, and the appropriate bird species was usually an eponymous clan spirit of at least one of the groups.

The feather pendants could be no longer than the hair on the trophy head. For this reason, long-haired victims were especially prized and a woman's head was highly valued, although it was thought more valorous to kill an enemy warrior.

The sponsorship of these ceremonies was not the only duty of the taker of the trophy head. The social and religious role of the *Dajebeuk* had certain nonceremonial aspects that were, nonetheless, part of the larger ritual complex of warfare and head-hunting. Upon his return to the home village, the successful warrior assumed an enhanced status that endowed his person with an almost sacred aura and isolated him from normal relations with his fellow Mundurucú. Sexuality was considered especially dangerous both to the *Dajebeuk* and to his wife. They were enjoined against indulging in sexual intercourse with each other or with anyone else throughout the ceremonial period. The *Dajebeuk* could lose his power and fall into the previously discussed state of bad luck merely by looking at a pupú, or wanton woman, and for this reason he always bathed very early to avoid meeting one on the path to the stream. Moreover, he was expected to have minimal contact with or sight of women other than his wife. Even she posed a threat to his special status, and they sit sitting back to back.

The *Dajebeuk* was expected to maintain a decorous and restrained attitude at all times. He spent much of his time lying in his hammock and gazing upward to avoid the contaminating sight of men who had recently had coitus. He could talk to the other men, but only on serious topics; trivial conversation and joking were considered inappropriate to his ceremonial position. Although he slept in the men's house, the *Dajebeuk* did not partake of the communal meals there and ate only with his wife. But he was expected to be generous toward the other men and to keep tobacco under his hammock at all times for their use.

In addition to his ceremonial role, the *Dajebeuk* had an important function in the religious aspect of the hunting economy. His person and the trophy were thought pleasing to the Mother of the Game, and he brought the head into the forest whenever a hunting party embarked. The *Dajebeuk* did not, however, hunt nor did he accompany the other men. His mere proximity was sufficient to insure a good kill, and after two animals were slain he returned to the village. It was believed that if he were to remain longer in the forest he might step in the blood of a game animal and thereby lose the charm of the head.

The wife of the *Dajebeuk* occupied a delicate status also. Like her husband, she

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 727 554 954 [575] had to exercise great care in her relations with others lest she look at a person who had recently had sexual relations. On days when hunting parties left for the forest she was supposed to remain in her hammock until late in the morning, for if she arose and moved about the game would run away. She was not allowed to bathe in the stream with the other women but washed her body from vessels of water brought to her house. Nor was the wife of the *Dajebolli* supposed to work; a young woman from her *dawaribili* was chosen to draw water and wood for her and to perform household chores. Considerable authority over the other women was exercised by the *Dajebolli*'s wife, and she felt free to send the women of the village to work in the garden or perform whatever services she desired.

The *Dajebolli* and his wife were, according to some informants, obliged to maintain this regimen during the more than two years between the return of the war party and the final phase of the ceremonial cycle. Others thought that the prohibitions were not continually in force during this long period, but agreed that some restrictions were observed until the conclusion of the final ritual.

796 727 With the advent of the second rainy season after the taking of the trophy head, the *Dajebolli* again issued invitations to the people of other villages, and all reunited for feasting. This phase of the ceremony is known as *Yaiepyu*, or Stripping the Skin from the Head. As the name indicates, the trophy head was skinned, its ornaments were removed, and the bare skull was then hung in a corner of the man's house.

Before the head was boiled and skinned, it was thrown on the ground and a group of men called "Vultures" batted it back and forth with sticks in imitation of the vulture's practice of tossing strips of carrion with its beak. The Vultures included all the bald men of the village and certain others who were thought to be really bald, although ordinary vision showed them to have hair on their heads. Previous to these proceedings, a number of old men, all of whom had at one time taken an enemy head, took the trophy head and tapped its top. If powder or any other matter fell from it, they announced that the *Dajebolli* had broken an obligation. This was generally interpreted by all to mean that he had had sexual relations. In such a case his status terminated and no further observances were held, since the head had lost its power. If the test proved the owner of the head had kept his faith, the ceremony could continue.

The rites held during the first two rainy seasons were simple, and activities included only the decoration of the head during the first rainy season, its skinning during the second, and feasting on both occasions. The third winter, however, was the climax of the cycle, and festivities were lengthier and much more elaborate. The final phase of the ceremony was called *Taiwaiwim*, or Hanging the Teeth, for on this occasion the teeth extracted from the trophy head were strung on a woven cotton belt. These belts were not worn, but were carefully guarded in a basket kept in the warrior's house.

But the most important ritual of the third rainy season was the all-night song-fest of the *Darokki*, or Mothers of the Bow. The *Darokki* was a men's society; it was by no means exclusive in membership for all adult Mundurucú males belonged to

it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajebolè* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Mundurucú villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajebolè*. Come, drink *wará* and *mirí*. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Mundurucú style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting. 796 727 [202]

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Maukaché*[1] society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajebolè* who had mastered great knowledge of love and songs, sounded the *pem*, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other moiety. The captor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (i.e., during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Daxokè* society returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Daxokè* enter the village would be killed during the next war. [534] [301]

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajebolè*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with *beijú* (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and *beijú* and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten. [262] [272]

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vulturous had to eat apart from the other *Daxokè*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he died. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the yellowing sickness, or *ajawaú*. To prevent this a shaman examined the [834]

[1] The identity of this term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 727 contents of each bowl to ascertain whether a ritually impure person had defiled the food.

After partaking of the ceremonial feast, the men went to the men's house, across the front of which they lined up in a single row with the boys behind. They sang songs celebrating warfare and their arms until dawn, at which time the ceremony ended and the guests returned to their villages. At the conclusion of the rite, the *Dajebeüü* resumed his normal life. His person and the trophy head no longer exercised their power, but he retained the title and distinction for life. [534]

This account suggests some of the functions of the ritual complex in relation to the practice of warfare and to the social structure, in general. First, the high status accorded the *Dajebeüü* acted to give personal incentive to individual warriors and thus contributed to more effective military action. The taker of the trophy head was further motivated, for the power possessed by him and the head increased the yield of the hunt. The concept of this magical influence also provided an additional group motivation and rationale for warfare and served to root it more firmly in Mundurucú beliefs. The emphasis on warfare was further heightened through the celebration of Mundurucú prowess by the *Durekii;* and this phase of the ritual provided a means of indoctrinating the young into the militarism in which they would one day take part.

The ritual complex was also related to aspects of Mundurucú culture other than warfare. The burial of the humerus of the warrior slain in battle was the most important occasion for the expression of intermoiety ritual hostility. And the attachment of feather pendants to the ears of the trophy head was one of the few remaining corporate functions of the fragmented clans. Finally, and this is true of all the important intervillage ceremonies, the warfare rites served to integrate the populations of the several Mundurucú villages and to maintain bonds of association among scattered fellow clansmen.

Ceremonies of the Game

796 224 Two ceremonies, the *Arsiarsi* and the *Dajearuparip*, were held in honor of the spirit mothers of the game. The several Mundurucú villages took turns as hosts in these intervillage rites, and one of the two ceremonies was held during most years. The purpose of the two rites was identical, and they differed only in length and in minor formal details. The following description of the *Dajearuparip* is also valid for the *Arsiarsi*, except where noted.

A ceremony was usually held at the instigation of one of the older and more respected men of the village—not necessarily the chief—who then became its *piwat*, or leader and organizer. But it was essential for the leader to have the consent of his fellow villagers, for they had to join him in amassing food and drink for the visitors.

796 224 292 As in all Mundurucú ceremonies, the arrival of the guests signaled the beginning of feasting and preparation of ceremonial regalia. The actual ceremony began with the playing of flutes by a group of cloaked dancers who danced from house to house, performing in each. The cloaks were made of the long fronds of the

buriti palm and were fashioned in an extremely simple manner. The ends of a large bunch of fronds were tied together and a ring of vine was attached some five inches below the top knot. The vine ring was then placed on the dancer's head, and the leaves were arranged to fall uniformly down all sides of his body to a point below his knees. The garment was fastened to his waist by a buriti leaf belt. The dancer's arms protruded from the sides of the cloak, and the fronds were pushed aside to make openings for the eyes and mouth. Underneath these cloaks the dancers wore the same raiment used by all the other men during the ceremony. This consisted of a buriti-leaf crown, to the front, back, and sides of which were attached vertical strips of buriti leaf. Bands of this leaf were also tied around the biceps, wrists, ankles, and just below the knees, and were crisscrossed across the chest and shoulders. The ends of each band were shredded and allowed to dangle. A belt of buriti leaf was also worn, and long thin strips of this leaf hung from it to form a knee-length skirt. Thin fibers hung from the back of a buriti-leaf neck choker to below the buttocks. The garment used in the *Arawarsi* ceremony was identical, except that the buriti leaves were first boiled in water and then hung in the sun to bleach white.

The instruments used by the dancers, called *kiá*, consisted of bamboo tubes some 18 inches long with a reed made of the root of the paxiúba palm inserted in the mouth. Identical instruments were used in a similar dance, the *Parawai*, but those for the *Dajaurupirip* and *Arawarsi* could not be used for such profane purposes, for fear of insulting the Mother of the Game.

After the ceremony began, five cloaked dancers made the house-to-house rounds day and night and were replaced after each round by fresh dancers from the men's house. There was an occasional intermission to allow the men and the inhabitants of the dwelling houses to sleep. Each round began when three cloaked men, dancing side by side, approached the first house in a clockwise direction from the men's house. Playing their instruments, they danced to the doorway of the house three times and backed off, entering the house on their fourth approach. After entering the house they circled twice around the interior and then left for the next house in the same direction, repeating the same movements. As they left the house, the other two cloaked dancers approached it, entered in the same manner, and followed the first three through the village. During the rounds of the five *kiá* players, the other men stayed in the men's house and sang songs appropriate to the ceremony. Most of these songs dealt with hunting and game animals, and some with fish and food-bearing plants.

The climax of the ceremony was the summoning of the spirit mothers of the game and their subsequent visitation. Some days after the beginning of the house-to-house dancing, temporary thatch walls were built about the open sides and front of the men's house. A great number of skulls of game animals were gathered and those of each species were placed in rows running east-west and parallel to each other. At the head of the line of tapir skulls was one that had been kept in the men's house and was considered to be the chief of all the skulls in the room. In front of the rows of animal skulls were those of two cuxiú monkeys. Their

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mandurucu SQ13

79
224

function was to guide the spirit mothers to the men's house, in the same manner that the ceremonial monkey, it is believed, leads game through the forest. Before the skulls were placed in order, they were washed with a fragrant solution made from the cocoa shrubs and then with *mirí*, a sweet manioc gruel. *Mirí* is thought to be especially pleasing to the spirit mothers, and a bowl was kept near the skulls so that the spirits could eat after answering the summons.

When all arrangements were in order, two men who knew the various songs delivered to each type of animal sat in front of the array of skulls and sang for the spirit mothers. A number of shamans stood by, ready to shoot with magic arrows those Tarasqueri that invariably came to steal the *mirí*. A shaman also had to be present at all times to detect the arrival of the spirits. When the spirits arrived, the shamans blew smoke over all the heads and they inserted a bamboo tube into each head to suck the arrow points and backshot from the spirits. These objects are believed to be lodged in the animal spirits because of the hunting activities of the Mundurucú, and it was necessary to extract them in order to completely please the spirits. The spirits then ate the *mirí* and departed.

Although the main purpose of the ceremony was the gratification of the animal spirits, the participants remained for three or four more days to take part in dances and ritual activities in imitation and honor of the game animals. On the day following the feeding of the spirits, all the men repaired to the banks of a stream and there sought out white clay. Two men were selected and "captured" by the others and white clay was smeared upon their foreheads, converting them for ceremonial purposes into ceremonial monkeys. The others adorned themselves as peccaries by applying white clay to their cheeks and jaws. They then paraded single file into the village, the two monkeys in front and the peccaries following in close order ranks, all making the noises characteristic of their species. Once in the village, the men invaded the houses; those who were simulating the peccaries grunted and poked at the ground with sticks to make peccary tracks, while those playing the parts of the monkeys spent activity in the house, rubbed food, and created the general house disturbance of monkey behavior. The men then repaired to the men's house where they pretended to shoot the monkeys with bows and arrows. During this time the women sang songs about the peccary, and then, upon a signal from the leader of the ceremony, they rushed upon the men, who attempted to escape, and dragged those they captured to the fire "to singe the hair from their hides" as they would do with a slain peccary.

The next of the animal imitations was that of the tapir, which was the special function of a men's association known as the *Bisiú*, or Brothers of the Tapir. The male participants painted each other elaborately with urucú and genipa paint, and the next day at dawn all the men retired to the forest where they built a temporary shelter. During the day the members of the *Bisiú* pursued men of the opposite moiety, and those caught were then made members of the group. This practice served as a recruiting device, but it also reflected the Mundurucú pattern of ceremonial ritual antagonism, for membership was looked upon with some fear. The *Bisiú* were especially subject to and less during the *Awaiwa* and the

Tajuwapanyi ceremonies. Since bathing in the stream was considered particularly dangerous to them, the members had to bathe in the village from gourds. Also, their obligation to sing the songs of the tapir allowed the *Ibadi* little sleep during ceremonies. 796 224

When night fell, all fires of the village were extinguished and the *Ibadi*, their captives, and the men fortunate enough to have escaped them retreated the village in total darkness. The women shut themselves in their houses and did not dare look at the processions lest their next children be born with the fleshy lump found between the shoulders of the tapir, that is, hunchbacked. The procession ended in one of the houses, where the *Ibadi* partook of a sweet manioc drink; after they were thus refreshed the women could look upon them with impunity.

A number of ceremonies were initiated on the final night of the ceremony, and songs appropriate to each species were sung. Among the performances was that for the land tortoise, to which the men imitated the animal and acted in this role as the pets of the women. All lined up in close order and pretended to accept chewed food from the mouths of their owners. The Mundurucú recall with glee that in one such ceremonial occasion a local Brazilian trader, who had been visiting the village, participated in the land tortoise imitation and actually ate the proffered food. In other sequences the grasshopper was emulated by squatting with stomach close to the ground and chirping, and the cry and hopping movements of the toucan were also enacted.

The animal performances lasted throughout the night, and dawn saw the conclusion of the ceremony and the departure of the guests.

The Cicuru Ceremony

The show performances of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle are now defunct, and there is little likelihood that they will be revived. But some ritual activity is still extant. It will be noted that the following ceremonies, though quite important to Mundurucú society, involve little social participation beyond the confines of one or two villages. Some calls for the large ceremonial characteristic of the ceremonies devoted to the animal spirits or to the trophy head. 796 755 [illegible]

The curing ceremony, referred to as *Pawikiwikapuyapu*, does not call for broad participation, although all the people of the village in which it is held usually attend as bystanders. Four shamans and two men with special knowledge of songs are needed, however, and must frequently be summoned from a distance. The curing ceremony is held only in cases of robbery of the soul by the animal spirits, a belief which has already been described. Soul loss is commonly held responsible for illnesses in which general, progressive debility is noted without the specific symptoms usually indicative of bewitchment. Given this diagnosis, the shamans attempts to identify the violation for which the animal spirits have taken vengeance and then prescribe a curing ceremony. At least four shamans are necessary to effect a cure and two men are called in to sing the required songs. The latter are persons who, as was described in a previous chapter,[1] received

[1] See page 57.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

7%
755

knowledge of these supernaturally powerful songs through dreams. The ceremony takes place in the household of the sick person; a man, when ill, is usually brought from the man's house to his wife's dwelling, whatever the cause of the malady. The tapir skull used during the ceremonies of the game is installed in the house, and long tauari bark-wrapped cigarettes are inserted into either eye and these are thrust into the ground on the left side of the skull. The "dreamers" then seat themselves before this ensemble and proceed to sing to the various game animals, requesting that they return the soul of the sick person. While singing they wave a motion feather tied to the end of a stick before the skull.

It will be recalled that there is a definite sequence in the passage of the soul from one species to another, proceeding from large game animals to smaller ones and then from the largest fish to the smaller ones until the soul arrives at the smallest fish and the patient dies. The songs of the dreamers are believed to be completely efficacious in securing the return of the stolen soul, but the soul is returned only when the dreamers sing the song of the animal that possesses the soul at the moment the song is being sung. Since the shamans and dreamers have no idea which animal has the soul at the time, and since there are a large number of animals into whose hands the soul passes (and, correspondingly, a large number of songs), the dreamers must trust to chance and luck that they will sing the right song at the appropriate instant. The choice of song is up to the dreamers, and they frequently sing for a long time before hitting upon the animal that has custody of the soul. Obviously, a great deal of risk is involved in this process, for the passage of time brings the patient and his soul nearer to their fatal destination. And as the journey lengthens, the condition of the sick person usually worsens.

However, the dreamers generally succeed eventually in retrieving the soul, which is believed to return to the tapir skull used in the ceremony. This account of the procedure following the return of the soul is based upon a curing ceremony that I witnessed in the savannah village of Cabruk. Both doors of the house in which the rite was held had been covered with palm leaves in the belief that the soul of the patient was ashamed to be seen and would return only in the dark. At the conclusion of the song to the peccary, the shaman looked inside the tapir skull and announced that the soul had been in the custody of the peccaries and had just been returned. Their intent accomplished, the singers ceased their activity and aided the shaman in the subsequent process of repairing the harm done to the patient and restoring the soul to her body.

One of the four shamans present extracted the soul from the tapir skull with his hand and held it for some time, examining it closely. In the meantime, the patient was lying in a hammock covered with mosquito netting, and two men, neither of whom was a shaman, blew smoke under the netting through long tauari bark-wrapped cigarettes. At the conclusion of the fumigation the shaman returned the sick woman's soul to the tapir skull, and she was taken from her hammock and seated upon a mat. One of the women of the house poured several gourds of water over her in the belief that this would reduce her fever. The

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

sick woman was then dried with a piece of cloth, and the shaman placed the lighted end of a cigarette in his mouth and blew smoke over her entire body. He then rubbed her legs from toes to thighs, blew more smoke upon her stomach and rubbed both front and back of her torso. Another shaman took his place and twice passed a palm leaf down her body and both arms. Each time, he cleaned the leaf of the malignant objects that it supposedly picked up from the patient's skin. 796 755

These ministrations were intended to rid the body of the sick woman of some of the accumulation of evil or extraneous objects that had entered her during her illness. An especially dangerous article was discovered in her chest, and the least powerful of the shamans applied his mouth to her body and sucked it out. He was immediately racked by a fit of violent coughing, and a shaman having somewhat more power sucked at his throat, whereupon the object lodged in his own throat. It was finally removed by the most powerful of the four shamans present. He, too, appeared to be choked by the malignant object but succeeded in spitting it out into his hand. All present were invited to look at it, and, evidently no longer dangerous, it was given to a small boy to throw into a fire.

The last part of the curing ceremony was the special duty of the only member of the *Bisiú* society present in the village. He approached the sick woman, chanting a song and stamping each foot upon the ground. In this manner he circled about her and then grasped her under the armpits and lifted her while stamping his feet. This process was believed to shake the last of the supernatural objects from her body, and she was then ready to have her soul restored. The shaman again plucked the soul from the tapir's skull and placed his clenched hand over the patient's head, making motions supposing that he was placing the soul within. The sick woman, who was thought to be fully cured, returned to normal activity and enjoyed the appearance of restored health. Unfortunately, her condition, which was possibly tubercular, soon worsened, and again she began to cough steadily.

The Karikó

Certain supernatural beliefs and practices are connected with the *karikó*, or sacred seminal instruments of the Mundurucú. The instruments themselves have been somewhat inaccurately termed trumpets for lack of a better word, although in design and operation they more nearly approximate the oboe. Each Mundurucú village of the savannahs has a set of three such instruments. Each set belongs to a different clan, but their essential design and construction are the same, though with some variation in size. This has no ritual significance but is regarded by the Mundurucú as a sign of degeneration, for the *karikó* of different villages were said to be formerly of the same size and much larger than those of today. However, the three instruments composing any single set are purposely and traditionally graded in size. 534 778

The *karikó* are actually extremely simple instruments. Each is merely a long, hollow cylinder made of a very light wood, into the end of which is inserted a reed. Those of the village of Cabruká were 43, 46, and 52 inches long and the

11: Murphy E-; (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534
778

internal diameters of their resonant chambers were 2¾, 2¾, and 3¼ inches, respectively. The reed is made by splitting a 27 to 28-inch length of wet and pliant paxiuba palm root, hollowing out both halves and rejoining them by binding at either end. A stick slightly larger than the diameter of the cylinder is bound at right angles to the reed and prevents it from falling within the chamber when inserted. When one blows into the end of the reed it gives a flatulent sound similar to the American Bronx cheer, but when the reed is inserted into the resonant chamber of the *karikó* and blown, it emits a deep reverberating tone. The sound emitted by these instruments is not said to be of supernatural origin, nor is it considered an imitation of the voice of spirits.

The actual playing usually takes place within the chamber where the instruments are stored. The chamber is a small extension at the southwest end of the men's house. The roof adjoins that of the main sleeping quarters and slopes to the ground at the west end at the same pitch. But unlike the open-sided dormitory, the *karikó* chamber is completely walled with thatch in order to insure the secrecy of its contents. The trumpet chamber of the village of Cabruá measured 20 feet in length and 11½ feet in width. Owing to the pitch of the roof, however, one could walk erect for less than half the length of the room. The back of the chamber was literally used as a rubbish heap for the disposal of the old paxiuba root reeds. Suspended horizontally from the ceiling were two parallel poles, upon which the three trumpets were laid when not in use. Also hanging from the roof was a horn made of a hollow bamboo tube, to the end of which was attached an empty gourd; a design resembling an hourglass was cut in the side of the gourd. The over-all length of the instrument was 22 inches, and the length of the bamboo tube was 16½ inches. This particular horn was used to emulate the roar of the jaguar, or *ão rup eyuw ipichat*, which is the eponymous name of one of the spirit companions of the trumpets of Cabruá.

[782]
[784]

The spirits residing within the *karikó* become displeased, say the Mundurucú, if not properly fed and played. Accordingly, every night when the men gather at the back of the men's house for their meal, one of them brings a half-gourd of in front of the chamber, lays the trumpets on the ground, and offers food to the food into the chamber, [illegible] of the trumpets is somewhat more irregular and mouth of each. The playing of the trumpets is somewhat more irregular [illegible] infrequent, although the older men claim that they were played daily in times past.

The trumpets are usually played during the late afternoon and shortly after nightfall. Although they are nominally considered to be the property of a particular clan, any man is allowed to play them. There are not especially sacred occasions. Although other men are free to watch the three players performing, they generally amuse themselves in other ways, as guitar playing, talking, or making artifacts. The women, who go about their work unobtrusively at these times, always seem to know who the performers are, despite the fact that sight of the instruments is absolutely forbidden to them and the trumpet chamber is carefully shielded from their view.

The actual music produced by the three *karikó* players was not recorded and can be described only as a deep and rather monotonous drone. The music is always

the same, but there are a number of songs or words to the same basic melody. These songs are not sung by the players but are thought by them during the performance. In keeping with exclusive male access to the instruments, the songs are known and taught only to the men. Of any group of three players the man who knows the songs best acts as the leader and plays the medium-sized instrument, and the others act as his accompaniment. The leader plays the basic *karikõ* melody, and the man with the largest trumpet emits long and steady blasts interspersed with occasional short ones. The player of the smallest of the three instruments, usually the youngest man, blows a few short sounds whenever the leader signals him by lifting his elbow. The players pause at indefinite intervals, and the leader then sounds a blast on the gourd horn. 534 778

As they play, the three walk side by side across the width of the trumpet chamber. The room is large enough to allow three long steps with a pivot motion at the end. The instrument is clutched across the chest by the left forearm as the player walks, and the reed is held with the right hand.

The frequent playing of the *karikõ* is accepted as a necessary part of the ordinary round of village life and does not merit designation as a ceremony. There are other, however, special occasions when the instruments become the focus of much wider social participation. It is believed necessary to offer a special feast to the various spirits of the trumpets at least once a year. On the designated day, the women amass large quantities of sweet manioc and grate it into water to make a rich beverage; sufficient game is usually killed on the previous day to last through the feast. The finished drink is brought to the men's house in large clay pots, and the men gather about with half-gourds and drink. Large quantities are consumed, the the women are kept busy throughout the day. The feasting generally begins at noon and lasts until nightfall. As every round of beverage arrives, a bowl must be offered to the trumpets. The spirits are further gratified by the trumpets being played from the beginning of the feast until dawn of the following day. Most of the village population sleeps throughout the night, and the players are occasionally relieved by other groups of three men. Invitations to this feast are not extended to other villages. 534 778 796 [272]

Other ceremonies are held when the trumpets are being moved from an old village to a newly constructed one and when new trumpets are made and installed. Both of these occasions involve the participation of people from other villages. The ceremony of the reinstallation of the *karikõ* in a new men's house took place in Cabituté during our field work. The village invited the two nearest villages, Cabruá and Dessdyém. Dessdyém declined as the inhabitants were busy preparing manioc flour, but those of Cabruá accepted. The guests arrived during the afternoon and on the following day the men went to the forest to gather thatch for the wall of the trumpet chamber. The new village was built a few hundred yards from the old one, and although the dwellings had been finished and were already occupied by the women and children, only the frame of the men's house had been completed. The men continued to sleep in the old men's house. On the second day after the arrival of the guests, the men went hunting while the women harvested the sweet manioc.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534 778 796 The women made the manioc drink on the next, or third, day of the ceremony, and the men then commenced thatching the walls of the trumpet chamber. The men's house, say the Mundurucú, is the home of the karõkõ, and the trumpets must be moved into a completely roofed and walled dwelling at the same time that the men move. For this reason it is necessary to complete the walls and roof in one day and to move into the new men's house, with the trumpets, that very [342] night. Since it takes several days to thatch a roof properly, the roof of the old house is customarily dismantled and placed upon the frame of the new one. A new roof would be built during the next rainy season.

During the busy preparations for the installation of the instruments in their new home, considerable feasting and gaiety took place also. From the arrival of the guests until the completion of the thatching, everybody took part in intermoiety and intersexual joking. Mixtures of urucú or palm fruit and water were prepared and were thrown by the women upon men of the opposite moiety. The latter seized the women's supply occasionally and took revenge.

After thatching the roof of the new men's house and walling the trumpet enclosure, the men assembled in the old men's house. They unstrung their hammocks and assembled all their belongings and then took the trumpets from their old chamber. Three men of the same moiety as the clan to which the trumpets belonged then began playing the instruments and slowly marched toward the new village. The other men crowded about the players, wearing and waving palm leaves, to shield the sacred instruments from the eyes of the women. Within the protecting ring were four other men. One carried a hunting horn with which he occasionally sounded a signal consisting of two long, four short, and two more long blasts; another man followed this signal with the characteristic yell of the hunter who raises game. A third man sounded the gourd horn associated with the trumpets of Cahituté, and a fourth walked along shaking a rattle. The last man belonged to the opposite moiety of the trumpets and was referred to as their *ihoeautitit*. [302] His head was covered with a paste made of urucú and ground maize.

The slow procession started from the old men's house at dusk, and night had fallen by the time the group of marchers reached the new village. The women shut themselves in the dwelling houses in anticipation of the men's arrival, and, as the men entered the village, the women began to wail in sorrow for the loss of the instruments that are believed to have once been theirs.* The procession of men circled each house of the village three times and then stopped in front of the new men's house. There the trumpets were played while the rest of the men drank the sweet manioc beverage and rested. The instruments were played outside the men's house until dawn and were then brought inside their new chamber and played until the sun rose. At that time they were retired to the rack suspended from the ceiling, and the guests departed for their own village. The old men's house was later burned to hide all evidence of the activities that were went on in it.

In view of the rapid disintegration of Mundurucú village life, it is doubtful

* See pp. 80-81.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that many new *karūkō* will be made. In the past, however, the installation of 534
newly manufactured instruments called for a ceremony quite similar to that 796
held when they were shifted to a new men's house. The trumpets are made in 778
a temporary shelter situated deep in the forest, secure from the chance gaze of passing women. One man is responsible for their manufacture, and the *karūkō* are considered to belong to his clan and to harbor its spirits.[1]

Until they are properly installed in the men's house, the trumpets are referred to as *wira ɛnɛn*, or "jaguar with a beak." The Mundurucú explain this difference in nomenclature as being due to their reluctance to mention the proper names of new instruments in front of the women. The ceremony of installation is called *wira ɛnɛn hɔw*, or "going to get the jaguar with a beak." Invitations are sent to the residents of several other villages, and all are expected to bring their own *karūkō*. The male invitees leave their own communities with the trumpets well before dawn and proceed directly to the shelter where the new instruments are being made. Their women leave after daybreak and go to the host village. The assembled men feast throughout the day and at dusk form a procession to the village. This is almost identical to the one formed when old trumpets are being installed in a new village, except that the trumpets of several villages are played. After the new instruments are installed, the old ones are brought to the place where the former were made and are burned.

This description of Mundurucú ceremonialism shows that ritual emphasis was 796
placed upon the propitiation of the spirit owners of game animals, warfare and
the quest for trophy heads, and the placation of the clan and trumpet spirits. [782]
A unifying thread can be discerned in the fact that the proper care of the trophy head was regarded as a means of pleasing the animal spirits, and also that the trumpet spirits were vaguely conceived as being associated with those of the game. Furthermore, the curing ceremony was specifically devoted to retrieving souls stolen by the animal supernaturals.

Mythology and folklore reveal a continuation of the basic masculine theme of hunting and warfare in Mundurucú culture. The Mundurucú recognize spirit
mothers of fish and aquatic animals, but these were propitiated only incidentally [776]
during the major ceremonies for the animal spirits; informants mentioned fish spirits in this connection as an afterthought. There is a striking absence of attention to horticulture both in the belief system and in the ceremonial cycle. Each species of domestic plant is believed to have a soul, but not a mother spirit. Songs were formerly sung to the species souls, when the particular plant was being sown, to insure a good harvest, and another song was sung to the garden at the time of burning the clearing. All these songs were better known by the men than by the women, although the latter did most of the horticultural work. No substantiation could be found for Tocantins' statement that the Mundurucú perform annual ceremonies for maize and manioc.[2]

[1] During the patrilineal phase of Mundurucú social structure, the maker of the trumpets probably belonged to the dominant, and perhaps only, clan of the village, and there was undoubtedly a closer functional relationship between clan and trumpet than under present matrilineal circumstances.

[2] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 130–134.

V. MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

538 A COLLECTION of fifty-eight myths and folktales was recorded in the villages of
773 Missão Velha and Cabruá. The latter community, one of the more conservative
savannah settlements, was far more productive of traditional lore of all kinds
[114] and most of the material below was gathered there. Although this chapter represents the complete body of oral literature collected in the field, there is undoubtedly more available if a wider range of Mundurucú informants were to be sampled. Some myths, such as that of the origin of clans collected by Father Kruse,[1] were specifically sought, but were unknown to those questioned. Mundu-
[178] rucú mythology has undoubtedly undergone considerable attenuation, and these may be among the large number of stories no longer extant.

The older Mundurucú say that oral literature was formerly much more actively
537 recounted and transmitted. During the evenings, the elders told tales to all the
538 assembled men, and children were brought to listen. These sessions are no longer frequent, but considerable interest is still manifest among the listeners. A number of men and children and usually some women gathered around whenever I found an informant with a story. Indeed, without an audience the narrator would not put forth his best efforts. The delivery was always quite animated and was accompanied by vivid gestures, imitations of animals, and dialogues between the personages in the story. The audience gave full attention, and it was considered most disrespectful to create any diversion during the narration. All
[522] laughed readily and spontaneously at the appropriate passages, although many had heard the tale several times before.

538 The stories themselves range over a variety of subjects and are told for a number
773 of purposes. They have been broken down into six major categories to provide continuity. This does not represent an attempt toward a systematic classification
517 of the myths; actually the categories overlap considerably. For example, the animal tales are generally told for amusement, but they frequently explain the origins of certain species. On the other hand, the Karusakaibé cycle is a true creation myth and is centered upon the activities of the principal culture hero. There are numerous passages in this myth cycle, however, that are considered
[522] highly humorous by both narrators and audiences, and in other incidents animals are also created. Similarly, a category of cosmological myths has been included, but there are several events in other tales that are also important to an understanding of Mundurucú cosmology.

538 Through all, there is a running theme of the importance of the animal world
773 to Mundurucú society and of the close interrelation between the two. In many tales, animals either have the form of people or are able to take on this form. The mythology does more than explain the origin of animal species, for in almost all cases the various animals are transformed people. That the species had their origin in the human world tends to reinforce the special significance given them in ceremonies and the supernatural belief system.

This affinity between animals and humans will be evident in the saga of

[1] Kruse, 1954, pp. 56-57.

Perisuát, the young man who makes an incredible journey through the forest and returns home more animal than human. The Mundurucú visualize themselves as hunters and voyagers of the forest, and the odyssey of Perisuát has deep meaning for them. They are also warriors, and several of the tales abound with head-hunting episodes and warfare. And some are tales of internecine strife, which, to a Mundurucú, is one of the most horrible eventalities imaginable. 538 773

The reader familiar with European mythology will recognize many thematic similarities, either independently invented or diffused, in Mundurucú tales. And the student of lowland South American mythology and folklore will see in the Mundurucú another example of the widespread dissemination of tales, in whole or in part, throughout the area. No attempt has been made toward any exhaustive distributional analysis of this material, and only a few of the more interesting parallels have been noted.

The Karusakaibó Cycle of World Creation

The major creation legends of the Mundurucú revolve around the figure of the culture hero, Karusakaibó. Métraux has made the astute suggestion that this personage merits the title of "transformer" rather than "creator" and compares him to Maira, a figure widespread in Tupian mythology. But apart from this rough similarity of roles of the two culture heroes, the Mundurucú creation legends seem to be quite divergent from those of most other Tupian groups. The Tupian grandfather personage, subsumed under the name of Monan, Maira-Monan or Sumé, is absent, as are the twins commonly found in Tupian creation myths.[a] Despite these points of difference in the structure of the tales and in the main actors, there are numerous parallels of episode and theme between the Mundurucú creation cycle and the oral literature of Tupian and other South American groups. 773 538 171

The first story of the Karusakaibó legend shows a marked resemblance to a Christian-influenced tale collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara and entitled by them, "Creation of Wild Pigs."[b] In both Tenetehara and Mundurucú versions, a culture hero imprisons a group of people in a wall of feathers and converts them into peccaries. Other Tenetehara resemblances include the widespread emphasis on the tapir as a symbol of virility, as derived no doubt from the size of the genitalia of the male of the species. In one Tenetehara story, a woman marries a tapir,[c] and in the corresponding Mundurucú tale the culture hero transforms his sexually precocious son into that animal. Another widely distributed theme is found in the discovery of humans in the underworld. Nimuendajú relates an Eastern Timbira story in which the discovery is made by a man digging for an armadillo,[d] whereas in the Mundurucú episode the armadillo

[a] Métraux, 1958, p. 27.

[b] The Mundurucú denied all knowledge of episodes concerning twins and even claimed that twins were an unknown phenomenon in their own society. It is interesting to note that though other forms of infanticide were freely admitted, they specifically disavowed the killing of twins. They are not and were not a genetically isolated population, and I assume that the practice exists but that there was very strong resistance to giving this information.

[c] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 154.

[d] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 146-149.

[e] Nimuendajú, 1946, pp. 247-249.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

773 538 171 himself makes the find. In the further development of the Mundurucú story the culture hero pulls a number of peoples out of the underworld, but his cord breaks and many are left behind. This theme is distributed beyond South America, as in the Magic Flight passage found in the first tale of the Karusakaibó cycle.

1. KARUSAKAIBÓ AND THE WILD PIGS

×539 In times long past, Karusakaibó lived in the village of Uacupari. This settlement was not at the site of the modern Uacupari, but was near by.

During one dry season Karusakaibó and all the people of the village were out hunting in the forest, where they lived in temporary lean-tos. That of Karusakaibó was separated from those of the other people, and he stayed there alone with his son Korumtau. The people killed a great deal of game, but in that time there were no tapir, wild pig, or veado capoeira; the only equivalent of the wild pig was the catitú. Karusakaibó, however, hunted the nambú bird to the exclusion of all other game, and every day he sent Korumtau to the lean-tos of his sisters to trade his kill for game that their husbands had taken. On the first three days that Korumtau went to the lean-tos of his aunts, they said to him, "We do not have any meat, but we will get you some." On the fourth day the aunts became angry with the boy and said to him, "Your father hunts only nambú which is no good to eat, and we always have to give you food. We do not have any." Korumtau began to cry and went away. The sisters called him back, offering him food, but he would not return.

The boy returned home crying, and Karusakaibó asked him what had happened. He replied that the aunts had scolded him because the nambús did not please them. Karusakaibó said, "They will pay for this," and sent his son outside to gather the feathers of the parrot, the mutum, the jacú, and the nambú and to bring them back to him. There were many feathers outside, for Karusakaibó had killed many birds, and the boy gathered them and brought them back. The father then transformed his son into a small bird, the tsukiwapajat, and sent him out to surround the lean-tos of all the other people with the feathers. In this disguise, Korumtau flew around the lean-tos and planted the feathers in the ground, quills first. As he went about his task, he sang the song of the bird. He was nearly out of feathers when someone in one of the lean-tos called out, "Who is that singing out there," and threw a piece of burning firewood at him. The boy flew away and returned to his father.

Karusakaibó asked the returned son, "Did you put all the feathers in the ground?" The boy said that he had not finished, and his father sent him out for more feathers. He replenished his supply and finished his task in two more days.

Upon completion of his chore, Korumtau reported to Karusakaibó, and the latter told him, "Now go back and tie the feathers together at the top." For this purpose he transformed the boy into a frog and made the feathers grow to a great size. The boy, in the guise of a frog, returned to the enclosed lean-tos and climbed a tree, singing the song of the frog, "pik, pik, pik . . . " as he tied the tips of the feathers together. When he finished, the lean-tos and their environs

were covered over by a huge dome of feathers. He had almost completed his work when a man from one of the lean-tos hit the tree in which he was seated with a piece of firewood, causing the boy to fall to the ground. He was not hurt, however, and hopped home to his father. 539x

Korumtau reported the successful completion of his mission to Karusakaibó, who said "We will take care of your aunts now." He then began to blow smoke in the direction of the encircled lean-tos, and it entered under the feathers in great clouds, making the people dizzy. At this point, Karusakaibó shouted at his prisoners, "Eat your food, people of Uacupari." They misunderstood him and thought that he meant for them to have sexual intercourse. They proceeded to have coitus and made the usual grunting sounds while doing so. Gradually, these noises turned into the grunts of wild pigs and the cries of the children into the squeals of suckings. The dense tobacco smoke choked the people, and Karusakaibó then threw husks of the fruit of the tauari tree into the pen. The people put these husks up to their noses to avoid breathing the smoke-filled air, but the husks grew onto their noses, transforming them into pig snouts. The prisoners then turned completely into wild pigs, but without hair. Karusakaibó did not like the pigs in their hairless state and asked a frog to gather hair for them. The frog said that he had none, but sent him to an anteater named Radjerapiebó. The latter gave him a quantity of anteater hair which Karusakaibó threw among the wild pigs, saying that it was for them. He then returned to the near-by village of Uacupari.

The people who had remained in Uacupari suspected that Karusakaibó had done something with their fellows. He denied this, saying, "No. They will come. They are still out hunting."

Karusakaibó then went back to the pigpen and planted a turumã palm immediately outside the gate. He went there every day, opened the gate, and threw a turumã fruit in front of it. When a wild pig came out to eat the fruit, Karusakaibó shot it. He then closed the door and went back to the village with the pig. He told no one where he was getting the animals.

After many days of shooting wild pig, Karusakaibó ran out of arrows and had to go away to replenish his supply. He was afraid, however, that a cunning and scheming armadillo named Dailirú would induce Korumtau to tell the secret of the wild pigs. To avoid this Karusakaibó instructed the boy to refuse to talk to anyone. He covered him with white tapioca and told him, "Stay in your hammock. If Dailirú comes, tell him that you are sick and cannot get up." He then went in quest of the arrows.

As soon as he had left the village of Uacupari, Karusakaibó turned himself into a tapir and directed himself toward Wasapuppi (Stronomah of the Home of the Little Birds), a village between the sites of the modern villages, Aró and Cabituró. He walked near the men's house of the village at night, while everyone was sleeping, and left many tracks. In the morning the men of Wasapuppi saw the tracks and set off to hunt the tapir. The tracks were very clear, and they followed them to the place where Karusakaibó, in his tapir form, was sleeping.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

x539 The dogs ran up to him barking, and the hunters sent many arrows into his body. The tapir got up and ran off, but he chose a trail where he knew other hunters were waiting in ambush. He passed them slowly and received many more arrows and did the same thing at another ambush place. He then ran away from his pursuers and retransformed himself into a man, pulled all the arrows out of his body and set off for home with a good stick.

In the meantime, all was not well in Uerupari. Shortly after Karumahibi had left the village, Dailiré arrived. He went to Korumtau and asked, "Tell me, where is your father killing the wild pigs." The boy refused to tell him, but Dailiré was persistent. Finally, Korumtau said to the armadillo, "I would show you only I am sick and have to stay in my hammock." Dailiré replied, "Oh, you are not sick. Come out of the hammock." Korumtau gave in to the repeated requests and descended. Dailiré then blew smoke all over him, in the manner of the shaman, and stamped his feet heavily on the ground, causing all the tapioca to fake off his body. He then said, "Good. Now you are well." But Korumtau still refused to tell his father's secret to the wily armadillo. After long and persistent questioning, the boy finally wearied and decided to fall back on a ruse that his father had devised before leaving. He had prepared for this eventuality by building three small hunting lairs, like those made by the Mundurucú; one was under a piqui palm and the other two were under wiki palms, and on the wall of each little straw hut, Karumahibi had placed a piece of wild pig hide to convince the curious that it was here that he shot the animals.

Korumtau took Dailiré to the first of these and said, "We get them here. You have to wait." A band of caitiú came along, and Korumtau said, "Here come the wild pigs. Shoot!" Dailiré was not so easily fooled and said, "No. These are not the animals that your father kills. These have short black hair mixed with white. Here on the wall are the long black hairs of your father's game." He let the caitiú pass. Korumtau then took Dailiré to the second false hunting lair and then to the third. At both places the same conversation took place.

Dailiré became even more insistent that he discover the secret. The boy realized that he could not hope to fool the armadillo and consented to bring him to the pen and show him what to do. He ended his instructions with the admonition to be careful that the pigs did not all escape. The irresponsible Dailiré ignored this warning and, instead of throwing one turumã fruit in the opened doorway, he pulled a whole cluster off the tree. This attracted many pigs, and when the first came out, Dailiré shot it. Unfortunately he did not know how to shoot wild pigs and the arrow fell out. Another pig and then another came out and the same thing happened. Korumtau, seeing what was happening, called out, "Shut the door and keep the rest in." On hearing this, all the pigs made a rush for the door and ate Dailiré. Korumtau fled, but the wild pigs set off in pursuit of him. As he ran through the forest, he called to his father for help.

Karumahibi was returning through the forest at the time his son called. He was still some distance away when he first heard the shouts for help, and he was unable to intervene directly. Instead, he magically changed the boy into

an ant which crawled into an anthole, then into a grasshopper which hid under the blades of grass, and finally into a cricket. None of these transformations tricked the vengeful wild pigs and they continued the chase. In desperation Karumakibó threw up a chain of hills between his son and the pursuing pigs. (These are the same high hills which one can see today at the headwaters of the rivers which drain the Mundurucú country.) The pigs were very clever, however, and passed around the sides of the hills, catching Korumtau and making off with him. The pigs, with Karumakibó following, reached the banks of the Tapajós River, and the culture hero threw a hill over part of the herd, imprisoning his captive son, also. They are still there today. 539x

Those pigs who were not caught within the hill that Karumakibó created went to the banks of the Tapajós but were unable to cross the river because of its great width. They then magically made an anaconda and stretched it from one bank to another. The giant constrictor tightened his coils and drew the banks together, making the river very narrow at that point. The pigs crossed over safely and spread out into the forests on the west bank of the Tapajós. Their descendants are the wild pigs which are hunted in the forests today.

Karumakibó had lost his only son and returned to Uacupari, crying as he went. On the path he stopped at the new empty pigpens, looked around at all the tracks and noted some blood on the ground. This, of course, was the blood of Dalirú, but Karumakibó thought that it might be that of his son. He gathered the blood together, blew on it, and stamped on the ground; but, instead of producing his son, he returned only Dalirú to life. Disappointed and enraged, Karumakibó began to beat the armadillo and to berate him for causing his son's death. Dalirú begged forgiveness, and the culture hero relented. He then continued his return journey to Uacupari, still weeping for Korumtau.

2. KARUMAKIBÓ PUNISHES THE MURDERER OF HIS SON

After Korumtau had been stolen by the wild pigs, Karumakibó returned to his house in Uacupari. He went out to his garden one day and, when returning, heard the voice of his son calling, "Father, father." He looked around, but saw no one. Some days later, Karumakibó went to his garden again, and the same thing happened. He looked again and saw only two trees standing near the path. The next time he went to the garden, he heard the voice calling, "Father, father," and thought, "Could that tree be my son?" He turned back and cut down one of the trees and brought it home. Out of the wood of this tree he fashioned a doll upon which he blew tobacco smoke. He left the doll in a corner of his house and after a few days went to inspect the results. The only human development that had taken place in the doll, however, was that it had grown ears—and these were civilian de pau, the fungus growth that grows on logs. He threw the doll out saying that it was no good and was obviously not his son.

The next time he went to the garden he heard the same voice and forthwith cut down the remaining tree. He again fashioned a doll out of the wood, repeated the same operations, and left it in a corner of the house. The next time he

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

A539 looked at the doll, it had turned into a beautiful boy, all painted and covered. He took this boy as his son and was consoled.

Karumakibi kept his new son concealed from all the women of the village. The boy's only food, however, was the jurití bird, and the father had to go out every day to hunt game. In order to guard the son, he kept him in a small enclosure within the house and told an old woman of the household to guard the child and to keep everybody away from him. He then set off for the forest.

In Karumakibi's house were several sieves which the women of the village always borrowed when they made beiju. Shortly after he had left his new son for the first time to hunt the jurití, a woman came to the house to borrow a sieve. The boy was inside his enclosure, but the woman heard the humming of a disk-and-string toy with which the lad was playing. She asked the old woman, "What is that?" "Go away," replied the boy's guardian. "Leave him alone." The woman listened more and then said, "I will go." That night, Karumakibi came home, counted the jurití, and called the boy out to eat. The son came right out, for he did not have coitus and thus was not ashamed. On the next day and the one after that, different women came to the house and the same things happened. On the fourth day, another curious woman came, and was also sent off by the old woman. She left, but slipped in by another entrance and entered the boy's chamber. The boy was very beautiful and the woman desired him immediately. She asked him for his penis and he gave it (i.e., they had sexual intercourse). His penis remained enlarged and erect, however, after the conclusion of the act.

When the father came home that night and called his son, there was a response. He called again, and the ashamed boy still did not come out. Karumakibi wondered what was wrong and went into the chamber. He saw the lad's enlarged penis and knew immediately what had occurred. Going out to the old woman, he asked, "What happened? I told you to watch him and to keep the women away, but you did not." "But I told them," replied the woman. "It's just that they would not listen." Karumakibi returned to his son's room and pushed his thumb against the head of the boy's penis, saying "Sikiwi" (downward). (The *sikiwi* is a small bird with a short beak—the magical association here is obvious). The penis grew very small, and the boy then came out to eat his jurití. After finishing it he returned to his chamber.

On the following day Karumakibi went to the forest to hunt, giving the same instructions with the old woman. A short time later a woman entered the house, ostensibly to borrow a manioc sieve, and inquired as to who was inside the closed chamber. The old woman repeated the same warning to leave the boy alone, but the woman, who had heard of the boy from his lover of the previous day, entered surreptitiously and offered herself to the boy. After completing the act the boy's penis grew even longer than it had the day before, and he was afraid to leave the chamber when his father returned to the house. Karumakibi discovered the son's wayward behavior immediately and again chided the old woman for her negligence.

Karumakibi became disgusted with the son and determined to get rid of him.

He seized him by the nose and yanked, giving him a long snout, then stretched the boy's ears and banged the sides of his head to make the head narrow. He next grabbed him by the back of the neck so as to produce a hump, and stretched his penis to enormous size. He then took a large wooden penis and rammed it into the boy's anus, shouting, "Go away!" As he ran away, Karumbidi threw a piece of tanari bark over him, and it turned into a thick hide. In essence, the boy had been converted into a tapir. From this moment on this particular tapir became known as Aiyawaibdo.

The tapir ran off in the direction of the nearby stream where the women gathered every day to bathe and draw water. The women learned that he lurked in this neighborhood, and, subsequently, when they came for their bath they would jump into the water and call, "Aiyawaibdo," whereupon the tapir would emerge from the forest and have intercourse with them.

One day a man of the village was near the stream, engaged in making a basket. His attention was caught by a young woman who came to bathe, but who, upon entering the water called, "Aiyawaibdo, come bathe." The man was amazed to see the tapir jump into the water and performed coitus with the woman and all the others who followed her into the water. The man thought, "Is it possible that my own wife will do the same thing?" His fears were quickly confirmed.

He went back to the village and announced to the other men, "It is not we who have been making our women pregnant," and described what had transpired. They thereupon resolved to kill the tapir. The next day Karumbidi ordered all the women of the village to work in the gardens. The men prepared a supply of arrows but first sent one of their number ahead to lure the tapir so that they could kill him from ambush. The decoy suspended a gourd on either side of his chest to simulate breasts and set off. As he left he called back, "Do not delay, for if you do, that tapir will get me in the stream."

Upon reaching the stream he dove in and called Aiyawaibdo. The tapir appeared and was immediately shot by the concealed archers. They then cut the tapir up and made from its blood an arsedibi, whose proper name was Tonbakaram, which they left in the place of the tapir. The meat was brought back to the village and cooked and eaten. All traces of it were eradicated before the women came home, and they suspected nothing.

When the women left the village for the gardens on the following morning, one left her child, who was still nursing but was able to talk, with her husband. The child was hungry when the mother returned and cried for the breast. The mother, however, was in a hurry to receive the attentions of the tapir at the stream, and she took a quick nurse anyhow and hurried out of the village. The child followed her, crying vainly for the breast. Finally, the little boy cried out in vexation, "It was a good thing that we ate your husband." The mother whacked upon the boy and said sharply, "What was that?" The child became frightened and answered, "Nothing. I only asked for the breast." She slapped him lightly on the head and the boy immediately turned into the tokori, a small bird, and flew off. The mother tried to grab it but got only a tail feather.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[1]589 The woman went on to the port and called for the tapir. In its place came the arawáiba, who attempted to have intercourse with her. Since the woman customarily had coitus with the tapir in the position of animals, it was only as the arawáiba was mounting her that she realized that it was not Arpowáiba. She returned to the village weeping for the loss of the tapir, but pretending that the tears were for her lost child. All the village women went to the port and had the same unhappy experience. Upon learning of the remark made by the child, the women realized what had happened and resolved to avenge the tapir's death by jumping into the water and turning into fish.

Karumahíri's wife, who was also enamored with the tapir, went to the men and told them all to leave the next day. They did so, leaving only one man, whose wife had given birth the night before. The women then congregated and painted each other ornately. The mother of the new-born child was reluctant to leave it, but the women were determined not to leave a single female behind and finally persuaded her to join them. They then started out in single file for the stream, the youngest women in front, the oldest bringing up the rear. As they marched, they sang, "We are going to fall into the water for we are angry because of our sons." One by one they jumped into the water and turned into fish.

In the meantime, the one man who had remained in the village began to wonder at his wife's absence. He went to the port and upon seeing what was taking place ran back to give the alarm. Placing the baby under an overturned pot for protection, he ran into the forest blowing on a signal horn and calling to the other men, "Your women are all jumping into the water." The men heard him only indistinctly, but ran to see what the trouble was. Just as they reached him, the man turned into a jacú bird. The men hurried back to the village; those who did not hear the alarm were transformed into jacú birds.

The men, however, were too late. When they reached the stream, there were only three old women left, and Karumahíri made them into alligators and crabs. The little boys who were abandoned on the beach by their mothers turned into birds and flew away. The Mundurucú tribe was then composed only of men.

5. HOW KARUMAHÍRI AND HIS FATHER CAUGHT THE WOMEN

On the day after the women had jumped into the water and turned into fish, Karumahíri sent all the men of Uwagpuí out to hunt. He then went to the garden and dug up some sweet manioc which he brought back to the house. After this he went to the forest and killed a jacú, whose thin leg bone he used as a hook. The meat was left on the bone as bait, and he tied the hook to a length of sipó (jungle vine). He then collected some leaves of the twisted palm and set out for the stream into which the women had jumped. The women, all transformed into fish, were lying at the bottom of a deep hole where the stream had undercut the bank, and there Karumahíri could hear them talking and laughing.

He dropped his line in the water and immediately hooked one of the fish, which he yanked out of the water and left flopping behind him. He refrained from looking over his shoulder at the fish and proceeded to make a basket out of the twisted palm leaves. Finally the fish stopped flopping, and he felt someone come

up behind him and laughingly tickle his ribs. He then turned around and beheld his wife, transformed again into a woman. He blew smoke on her and passed his hands over her body to remove all the scales and fish slime. Bidding her fill a container with water and follow him, Karumbaibi returned to the house. Back at the house, he ordered her to make the traditional sweet manioc drink, work, and then concealed her in her hammock, which he hung above the storage platform. But the presence of the sweet manioc drink indicated the work of a woman, and Karumbaibi thrust the urine of his pet male monkey into the beverage, intending to tell the men that it was the monkey who had prepared it.

Among the returning hunters was Dalirí, the trickster companion of Karumbaibi. The other men were easily misled by Karumbaibi's allegation that the monkey had made the drink, of which they had all imbibed upon returning. The wily urucubiba, however, sniffed upon entering the house and remarked, "There is something here." "No there is nothing at all," replied Karumbaibi, "take some manioc drink." Dalirí lifted the half-gourd to his mouth three times, but he did not drink. He only sniffed and repeated his suspicion. He then began to sing a song at the conclusion of which he wiggled his hips in an amusing manner. Each time that he sang the song he looked around but saw nothing. On the third time, the wife peeked from her place of concealment to see who was singing. She saw Dalirí and began to laugh and was thereby discovered.

The urucubiba immediately cried, "I told you that there was something there," and asked for "first profession," that is for the hand of the first daughter born to Karumbaibi and his wife. Karumbaibi granted the request, and Dalirí then asked him to tell how he had gotten his wife back. The culture hero did not wish to tell him for he knew that Dalirí lacked the necessary patience, but he finally gave in to the insistent questioning.

Dalirí secured the requisite equipment and went to the stream in which the women were swimming. He caught one of the fish, pulled it out of the water, and left it flopping on the ground behind him while he commenced work on the basket. The fish finally stopped thrashing about and was on the point of turning into a woman when Dalirí grew impatient and turned around to look. He saw only a juvenile piranha. Disappointed, he had intercourse with the fish and threw it back in the water. Until this day, the juvenile piranha (called 'wife of the urucubiba' in Manduruca) is inedible and does not even serve for bait.

The urucubiba returned to the village and made the sweet manioc drink in an effort to convince Karumbaibi that he had been successful in his fishing venture. The culture hero tasted the drink and knew immediately that Dalirí had made it. He then went down to the stream and scrubbed an urucu, which he placed in the water to frighten the transformed women from the hole in which they were hiding. The fish then scattered up and down the river.

4. HOW KARUMBAIBI AND DALIRÍ STOLEN THE PEOPLE OUT OF THE SNOUT

Now it came to pass that a child was born to Karumbaibi and his wife. When the child had learned how to walk Dalirí came to claim her as his wife in accordance with his agreement with Karumbaibi. He brought the little girl home and slept

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

539 with her every night, but for some time he refrained from violating her. Finally he had intercourse with the infant and, in so doing, killed her.

Karumakaibi determined to avenge the death of his daughter. He brought Dailiri to the forest and shot arrows high into palm trees, ordering the armadillo to retrieve them in the hope that he would fall down. When this did not happen, Karumakaibi shot an arrow high into a thorny-trunked tucumã palm. The wily armadillo climbed up the palm tree by pushing his paws up the trunk instead of climbing hand over hand. By this device he beat the palm thorns down, and they did not wound him.

Finally Karumakaibi made a huge garden clearing in the forest and, when the time for burning off the felled vegetation came, he ordered Dailiri to build a fire in the middle of the clearing. He then ignited the perimeter of the clearing and left Dailiri trapped by the advancing flames. But the resourceful trickster dug deep into the ground and escaped.*

When the fire had cooled, Karumakaibi returned to the garden to look for the ashes of the armadillo. He found only the hole and thought, "Could it be that he is still alive?" He blew tobacco smoke into the hole and stamped his feet, whereupon Dailiri issued from the ground.

The still angry culture hero began to beat Dailiri, but the armadillo cried, "Do not do that! Do not do that! There are people down in the earth where I was." Karumakaibi sent Dailiri for some cord and then sent the armadillo down the hole with it with instructions to tell the people to grab the cord securely. Dailiri did as he was told, and Karumakaibi began to pull the people out of the ground. First came the "savage Indians," who tried unsuccessfully to kill Karumakaibi. These dispersed throughout the forests. The next people to be pulled out of the ground were the "peaceful Indians," or people like the Mundurucú. They too scattered over the land and, with the 'savage Indians,' are now the tribes of the region. The last to emerge to the terrestrial level were the Mundurucú, for immediately after their appearance, a marawaná flew past and cut the cord with its beak. The remaining people, who were the most beautiful of all, fell back down the hole. The underworld in which these people live, said Dailiri, is a replica of the world in which terrestrial people live. The hole through which the people were drawn was at Cururupari, the village of Karumakaibi.

5. KARUMAKAIBI MAKES MORE WOMEN

After drawing the people from the ground, Karumakaibi decided to make more women, since he was the only man to have a wife. He made many women out of clay, but they lacked vaginas, and these were made by various animals, who formed the vaginas by having intercourse with the clay figures. Some were made by the agouti, and because of the shape of his penis, the women had a long thin vagina. More were made by the paca, and these were nice and round. Finally, the squirrel made the best—round and pretty. After the vaginas were made, Dailiri

* In another version of this story, Karumakaibi ordered Dailiri to grab another armadillo by the tail. The trickster did this, and Karumakaibi, through his magical powers, made it impossible for Dailiri to open his closed hand. The other armadillo then dug into the earth and dragged Dailiri with him.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dabbed a bit of rotten Brazil nut on the mouth of each one. It is because of the 539X
animals who made the vaginas that they are of different shapes and sizes today, and it is because of the armadillo that the female organ smells as it does.

6. HOW KARUSAKAIBÖ MADE THE SKY AND FINALLY AVENGED HIMSELF AGAINST DAÏRÚ

Now Karusakaibö resumed his plans to rid himself of the armadillo-trickster, Daïrú. One day he invited Daïrú to accompany him to bathe. On the way, Karusakaibö told him, "Carry a flat stone." The armadillo picked up a flat stone and carried it in his hands. "No," said Karusakaibö, "carry it on your head." As soon as Daïrú had placed the flat stone on his head, Karusakaibö caused the stone to grow in diameter. It grew and grew, and, in order to support it, Daïrú braced his hands beneath it. As it grew larger Daïrú cried out, "It is heavy." When the armadillo could no longer support it, Karusakaibö caused both him and the stone to rise high into the air. This great, flat stone is now the sky.

Karusakaibö then made roots grow from Daïrú's nose and implant themselves in the earth; the armadillo thus became transformed into the apoi, a tall tree of the jungle. It is this tree which to this day supports the sky, although nobody knows where it is.

THE BIBLE: MUNDURUCÚ VERSION

The following six tales are among the most delightful collected; they are also of 538
great value for an understanding of the processes of integration and creativity 177
in myth-making. The first three syncretize the story of Adam and Eve with Mundurucú themes, and the last three represent a similar integration of New Testament themes.

Karusakaibö and Tupan are interchangeable in these stories, and the same narrator frequently used both names to designate the same person. The first tale of the cycle, "The Creation of Adjun and Eva," has become a continuation of the account entitled "Karusakaibö Makes More Women." An interesting reversal of Biblical events occurs in that Adjun, or Adam, is made from Eve's rib.

The second story, "The Origin of Work," appears to be an aboriginal myth integrated with that part of the Biblical punishment for original sin that commands that man shall live by the sweat of his brow. Koch-Grünberg recorded a similar story of tools that worked by themselves among the Taulipang,[8] and Nimuendajú found the same theme in an Eastern Timbira tale.[9] Neither story betrays European influence, nor does that collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara.[10] The aboriginality of the theme in eastern South America is further corroborated by Métraux's reference to the belief in a land where there is no work as an essential part of the ancient Tupian myth of the "terre-sans-mal."[11] Granted that the legend is aboriginal to the Mundurucú also, they have then adopted and embellished that part of the Book of Genesis which had meaning

[8] Koch-Grünberg, 1927, pp. 133-137.
[9] Nimuendajú, 1946, p. 244.
[10] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 132.
[11] Métraux, 1928, pp. 205-208.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

538 for them. By the same principle, Eve's consumption of the forbidden fruit be-
177 comes a minor theme in the third story, and the main activity of the devil-serpent is to teach Adam and Eve the art of sexual intercourse.

The three New Testament stories are all interpretations of Christ's death and ascent to Heaven. In the last two versions, Karusakaibé, who in this case is equated with God the Son and not God the Father as in the Genesis tales, is accused of sorcery and is slain by his fellows. Like Christ, he arises from the dead and has further adventures. In two of these stories Karusakaibé-Tupan-Christ endows the white people with their technological superiority. The Mundurucú still look upon their own backwardness as the result of Karusakaibé's anger.

The last story of the cycle has integrated more European content than have the others. Karusakaibé is specifically mentioned as visiting America and Germany, the respective native lands of the author and the missionaries. En route he made salt water and ice, both of which are but dimly understood by the Mundurucú. One episode substitutes domestic fowl for the fishes and loaves of the Sermon on the Mount, but the resulting creation wasn't used to feed the multitude.

7. THE CREATION OF ADJUN AND EVA

X539 When Karusakaibé, or Tupan as he is known by the priests, made the women out of clay, he also made a little house in which he locked the unfinished clay dolls. When he opened the house again, the dolls had all turned into adolescent girls.

There were already men at that time, and one of these men discovered the girls and seduced one. Karusakaibé asked who had had coitus with the girl, and when he found out, he made the man marry her. As the girls grew to maturity, the culture hero gave one to each man. Eventually, all the men had wives, and only a girl named Eva was left without a mate. Karusakaibé decided to make a man for her. He took one of her ribs while she was asleep, turned it into a man, and placed him beside her. In the morning she awoke to find Adjun.

Karusakaibé told Adjun that Eva was his woman and was given to him to help him. He left a quantity of fruit with them, but instructed them not to eat any.

8. ORIGIN OF WORK

Karusakaibé sent Adjun to the forest to make a garden. Adjun did not, however, have to do any physical labor, for Karusakaibé gave him machetes that worked by themselves and did not require a human arm to swing them. But he instructed Adjun to refrain from spying upon the work of the machetes.

Adjun, however, was overcome by curiosity and peeked at the activity of the machetes, whereupon they all broke. When Karusakaibé saw that nothing had been done in the new garden, he made Adjun do the work himself. And he warned Adjun that his children after him would also suffer for his disobedience. From then on it would be hot, and people would sweat and develop callouses on their hands.

Karusakaibé then gave axes to Adjun and again told him that the axes would do the work themselves as long as they were not spied upon. Adjun again looked, the axes broke, and Karusakaibé ordered him to fell the trees himself. Adjun

began to cut a tree, which in those times was as soft as a melon, but the tree began to cry. He took another swing with his axe, and the tree cried harder. Thought Adjon, "This is hurting the tree too much. I cannot cut it." When Karumbalbi asked if the work was done, Adjon replied, "No. This tree cannot stand the chopping." "Spit on your axe," said Karumbalbi, "and then chop it." The spit turned the wood hard and knotty, as it is today.

Karumbalbi then gave hoes to Adjon with the same instructions, but Adjon again disobeyed and was ordered to do the hoeing himself. Thus he ended by making the entire garden through his own labor.

When the maize matured, Karumbalbi sent Adjon to the garden to harvest it and make farinha. He went to the garden and saw that the stalks were only a foot high. He returned, claiming that the crop was not yet ripe, but Karumbalbi replied, "There is maize there! Go and pull it out and make farinha." Again Adjon went to the garden and decided that the maize was too young. This time, Karumbalbi told him to go back to the garden, stamp his feet upon the ground twice, and then touch a tuber with his toe. Adjon did this and the stalks sprouted up and the garden became all tangled and overgrown as it is today.

Karumbalbi was very angry at Adjon for his disobedience and burned him in order to purify him.

2. [illegible]

Adjon and Eva lived together, but Adjon did not know what to do with a woman or how to beget children. He thought that Eva's vagina was a wound and he tried to heal it by washing and medicinal treatment. The devil, who was really a serpent, came disguised in the form of a man and asked Adjon what he was doing. He told the serpent that he was trying to heal Eva's wound, whereupon the serpent told him what the vagina was actually for and what Adjon should do with it. Adjon replied, "No, she is wounded. That would hurt her." The serpent reassured Adjon that it would not hurt Eva and that they would both enjoy it. Adjon did as directed, and he and Eva liked the experience so much that they and all mankind have been doing it ever since.

Later, the devil tempted Eva to eat the fruit. When Karumbalbi learned of this he sent her and Adjon away.

3. [illegible] (FIRST VERSION)

After his disappointment with Adjon and Eva, Karumbalbi decided to ascend to the sky. On the way he passed through all the lands down the Tapajós River. There, the people were more receptive to him than had been the Manderson, and they followed him and listened to him. He taught them many wonderful things. It is for this reason that the Manderson have little knowledge and are poor in material things, and the people downstream have so much that is wonderful.

3. [illegible] (SECOND VERSION)

After turning Dabiri into the spot tree, Karumbalbi returned to Tiempori. Because of his great power his people had become afraid of him. He had made people, animals, and hills, and the villagers therefore decided to kill him as a

599 sorcerer. The men of the village went to his house to kill him, but Karumbelbi was aware of their intent and transformed himself into a weak old man who could not even walk. They came again, and Karumbelbi turned himself into a very old woman, and again the men left out of compassion. On the third occasion, Karumbelbi again made himself into an old man, but this time the men slew him with their bows and arrows and left him.

Some days later the village men visited Karumbelbi's grave and found him sitting on the ground, alive and young again. He then left them and ascended into the sky.

To this day it is dangerous to live on the site of Karumbelbi's old village of Cacuyari, for down below in the underworld from which the people were drawn. This underworld is like the present world of the Mandaruvá, but it has cities, streetcars, and other wonderful things. If one were to live above this world, the land would sink and in its place a river would flow.

[illegible]

The people were angry and suspicious toward Karumbelbi (Tupan) because he did many strange things and had great power over people. They shot him with arrows and buried him, placing over his grave thorns and great stones. However, he came to life again and burst out of the tomb with such force that the hills of the Mandaruvá country were formed.

Tupan is now in the sky. On the way he visited America and Germany. During his travels he made salt water and turned water into ice so that he could cross it. He also created many kinds of animals. On one occasion he killed a bee, split it, and put it on the fire. He cut one of the halves into many little pieces and blew upon them. Each piece turned into a bee or a rooster and flew away. One of the roosters saw Tupan as he flew away and cried, "There goes Santo Antonio rising."

Tupan arrived at a house and asked for water and manioc flour. The people did not know who he was and gave him only water. Tupan said, "Their garden is going to grow." He turned his back and walked away, and the garden turned into stone. He went on and arrived at another house. These people gave him manioc flour and water. Tupan said, "This garden is going to become all evergreen." But the opposite happened, and the garden yielded abundantly. The first people were angry at Tupan and thought him a sorcerer. Those who were kind to him said, "Ah, but our grandfather is good!"

Cosmogonic Myths

558 The following nine tales deal in part with cosmological themes. The cycle of tales concerning the activities of Karumbelbi and Wakurungá explains the origin of the sun, but differentiates its physical appearance from the sun spirit, or its ultimate reality. The visible sun, we learn, is really a dual phenomenon that consists alternately of the heads of Karumbelbi and Wakurungá. The tale (32) explaining this shows certain motifs with the widely distributed "Rolling Head"

myth. But in other stories in which detached heads become astral bodies, the heads are usually transformed into the moon.* The most interesting episode in these stories, however, is the clearly delineated Oedipus theme in tale 15. The myth bears some resemblance to one collected by Wissler[b] among the Eastern Tinbira in which a star takes pity upon a young but ugly man.* The latter story, however, has two brothers playing the roles of the brothers-in-law in the Mundurucú account. 539

The stories of Nang-orang are likewise concerned with origins in that they explain the prevalence of flies at certain seasons and the origin of the Milky Way. But the latent theme of sibling rivalry that runs through this myth cycle is quite strong. Tales 16 and 17 tell how Nang-orang's wife (and patrilateral cross cousin in the second version) left him for his younger brother, and in tale 18 Nang-orang copulates with the brother's wife and is killed by him in revenge.

The two remaining stories of this group are unrelated to these two myth cycles. One gives an account of how the spirit, the Mother of the Rain, appeared in the guise of an old woman and created the abundant fruit of the forest. The other parrakee of the widely distributed theme that the night was once very short and became long through human intervention. The responsible person is transformed into a bird of the night in the Mundurucú account, as he is in native myths collected by Wissler[c] and by Coutu de Magalhães.*

15. TRANSFORMATION OF KARUTAWULÉ INTO WAIDEWAYÚ

Once upon a time there lived two men, named Karutawulé and Waideweyú, who were married to each other's sisters. The latter was a man of normal appearance, but Karutawulé was very ugly. He was so ugly that his wife no longer wanted him and not only refused to accept his kill of fish and game, but had relations with another man. 539*

One day the men of the village went to a stream far in the forest to fish with timbó. When the others returned, Karutawulé remained in the shelter that they had built and contemplated his unhappy situation. He was disgusted with life and reluctant to return to a wife who did not want him. As he was sitting there, the fish came with his wife and asked him what he was doing. "Nothing," replied Karutawulé, "I am only sitting here because my wife has relations with another man and no longer wants me because of my ugliness."

The fish wished to verify the truth of this and told his own wife to have coitus with Karutawulé in order to see if he was capable of pleasing a woman. The wife tried him out, but his penis was soft and would not enter. She went back and reported this to the fish. To see if his wife was telling the truth, he passed his hand down the front of her body and then down her back to see if he could bring out semen. Nothing could be discovered, and he knew his wife told the truth.

* See Kroeber, 1948, pp. 536-538.
* Wissler, 1918, p. 1[illegible].
* Wissler, 1918, p. 1[illegible].
* Coutu de Magalhães, 1[illegible], pp. 1[illegible]-1[illegible].

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mandaruca SQ13

The Sun then said, "Let us see what we can do for him," and he passed his hands over the body of Karutawaibi, making him very small. He placed him inside his wife's womb, and after three days he was reborn. The Sun worked upon him and fashioned him into a beautiful man of normal size. He then went to the stream and caught a basket full of fish which he gave to Karutawaibi saying, "Return to your village, but do not go back to your wife. Go instead to a woman named Paiuan who weeps constantly for her husband, who was killed by the enemy." The Sun then brought him to the edge of the village and left him to enter by himself.

As Karutawaibi approached the village, he signaled that he was coming. He first went to the men's house and there hung a hammock so small that there was no room for another man to climb in and bother him. Everybody gathered around him and admired his new beauty. The men said, "Ah, I wish that I were a woman so that I could have him for myself." Karutawaibi's wife heard this, but she did not bother to look up, thinking that he had merely painted himself. Finally, she went outside the house and saw that her husband had indeed become very beautiful. The wife was under the impression that her husband still wanted her, and she made haste to make herself appear industrious. She went to her mother-in-law, who was grating manioc and said, "Let me grate the manioc, mother-in-law. The old lady replied, "No, he does not want you to do it." In the meantime, Karutawaibi ignored his wife and said, "Mother, go to the edge of the forest and pick up my basket full of fish." The wife offered to go, but Karutawaibi refused.

When the mother returned with the fish, Karutawaibi instructed her, "Go to the house there and give the woman who is weeping some fish and tell her to be consoled and cry no more." The old woman did this, and the woman in mourning said to her, "How can it be that your son wants me. I am ugly and dirty now." The mother replied, "It was he himself who sent me. He wants you." At this moment, Karutawaibi entered the house and said to the woman, "Go to the stream and wash yourself and return to be my wife." She made herself clean and beautiful, and when she returned they started their life together.

When Karutawaibi returned to the men's house, he got into his tiny hammock. Wakurungui approached him and said, "Let me get into your hammock so that you can tell me how you became so beautiful." Karutawaibi replied, "No, the hammock is too small." But Wakurungui was extremely persistent, and after a number of days Karutawaibi succumbed and told him the story. "But," he added, "this can mean nothing to you for you are not ugly, and your wife wants you."

The envious Wakurungui wanted, however, to get rid of his wife and be as handsome as Karutawaibi. He accordingly pretended that he was ugly and that his wife had rejected him for another man. Like Karutawaibi, he went on a crab-fishing expedition and stayed behind when the others returned to the village. Sun Sun arrived and, pretending at first that he did not recognize Wakurungui, eventually asked him what he was doing. Wakurungui repeated the same story that Karutawaibi had told, and the Sun proceeded to take the same measures. He instructed his wife to see whether Wakurungui was capable of satisfying

a woman, and the fox's wife proceeded to have sexual intercourse with him. However, Karutawabi had neglected to tell this part of the story to Wakuruzapi, and the latter completed satisfactory relations with fox's wife. The wife told fox what had happened, and he verified it as he did in the case of Karutawabi.

Fox then made Wakuruzapi very small and inserted him into his wife's womb, whence he was reborn three days later. He proceeded to make him big again and to remodel him. But this time, he made him ugly and bandlegged and told him, "Now go home. Fox go home to your wife." Fox and his wife did not fish for him or carry his basket back to the village, and Wakuruzapi had to do all this himself. When he neared the village he signaled his arrival, and all the people who came to greet him stood about and stared at his ugliness. He had to go back to his wife, who accepted him.

When Wakuruzapi went to the men's house to hang up his hammock, Karutawabi was lying there in his hammock, playing the following song on a flute:

> It was your fault, Wakuruzapi
> It was your fault, Wakuruzapi
> You were curious for your mother's vagina
> You were, you were.

14. WAKURUZAPI MAKES AN ECLIPSE

One day Wakuruzapi, who was a powerful shaman, decided to hide the sun. He did this by putting genipa paint on the face of the sun through sorcery. He also brought on tremendous rains by merely twiddling his fingers in the direction of the sun. Thus, it was always either completely dark or rainy and sheeny.

The other shamans got together and made it light through the magical use of macaw feathers. But they were able to bring the light only to the spot where they were sitting. Everywhere else it remained dark.

Finally, Wakuruzapi took a piece of bamboo and sharpened it into a crescent-shaped knife. He sent this up to the sky to scrape the genipa off the sun's face. It was then light again.

15. KARUTAWABI AND WAKURUZAPI ASCEND TO THE SKY AND BECOME THE MOON

Wakuruzapi and Karutawabi were killed by enemies, who cut off their heads and placed them on top of poles. A small fat boy was posted to guard the heads. This boy had inherited shamanistic powers, but neither he nor the other people knew this. One day the heads began moving and talking, but only the boy could hear them, because of his special power. He shouted to the older men, "The two heads are moving and saying to each other, 'When will we rise to the sky?'" The elders scoffed and said, "How can heads without bodies or eyes move, and how can a dry mouth talk?" This happened many times, and the men still thought that the fat boy was lying to them.

A few days later the men adorned the heads with sweet paint and feathers, and after some days the heads said to each other, "Today we ascend." The boy spread the alarm, but none of the men heeded his warning. At noon the heads were seen to start rising to the sky, accompanied by their wives. Karutawabi

11: Murphy K-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13.

539 and his wife was rapidly, but Wakuruapi ascended slowly because his wife was pregnant. The men of the village shot arrows at the heads, and all animal except one shot out by the fat boy, which put out the eyes of Wakuruapi.

Wakuruapi and Karutawabid, both children of the sun owing to their magical rebirth from the womb of Sun's wife, are now in the sky and appear as the visible sun.* The wife of Wakuruapi is Furawabid, the moon. When it is sunny and bright, this is because Karutawabid is in the sky; he is beautiful and his eyes shine a bright red. However, when it is dark and cloudy, it is because Wakuruapi is in the sky. Wakuruapi is ashamed to show his ugliness, and his eyes are dull and bluish. For this reason he hides, and we do not see the sun.

[illegible]

Nung-eung (in Mundurucú 'nung-eung' means fire-children) was really a dog in human form. He married a woman, and, on the first night of the marriage his new mother-in-law noticed that there were fleas throughout the house. She found even more fleas in the daughter's hammock and, upon further search, she discovered that her daughter's pubic hair was filled with the insects. She informed the daughter, "Your husband is not a person at all." They abandoned Nung-eung, and the woman married his younger brother.

Nung-eung went off to the forest and passed the day taking out his fleas (tiny insects which burrow under the skin and create egg sacs). A number of small wasps gathered around to eat the lice, and Nung-eung caught them and snipped their heads off, keeping the bodies. These he took home to his mother, saying that they were edible, larger wasps. He was then able to deceive her by shouting, "Put out the fire, put out the fire," as he approached the house; he then gave her the smaller and inedible wasps under the cover of darkness. One day a hunter saw what he was doing in the forest and told Nung-eung's mother. She no longer accepted the wasps.

The following day, Nung-eung saw a band of cutiti entering a hole. He covered the entrance of the hole and allowed only one of the animals to come out, which he killed and brought home to his overjoyed mother. Every day Nung-eung returned and killed another cutiti, but after a while they became very thin. When he killed the last of the impoverished animals, he went away to the north. There he passed himself into an apui tree, for he had no more food to bring to his mother and his brother was living with his wife. Nung-eung is still in the apui tree and that is why any animal that walks underneath one acquires fleas. The lice eat away the roots of the apui tree, but instead of falling over, it simply sinks deeper into the ground.

[illegible]

Nung-eung went into the forest every day to take out his fleas. The wasps gathered around him to eat the lice, and he caught them and brought them home to his mother. While in the forest one day, he saw a band of cutiti enter a hole.

* The Kayabi-and Mundurucú differences between the visible sun and the 'real sun,' who is the archetypal personage of tale 15.

He blocked the entrance of the hole and returned and killed one *every day for* 5 5 7 A
his mother.

He arrived with his entire one day and his mother said to him, "Your father's sister is here with her daughter. Go and greet them." Nung-eung went to the aunt and asked her why she was visiting. The aunt replied, "I am here to take your younger brother as the husband of my daughter." Nung-eung spoke up and said, "I would like to have her." The aunt consented and that night the couple had intercourse and slept together in the same hammock. During the night, the aunt went to look at the sleeping pair and found fleas in the hammock. She awakened the daughter and found that her pubic hair was also infested with fleas. "This is not a human that you married. Leave him," she advised her daughter. The girl left Nung-eung's side and went to sleep with her mother. Early in the morning, Nung-eung went to his mother-in-law and asked why his wife had left him. The aunt answered, "She always gets annoyed with her husbands and comes to sleep with me." He went back to sleep and later went out to hunt.

When Nung-eung returned, he found that his wife and aunt had left, and asked his mother where they were. "Your aunt left taking your younger brother as the husband of her daughter," said the mother. Nung-eung became angry and exclaimed, "He will only be able to give her his bows to eat, for all he ever does is play it. It is I who hunt." But the younger brother stayed with his bride.

Another woman arrived in the village and stayed in the house of Nung-eung's mother. One night he went to the house and had coitus with her. The next morning he lay in his hammock playing a song on his flute which told of his exploits with the woman. She heard him and raged, "To whom are you playing that song. I will kill you." She waited until he fell asleep and then made a powerful mixture of water and wild tindal. She threw it over him as he slept in his hammock, and the poison killed him. She then put his flute into the hammock with him and covered over the spots on the ground where the poisonous concoction had spilled. The women then went to the garden.

When Nung-eung's mother returned from the garden, she called him to dinn. Discovering that he was dead, she asked the woman what had happened. "I do not know," replied the latter. "When I left he was all right. He was lying in his hammock playing the flute." Nung-eung died in this manner.

[illegible]

One day Nung-eung said to his younger brother, "I know of a fruit tree that is favored by birds, brother. Let us go there and build a shelter and a hunting blind and eat birds." Nung-eung, his brother, and the brother's wife and child went to the forest and prepared their camp. Then Nung-eung said to the brother, "You go out to the bird blind today. I am going to stay here." After the brother left, Nung-eung made a long cord which he attached to bushes in the near-by forest. He kept the other end of the cord near his hammock. He then got into the hammock and pulled on the cord, causing the bushes to sway and rustle. "There is a jaguar out there," he said to his sister-in-law. "You had better come

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Munduruku SQ13

*537 into my hammock for protection." The frightened woman climbed into Nung-cung's hammock, and he had intercourse with her.

This went on every day, until the brother finally became suspicious. He pretended to go out to the bird blind, but lurked in the near-by bushes and observed his brother's strategem. He then went on his way and later returned to say, "There are no more birds. Let us go home."

On the way back to the village the brother said to Nung-cung, "Let us stop in the garden to suck sugar cane and to see if the pineapple is ripe yet." While in the garden, the younger brother sneaked up behind Nung-cung and tied him to an urucú bush, where he left him to die.

When the younger brother and his wife reached home, the mother asked for Nung-cung. In spite of the brother's assurance that Nung-cung would arrive soon, the mother grew increasingly anxious. The next morning she went to the garden, hoping to meet him on the path. Said the younger brother, "While you are in the garden, bring back the urucú that I left hanging from the bush." The mother went to the bush and there found her son's body.

[illegible] THE MILKY WAY

The Milky Way, which appears clearly in the dry season, is really the hammock of Nung-cung.

One day his friends said to him, "You could transform yourself into a star, Nung-cung." This idea did not appeal to him and he declined. Then they said, "You could become a strook in the sky." This pleased Nung-cung, so he lay in his hammock and scrunched toward the sky (the Mundurucú believe the sky to be a dome of rock). The men shouted to him, "Stay up in the sky." He could not hear them clearly and thought they said, "Stay on this side of the sky, Nung-cung." His hammock stopped rising, and the Milky Way is now on this side of the sky, although the stars are in the rock itself. Until the present day, fons and fons live are at their wonp when Nung-cung's hammock is visible in the sky.

[illegible]

Once upon a time, the nights were very short, unlike our present long nights. A man named Awawuhi was unhappy with the short nights, for he wished to lie in the hammock longer with his wife. One day he said to her, "I would like to lie with you longer. I wish that the nights were not so short." She replied, "Go to my father and ask him for a thread of night, and you can lengthen the darkness."

Awawuhi went to his father-in-law and his request was granted. He stayed in the village of the father-in-law that night and set out for home the next morning. When he left, the father-in-law handed him two packages and instructed him, "In this package is the thread of night; in the other is the thread of day. Do not open them until you arrive home."

He returned to his village, but his curiosity overcame him within shouting distance of home, and he opened the package containing the thread of night. It immediately became pitch-black, and he was unable to grope the short distance

into the village. He shouted to the villagers to bring fire, but nobody heard him, 539.2
and he then turned into the curujão de noite (a bird). When he flew away he took the thread of day with him, and nobody knows to this day where it is. That is why the nights are so long.

II. MOTHER OF THE SUN

In times past wounded warriors used to turn into demons during the period of their disability and wandered over the world in this form. One of these warriors was once walking along a path when he met an old woman who was really the Mother of the Sun. He said to her, "Where are you going, old woman?" The woman, who was carrying an empty basket on her back replied, "I am going to gather fruit," and she named many species of fruit that she intended to collect. As she turned away the warrior pulled on her basket, dragging it to the ground. Out of the empty basket tumbled so much fruit that the warrior could not eat it all; she had created this fruit to demonstrate her power to the wounded man. The angry old woman then exclaimed, "You are not a real demon. You have only become one for a short time, and only because you went to war and were wounded." She then continued on her way, but since that time there has been an abundance of fruit in the forest, whereas there previously had been but little.

CULTURAL INTERVENTIONS AND INNOVATIONS

The following myths are specifically concerned with explaining cultural innovations. The first two are the longest and, to the Mundurucú, the most important 539
and account for the origin of the sacred trumpets and of horticulture. The first 542
is a true social charter, for it validates the secondary of the male in Mundurucú society. It reveals also the basic insecurity of the male position; the women once owned the instruments and the men can retain them only by force. In short, the male role is felt to be subject to constant threat. The reader will immediately recognize the almost globally distributed theme associated with sacred musical instruments forbidden to the eyes of women.

The myth of the origin of horticulture and domesticated plants makes a clear association between these aspects of culture and womanhood and nurture of the young. The story demonstrates an obvious congruence not only with the female principle in fertility, but with the primary role of the women in horticulture.

II. ORIGINS OF THE SACRED TRUMPETS

The sacred trumpets of the Mundurucú, called the karibi, are taboo to the 539.4
sight of women, but the women once owned them. In fact it was the women who first discovered the trumpets.

There were once three women named Tuyapaibiri, Tuaniri, and Paranari. When these women went to collect firewood, they frequently heard music from some unknown source. One day they became thirsty and went off in search of water. Deep in the forest they found a beautiful, shallow, and clear lake, of which they had no previous knowledge. This lake came to be named Karibiwapiri,

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Manhattan SQ13

*539 or the place from which they took the kwilki." The next time the women heard the music in the forest, they noted that it came from the direction of the lake and went off to investigate. But they found only *kiki* fish in the water, which they were unable to catch.

Back in the village, one of the women hit upon the idea of catching the fish with hand nets. They rubbed the mouths of the nets with a root which had the effect of making fish sleepy, and returned to the lake properly equipped. Each woman caught one fish, and these fish turned into hollow cylindrical trumpets. The other fish fled. That is why each man's house now has a set of only three instruments. The women hid the trumpets in the forest where no one could discover them and went secretly every day to play them.

The women devoted their lives to the flutes and abandoned their husbands and housework to play them. The men grew suspicious, and Mariamwiki, the brother of Tanyoubiki, followed them and discovered their secret. He did not, however, actually see the instruments. Mariamwiki went back to the village and told the other men. When the women returned, he asked if it was true that they had musical instruments in the forest. The women admitted this and were told, "You can play the instruments, but you have to play them in the house and not in the forest." The women agreed to this.

The women, as possessors of the trumpets, had thereby gained ascendancy over the men. The men had to carry firewood and fetch water, and they also had to make the beijil. To this day their hands are still flat from putting the beijil into shape. But the men still hunted, and this angered Mariamwiki, for it was necessary to offer meat to the trumpets, and the women were able to offer them only a drink made from sweet manioc. For this reason, Mariamwiki favored taking the trumpets from the women, but the other men hesitated from fear of them.

On the day on which the women were to bring the trumpets to the village, they ordered the men out to the forest to hunt while they made the sweet manioc drink. When the men returned from the hunt, the three discoverers of the trumpets led the other women out to get the instruments. The leader of the women, Tanyoubiki, sent one of the women back to tell the men that they should all stay themselves secretly inside the dwelling houses. The men refused to do this and insisted upon remaining in the men's house. Finally, Tanyoubiki herself went back to order the men inside the dwelling houses. Her brother, Mariamwiki, replied, "We will go into the house for one night only, but no more. We want the trumpets and will take them tomorrow. If you do not give them to us, then we will not go hunting, and there will be no meat to offer them." Tanyoubiki agreed, for she knew that she could not hunt the food for the trumpets or for the guests at the ceremonies.

The men entered the dwelling house, and the women marched around and around the village playing the trumpets. They then entered the men's house for the night and distributed the instruments there. Then one by one the women went to the dwelling houses and found the men to have eaten with them. The men could not refuse, just as the women today cannot refuse the desires

of the men. This went on all night, and the women returned to the men's house 555*
all slippery inside.

The next day the men took the trumpets from the women and forced them to go back to the dwelling house. The women wept at their loss. When the men took the trumpets from the women they sang this song (which expresses the shame that desolation of the women inflicted upon them):

> It was I who went and hid
> I entered the house and hid
> I entered the house and almost hid
> Because I did not know I was ashamed
> Because I did not know I was ashamed
> Because I did not know
> I entered the house and hid
> I entered the house and almost hid

[illegible]

Long ago there were no gardens or domesticated plants.

An old woman named Kapirl had a sister's son named Karwilli. The child cried all day long from hunger and asked for the vegetables that are planted today in the gardens. Although these plants were not known at the time, the little boy was very wise and thus was able to ask for them.

Kapirl sent the men out to the forest to make a large clearing. After the felled vegetation had dried, she ordered the men to burn it. The garden burned well, and the old woman went out to it. On the way she told the people of the many things that would spring from this garden and how they were to use these products. She told them that there would be maize, which they would pick and roast when the silk turned black; she told them that they were to eat the sweet potato roasted, and that they would cook the sugar cane when it flowered; she said that they would eat bananas raw or cooked when it turned yellow, and that they should boil the sweet manioc and throw away the pulp, using only the broth; she told them that they could eat corn and bananas with this broth; she told them that they could eat corn and manioc boiled or roasted; that melon could be eaten when it turns yellow, as could pineapple; she said that milk was edible when it was red or yellow and tapir when it became fat; she told them that lava and frijole could be eaten boiled; and she told them, too, how to prepare farinha. But, she warned them, cassiri is poisonous and cannot be eaten. They were to pull it out and heat it in the water, inviting all the others to share in the catch of fish which could be eaten.

The old woman, Kapirl, further told them that when the maize was ripe they would be advised of this by a small manioc which would fly above the house singing, Tukurukurú, tukurukurú. She also said that the bird would return carrying an ear of maize to its beak. He would drop the maize near her sister's son, and they were to give it to him to eat. She then instructed the men to dig a large hole in the middle of the garden and to put her in it with her arms, legs,

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Manduruca SQ13

and digits outspread. This they did and covered the old woman lightly with earth, and with every breath she spread and spread until the whole garden was in fact Kapirí. Out of her grew all the plants of the garden. It is for this reason that manioc grows in clusters at the ends of the stalk, the tubers are the fingers of the old woman.

After fifteen days, the bird flew over and dropped the ear of maize, which they gave to the boy. He ate it and stopped crying. "It is the signal of the old woman," said the people, and they went out to gather the maize. They came back and roasted and ate it. The only one who was absent was a shaman who had been hunting in the forest. He explained to his wife that he had killed nothing, and she told him that the people of the house had maize but ate it all and saved none for him. The one who had eaten meat, she told him, was the boy, who really owned the garden. The shaman became angry and killed the boy by sorcery. When he died, he joined his aunt in the garden.

B. ORIGIN OF THE BARK CANOE

Ojitoshibi had two sons, Matsunyin and Matsarabi. The latter very much wanted the two sons to have the pleasure of killing an enemy and, accordingly, set out with a war party for a village of the Ayaná Indians. They arrived on the banks of the Tapajós and had no way of crossing. Ojitoshibi sent all of the people out to the forest to look for a tree whose bark would not break and from which they could make canoes. They did not find such a bark, because in that time there was none.

One night Ojitoshibi had a dream in which appeared the bark of a tree transformed into a person. The vision told him if he wanted to build a bark canoe he would have to pull the bark from the bottom of the river. The needed material was at the river bottom in the form of people, but they could be transformed into trees by feeding them sandal, cheese and pinón.

Ojitoshibi got this food and the next day sent the people to the forest again to search for bark. While they were gone, he pulled the people out of the river magically. He fed these people the prescribed foods, and they turned into trees and took root in the forest. These trees were the white tacuari, the red tacuari, the sajú sand, the sat ara (?), and the pinón. He tested the bark of each tree and found that all were good for making canoes.

When the people returned, Ojitoshibi asked them if they had found the proper trees. Upon hearing of their failure he told them that they had not sought them diligently enough, for they were in the forest. The next day the people of the war party went again to look for bark, and this time they were successful. They made bark canoes and crossed the river. The Ayaná village was attacked, and the sons took many heads.

These were the first bark canoes.

C. ORIGIN OF THE MAIZE

There were once two brothers named Tokoingrobi and Kerrisibewa who had a very malicious older sister named Kiberwa. This sister was extremely cruel to

Gran and kid food from them, each day they came home and searched through the house for food, not knowing that the sister had hidden it. They found the food one day, and the sister scolded them for taking it. The brothers left home and the sister turned into the pau d'arco tree. The younger was unable to turn into this tree so he became transformed into the paxiubamba tree.

The pau d'arco, into which the sister brother was transformed, was at first hollow and contained ready-made bows inside it. Only one man knew how to open the tree and take the bows out. Another spied upon him and wanted to take bows from the tree also. The first warned him not to take any if his wife was menstruating or pregnant. The second man lied, saying that his wife was not pregnant and attempted to extract the bows. When he went to open the tree, it turned into solid wood, and now people have to carve their bows from the wood.

[illegible]

There was once a boy who used to make many arrows. His maternal uncle saw him and asked what he was doing. "Making arrows," said the boy. "You will never kill any enemies," scoffed the uncle to the little boy. But the boy insisted that he would.

The same exchange took place three more times, and finally the boy became very angry with the uncle. On the fourth such occasion, the lad shouted, "I will so kill an enemy," and took up his bow and arrow and shot the uncle. The boy then turned into a little bow—the first children's bow.

[illegible]

At one time all the wood in the forest was living, and there was no dry wood for the fires. A woman and her sons went into the forest to look for dry wood, but they looked in vain. Trying their search they encountered old Japaidi who asked, "What are you doing, children?" They said, "We are looking for firewood." The old man replied, "If you push me you will have plenty of firewood." He then went away.

The boys told their mother of Japaidi's words, and he said, "If he said to push him, then do so and see what happens." The next day the boys met the old man again and he gave them the same advice. He then turned and walked away, but the children ran after him and pushed him over. As he fell, dry pieces of wood appeared all over the forest, and we now have firewood.

[illegible]

Wawaribiri lived in the time of the old people on the banks of the Paranawairi, an affluent of the Tapajós River. He and his friend Sawakiawairi lived with their families in a house there. These two were dancers all their lives. One day they left the village, dancing as usual, and came to a stream. Wawaribiri made paintings there, high on a rock cliff. No one knows how he got up to the cliff face. Some say that he must have built his hammock there, but the cliff is smooth and there is no place from which a hammock could have been hung. He could have reached that high only with magical power. After making the painting,

"539 Kuwaiskiki made the passage on the River de Cachapin, on the Tapajós River." He and Mandaruwiki then went to the lands downstream.

Adventures are Some

538 The following tales are not greatly concerned with supernaturally implemented transformations and inversions, although such events do occur within their contexts. And they are not creation epics in the sense of the cycle of Karumalaki. The first (tale 37) is the story of a boy who is tricked by his mother's brother and, as a result, accomplishes a journey fraught with a number of hardships and excessive dangers. He finally reaches home, but his experiences have left him more animal than human. This is clearly indicated at the end of the story when he kills his own pet birds, for no Mundurucú would kill a pet any more than he would his own children. The story is reminiscent of a Tukuna tale related by Nimuendajú, in which a woman is lost in the forest and has various adventures with animals, returning home bereft of reason.[a] A Tucuchi tale collected by Nimuendajú has even more close affinity to the Mundurucú story.[b] A boy undergoes a similar odyssey and returns home with the personality of the cutia. The story of Fernando probably indicates more clearly than do the connections for the pure animal spirits that the Mundurucú feel that their own arboreal way of life connects them very closely with the animal world. The human and animal spheres are conceived as symbiotic to each other, and their membership are interchangeable under certain circumstances.

That the Mundurucú and Tupian myths are historically connected is manifest in an episode common to both, in which the lost boy crosses a river on the back of a giant alligator. The tale of Fernando has other widely distributed elements. The motif of bees that speak can be found in much of native South American folklore, and the theme of the man with the sharpened leg bone is commonly far beyond the limits of the continent.

Tales 38 to 39 are united by the common theme of interaction conflict. The first relates the estrangement of two brothers and the growth of hostility and enmity between them owing to the failure of one to join in common ventures with the other. This attitude toward the deviant and the nonparticipant is still active in contemporary Mundurucú society and is a potent agent in the enforcement of conformism and commonality. If such a person is also a shaman, his behavior is frequently sufficient to bring accusations of sorcery. The tale (38) continues to develop the growing hostility between the two brothers until its culmination in head-hunting attacks on each other's villages. During one episode, one of the brothers has sexual intercourse with the wife of the other, a theme in the cycle of Yung-yung stories (tale 31). But unlike that legend, one brother cuckolds the other for the specific purpose of revenge, thus providing one illustration of the strong component of sexual aggression in Mundurucú adultery.

[a] Some informants attributed the cliff passages to Karumalaki. I have seen them on the River de Cachapin. They are clearly animal representations and are joined in a meaningful succession pattern. The passages undoubtedly produce the Mundurucú conception of this territory.

[b] Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 140.

[c] Nimuendajú, 1924, p. 200.

The story (II) of the origin of the Parliatan tribe repeats the theme of the 1950
twinned and antisocial persons who finally breaks out into open aggression against his fellows. There are terrible sets to the Manderwood, and it is interesting to note how the dilemma is resolved. In tales II to III, the persons guilty of intra-tribal conflict leave the Manderwood country, and their descendants form many tribes. The offenders in tale III are killed in warfare, and they die without issue. Thus, although fratricidal conflict is thought by the Manderwood to have occurred in the past, the guilty parties and their heirs were subsequently completely expunged from the society.

III. THE BOY OF MANDERWOOD - A MANDERWOOD ORIGIN

At one time there lived a boy named Ahmowapi, who had an uncle (mother's 1950
brother) named Kawijatbi. The boy liked to hunt with his uncle and called to his grandmother every day as they left for the forest, "Grandmother, I am going to bring back the tripe of a tapir." Before setting out on the hunt one morning, the uncle, Kawijatbi, told Ahmowapi to give him his arrows for sharpening. The uncle sharpened the arrows and they left.

On the path the uncle said to Ahmowapi, "Go ahead. I am going to stay to follow." But this was only a ruse, and the uncle circled ahead of the nephew and transformed himself into a deer to test the boy's hunting skill. Upon spying the deer Ahmowapi called back, "Uncle, there is a deer here." When he received no response to his cries, he decided to shoot the animal himself. The uncle had foreseen this eventuality and had sharpened the point in such a way that the arrow would not enter. The unharmed deer ran away and became retransformed into the uncle. When the uncle returned, Ahmowapi said to him, "Uncle, there was a deer here, and I shot him but the arrow did not enter." The uncle replied, "I did not hear you call, but it seems that the deer has gone. Let us look for another." When they returned to the house at the end of the day, the boy told his grandmother what had happened.

Every time thereafter that the boy accompanied his uncle on the hunt, the latter turned himself into various species of wild life. One day the uncle turned himself into the deer and appeared before the boy. However, Ahmowapi had sharpened his own arrows on this occasion and the arrow entered the body of the deer. The deer fell over as if dead, and the lad tied its legs with vine (jungle vine) and placed it over his shoulders and set out for home. On the way he grew tired, put the deer on the ground and lay down to rest. The deer came back to life and freed its legs easily from the weak vine used to tie him. Transformed again to a human, the uncle returned home shortly after the boy.

Before the next hunt the boy said again to his grandmother that he would bring back the tripe of the tapir. The grandmother replied that if he really wanted to kill the tapir, he should put his arm up the animal's anus and pull out the tripe. The boy misunderstood and did not know whether the tapir should be dead or alive when this was done. He went again to the forest with his uncle, and this time the latter disguised himself as a tapir. The boy shot the tapir and, although the arrow did not enter, the tapir fainted deep. Thinking the tapir

*399 dead, Ahsinwaqyi tucked his bow and arrow under his arm, approached the tapir from the rear and inserted his arm in its anus. First he pulled out all the excrement, and then he shoved his arm in to just below the elbow in search of the trips. The tapir awoke, wrenched his rectum on the boy's arm and ran off dragging the sapling behind him. He ran hard for some time and then slowed to a walk, acting as he programmed. From that time the souls never reverted to human form, but remained always a tapir. Also, Ahsinwaqyi received the new name of Pwinnik during this episode.

Pwinnik, the female Ahsinwaqyi, began to suspect that the tapir was really his uncle in disguise, and he called out, "Wahuyun, wahuyun (uncle)." The tapir did not reply. Finally the tapir stopped to eat under a tree, and Pwinnik said, "Could you have me here to rest a little, uncle?" The tapir replied, "Yes, grandson. (The tapir uses this term of address toward Pwinnik hereafter. It is proper between old and young.) Let us go a little farther." The same request and the same answer took place under every fruit tree at which the tapir stopped. They finally arrived at a place where the Tuquiple River is quite wide, and here they crossed the stream. Safe on the other side, the tapir released the boy's arm by defecating.

The tapir then said, "Stay here, grandson. I am going to get some arrows." Before he left, he told Pwinnik that there were three giant alligators in the river at this point, the largest of whom was named Tiki pung pung. "When you wish to get back to the other side," he instructed the boy, "call Tiki pung pung to carry you across." He told Pwinnik that upon the first call, the smallest of the three alligators would appear, but that he should reject him. The second call similarly would fetch the second in size, but on the third call Tiki pung pung, who was so large that he had trees on his back and was like an island, would appear. The souls then went off into the forest where he was killed by a savage tribe.

When the souls did not appear, the boy began calling for him in a musical voice and then turned into a little white bird. This bird is still known as the pwinnuhtiwuni-kiwahi, or "the place where dwells the soul of Pwinnik." In the meantime, the hunters who had killed the tapir-souls arrived looking for some service (inner bark of a tree) to tie up the slain tapir. Upon spying them, Pwinnik turned himself into a hummingbird high in a tree. The hunters saw the hummingbird and exclaimed, "There is happy there. Let us break it down." They then got sticks, but each time they reached for the hummingbird the tree grew out of their reach. Two persons, who knew that the hummingbird was the transformed Pwinnik, came on the scene and warned him of the intentions of the hunters. They spoke to the hummingbird in low voices so that the hunters would not hear and then flew away. The hunters then tried to use hooks to get the hummingbird, but the latter secretly pushed the hooks away. Finally, the hunters decided to return the next day and cut the tree down.

Pwinnik then transformed himself from the hummingbird back into a human, descended from the tree, and fell asleep on the river bank. In the morning he awoke and called the alligators with the following song:

539

Come and get me
Where the animals are singing
Where they are
Their voices are sad
The woman with a heavily heard voice
Jurtil, jurtil, white jurtil

The first alligator arrived and said, "What do you want?" Furtanit replied, "Nothing. I am calling Tiki pong pong." The alligator became angry and dived back under the water. Furtanit repeated his song. The second alligator arrived and was similarly rejected, but on the third repetition of the song the giant Tiki pong pong came to the surface. He asked the boy, "What do you want?" Furtanit replied, "Nothing. I only wish to cross to the other side of the river." The alligator assented, and Furtanit urged him to come closer so that he could mount him. "Is that near enough?", asked the alligator. The boy answered, "No. Come a bit closer to the bank." This continued until the alligator was quite close to the shore, and Furtanit was able to grab an overhanging branch of one of the indaniba trees which grew on the alligator's back and swing onward. He thus avoided being eaten by the beast.

The alligator started across the river and in midstream said, "Stephen, I am going to sound my horn." He opened his mouth and uttered a deep grunt which was accompanied by a bad smell. Furtanit's uncle had previously warned the boy not to spit when the alligator did this (spitting is an expression of disgust among the Mandarwen) or the animal would surely eat him in midstream. Remembering this admonition, the boy spat covertly into his hand and rubbed it on his stomach, saying to the alligator, "Ah, hell you smell nice."

When they got near the further shore, the alligator asked, "Is this close enough?" hoping that the boy would debark in the water so that he could eat him. Furtanit asked the alligator to approach closer, and finally the boy was able to swing off the alligator's back by a branch. Safe on dry land, Furtanit called out that the stench of the alligator's mouth was unbelievably bad. The beast replied, "Why did you not say this in the middle of the river, my nephew?" He then thrashed about in a rage and broke all the trees on his back. Furtanit then set out on the return to his grandmother's house in the village of Uarapari.

While he was on the path night fell, and Furtanit bedded down between the buttress-like roots of the pau de sangue. A blue cuckoo, which was resting between the root spurs on the other side of the tree, called out to Furtanit all night long and made a continual commentary on how unbearable life was because of boys. At dawn Furtanit went to the bird and asked why she would not let him sleep. He then broke all but three of the cuckoo's eggs. At that time the cuckoo used to lay several eggs at once, but after Furtanit broke them, she rarely laid more than three. Furtanit then continued his journey.

He traveled all day, and after nightfall he stopped to sleep. As it was already dark, Furtanit did not know that he had stopped under a tree that was full of lagartos. These insects spent the night sailing down to him. "Furtanit, your

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mandarara SQ13

5999 were in open." They also defecated all over him. At the end of this sleepless night, Pwinnit investigated the source of the disturbance and picked up a long stick with which he killed as many of the lagurian as he could reach. He then set out on the path again.

While on the trail, Pwinnit killed a monkey and carried it with him all day, planning to eat it that evening. At night he discovered a hole in a large fallen tree where he decided to spend the night. He did not know that this hole was the den of a jaguar. When the jaguar returned he called out to the hole in the tree. When the hole did not answer, the jaguar knew that there must be an intruder in his den. He then called out the name of Pwinnit. The boy answered, and the jaguar asked him from where he had come. Pwinnit said only that he had come a long distance. The jaguar continued to converse with Pwinnit at great length until he finally grew hungry. "Give me one of your hands, Pwinnit," requested the jaguar. Pwinnit replied, "But how will I catch anything?" The jaguar reassured him that he would still be able to catch things without one of his hands, and Pwinnit cut off one of the monkey's hands and threw it out to him. While cutting off the monkey's hand, Pwinnit simulated cries of pain, and the jaguar was thoroughly deceived.

The jaguar began to talk to Pwinnit again, but after some time he grew hungry once more. This time he called for the other hand, and the same dialogue ensued. In time Pwinnit had to give away the monkey's two feet also, although he pretended to the jaguar that he would not be able to walk. Finally the jaguar said, "Pwinnit, pass me your liver." "But I will die without my liver," replied the boy. The jaguar assured him that he could live without his liver, and, with feigned cries of pain, Pwinnit cut out the monkey's liver and threw it to the hungry jaguar.

The jaguar appeared to be satisfied, but after some time called out, "Where are you, Pwinnit?" "I am right here in the log," said the lad. "Scratch the log so that I will know exactly where you are," said the jaguar. He settled down for a while, but later repeated the same question. Finally the jaguar said, "Stay right where you are, Pwinnit. I will return shortly." The jaguar intended to get a large stone which he could hurl at the log and thus crush Pwinnit. But the boy was aware of this scheme and defecated in the jaguar's hair, fleeing thereafter to the branches of a tree. Before he left, he instructed the pile of excrement to reply to all of the jaguar's questions.

The jaguar returned and, placing the stone on the ground, rested. After some time he said, "Where are you, Pwinnit?" "Right here in the log," replied the excrement. The jaguar then requested Pwinnit to scratch the log as he did before. The excrement did this, and the jaguar picked up the stone and smashed it down on the point in the log from which the scratching had come. When the jaguar searched the den he could not find Pwinnit. However, he thought that Pwinnit was surely helpless without hands, feet, or liver and assumed that the pile of excrement was the crushed remains of the boy. He ate the excrement and left. The next morning Pwinnit descended from his perch in the tree and continued his homeward journey.

At the end of this fourth day of travel, Pariadit again bedded down between the huge spreading roots of a pau de sucupuma. He did not know it, but sleeping between the roots adjacent to him was a man who intended to kill him. One of this man's legs was bare of flesh and the end of the bone was sharpened to a fine point. During the night the man called, "Pariadit?" The boy answered, "Ah." The man with the sharpened leg bone said, "If you are there, scratch the tree so that I will know where you are." Pariadit did this, and the man thrust his pointed leg through the wood in an attempt to stab him. Pariadit rolled away in time, and the leg bone passed harmlessly over his body. This happened several times until finally a black ant came and told Pariadit that he should tie up the man's leg bone when he next pierced the wood. Pariadit did this with his bowstring and the man was unable to withdraw the leg. He implored Pariadit to release it, but the boy, who had not slept for three nights, was adamant. The next morning he awoke, released the man, and went on his way. 539 A

On his fifth day of travel Pariadit encountered a jaguar couple fishing in a stream with timbó. The husband was upstream dragging the water, and the female was further downstream catching the fish. Pariadit met the wife first. She asked, "Have you seen my husband?" Pariadit replied in the negative. The woman became enamored of Pariadit and asked him to have coitus with her. He assented, and she prepared a powder of grated Brazil nut to rub on their genitalia after completion of the act, to hide the traces of their lovemaking. As they began to have intercourse, the jaguar wife asked Pariadit to tell her when he was finished, as she secretly planned to kill him and cut off his penis. He, being very cunning, simply ran away when he had satisfied himself.

He ran upstream and encountered the husband, who asked him from which direction he had come. Pariadit lied and told the jaguar that he had come from upstream. In response to the suspicious husband's further inquiries, Pariadit claimed that he had not seen the wife. The jaguar then said, "Wait here. I shall go and ask her." Despite the wife's ruse, the jaguar discovered that she had recently had intercourse and ran back in search of Pariadit. The latter immediately changed himself into a deer and, when the jaguar attacked him, into the tamanduá grande, or giant anteater. He grabbed the jaguar with his powerful forelimbs and tore the animal's eyes out with his hooklike claw. The jaguar called to his wife to bring him some breu de jutahí to place in the empty sockets (this tree sap hardens into a glassy finish). To this day, therefore, the jaguar has glassy, shining eyes. Pariadit, in the meantime, had gone on his way.

Pariadit arrived under an imbaúba tree in which three animals, which looked like monkeys, were eating fruit. Some of the fruit fell to the ground and he stopped to eat it. The boy inadvertantly gave notice of his presence by stepping on a stick, which broke with a snap. The animals looked down and said, "Ah, Pariadit. From where are you journeying?" He told them and then asked for a bunk of the fruit (the fruit of this tree is contained in bunks, in each of which there are several fruit). The animals picked a bunk, slyly sucked out all the fruit and threw the empty bunk down to the hungry boy. Pariadit was patient and asked again, with the same result. The third time this occurred, he warned them that if they

*599 did not throw down some fruit he would shoot them with his bow and arrow. Instead of giving him something to eat, they asked him what type of leaves he preferred to use for a temporary shelter against the rain. He replied that he could use the leaves of the banana, najá, or patuá trees. They commented that these leaves were a joke to them. Perisnát then added that he could also use mambaca leaves. They appeared afraid of these because of the spines. Perisnát again asked for fruit and again received only a husk. Angered, he shot at one of the animals, but failed to kill it.

Perisnát did not know that he had thus incurred the anger of the mothers of the rain, who were traveling in the guise of these three animals. Their names were 'Storm of Wind and Rain,' 'Steady, Slow Rain,' and 'Strong Thunder and Lightning.' As soon as he shot at them they ran off and started the rains in revenge. The rains continued all that day and night and halfway into the next day. Perisnát made a shelter of the leaves of mambaca and remained there throughout the storm. He continued his journey when the rain slackened to a slow drizzle.

On the way, Perisnát met a blue nambú who was warming himself in a hammock hung near a fire. The cold wanderer went quietly to the fire to warm himself. He got so close that his hair brushed the bird's tail and caused it to look down from its hammock. Spying Perisnát he exclaimed, "Ah, it is you, Perisnát. From where are you coming?" Perisnát answered, and the nambú said, "Why do you not join me in the hammock and warm yourself." Perisnát refused for he knew that the bird wanted to seduce him. The nambú asked again, and angered by Perisnát's second refusal, threatened to take the fire away. The boy then grabbed a piece of the burning firewood and countered, "But I am going to take this." As he grabbed the wood a black ant bit him, distracting his attention, and the nambú took flight with a great beat of wings which made the fire disappear. Perisnát cried after him, "Your head is full of muquím." To this day the head of the nambú is full of these insects. Perisnát continued his journey.

He went on until he encountered the tracks of a tapir under a burití palm. He decided to build a little shelter in which he could lie in wait for the tapir to pass. Two young girls, who were really tapirs in disguise, came along and peeked into Perisnát's blind. "Ah," they exclaimed, "It is you, Perisnát. From where are you coming?" He indicated the direction, and the girls, who had taken a liking to him, decided to stay in the shelter also. Later they asked him to get some fruit from the burití palm for them. When he went in search of a vine with which to make a climbing ring, they asked him what he was doing. He explained that he needed a climbing ring to ascend the tree, and they said, "That is not how our father gets burití fruit. He simply knocks on the tree." Perisnát hit the tree with a stick, but no fruits fell. The girls showed him how to knock down the fruit by hitting the tree with their feet (in the manner of the tapir). They then made a burití beverage which Perisnát began to drink by sipping, as do all humans. The girls, however, put their faces in the drink and sucked it up, shells and all, like animals.

The girls then told Perisnát to wait for them while they went in search of their

father, whose name was Kerumuatpó, in order to get his permission to marry the boy. As soon as they left, Perisuát escaped up a tree, for he was afraid of their father. The father, a mean and old tapir, arrived but could not find Perisuát. He went back to inform his daughters of this, and the daughters arrived at Perisuát's shelter just in time to meet him coming down from the tree. Again the girls went to tell the father that Perisuát was there, but the lad fled, leaving the tapir-girls weeping.

Along the trail Perisuát found a hunter's snare into which he curiously put his hand. The noose pulled tight on the hand, and when Perisuát attempted to free himself with the other hand that, too, became caught. He then tried to use his feet to get loose but they, too, became entangled, and Perisuát was hopelessly ensnared. The hunter arrived and tied the boy up, leaving him in the custody of an old woman who was guarding his snares. But while it was still daytime, the old woman fell sound asleep.

After the old woman had fallen asleep an ant arrived on the scene and, beholding the plight of Perisuát, said, "This person kills good game. I shall help him." The ant tried to cut the cords which bound the boy but failed. A bee then appeared and said, "This person shoots game whose blood is good. I shall help him." The bee also failed, as did a wasp which also tried to free Perisuát. The three insects then sought the aid of the squirrel monkey, who managed to free the boy. Perisuát was unconscious and half-dead and had to be dragged away by his saviors.

When the hunter returned and noted that Perisuát was gone, he called to the old woman, "Where is my game?" She awoke with a start and said, "Ah, I was sleeping." The angry hunter struck her, and she became transformed into the curujá bird and flew away. To this day the curujá sleeps in the day and stays awake all night.

Perisuát recovered and proceeded on his homeward journey. He met a jaguar who could not close his mouth because he had a bone stuck in it. The jaguar asked Perisuát whence he had come, and the boy replied that he had come a long distance. Perisuát knew only the direction to his home and not the exact path. The jaguar volunteered to show him the proper trail if the boy would remove the bone from his mouth. This he did, and the jaguar pointed out the way, instructing him to keep going until he met a nambú chorona who would be singing. At this point he would find the path.

Perisuát proceeded, but, before reaching the nambú chorona, he met an armadillo. After the usual query about the direction of his travel, the armadillo said to Perisuát, "Use this path which I made to carry firewood to my house. It leads to the path to your house." Perisuát followed this advice and arrived at the edge of his village.

As he approached the village Perisuát spied some mutúm singing in the trees. These mutúm had been his pets but had flown away to the forest when he departed. They flew to him crying, "Father! Our father has returned!" Perisuát was barely human after his long suffering in the forest, and he killed the birds.

He emerged from the forest into the village clearing, where he was seen by some children who ran to tell his grieving grandmother. Perisuát, almost an

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1954
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

599 animal after his sojourn, entered the house and told his story to the grandmother. The old woman cleaned his body and took the insects out from under his skin. But when she rubbed urucú on his body to heal him, he died.

III. KARUDAIBI AND YURICHUNGPÓ

Of the six sons of Dimidebi, the oldest was Karudaibi, followed by the next oldest, Yurichungpó. The former was the chief of the village of Uacupari, and the latter was the chief of Kapiepin. The family of Karudaibi included his wife, Ikenjurai, their daughter, Karujeping, and the wife's brother, Tibiwanim. The other sons of Dimidebi were named Dibiaiapping, Dirwabi, Dingbirebi, and Sairaidipó. Two of these younger brothers lived each with an older brother.

The two chieftains went separate ways on war parties and hunts, both of which they pursued with great zeal. One day, however, the oldest brother, Karudaibi, decided that he did not care to hunt or fight any more, but had other and better things to do. Yurichungpó, who continued to hunt and make war, came to wonder at the idleness of his brother and his neglect of the duties of a good Mundurucú chief. In time he became suspicious of the intentions of Karudaibi and sent one of the younger brothers to Uacupari to invite him to take part in a raid. Karudaibi declined the invitation, claiming that he had work to do. In reality the work consisted of nothing more than stringing macaw feathers into ornaments which he then hung on the walls of his house. Yurichungpó went to fight the savage Indians without the help of his brother, but later renewed his invitation. Karudaibi declined again and again and would not allow the two younger brothers who lived with him to join Yurichungpó.

Finally, Yurichungpó sent word to his older brother that, if he and the other brothers could not visit his village, he should at least send his wife. Karudaibi suggested that the envoy ask the wife; she replied that she would go later, for first she must make a supply of wará (a drink made of sweet manioc). The wife, Ikenjurai, went to the village of Kapiepin and stayed there for two days to participate in a feast sponsored by Yurichungpó. Upon her return home, she prepared a meal of dawá, made of the leaf of tajá and a milk extracted from Brazil nuts. When it was ready, she sent her daughter to inform the father. "Will it make people thirsty? Does it contain sufficient pepper?" asked the latter. The dawá was then served first to the oldest men, then to the middle-aged, and finally to the young. Karudaibi ate his portion in his hammock; he never got out of his hammock, but stayed there all day long making featherwork.

Again Yurichungpó went on the warpath and returned. This time he requested that his brother come to Kapiepin to teach him how to ornament the trophy heads taken during the war. The oldest brother refused, giving no explanation other than, "That is the way it is." On another occasion, Yurichungpó asked Karudaibi to join him in a feast of cutia legs. "No," replied the latter, "that is your food. I am already tired of it." On another occasion, Yurichungpó asked the oldest brother to join him in a feast. "No," he answered, "ask my wife. She is the one who has hot hands [knows how to cook]." The wife accepted the invitation, but said as before, that she would come after she had made a supply of wará. She set

out for Kapiapin with her daughter, and when she arrived there she laughingly gave a jar of the *uwé* to Turichungpi. She then went to a house and hung her hammock near the place where Turichungpi kept the tasuri bark in which he rolled his cigarettes. On this occasion she stayed for several days, for she had come to desire her brother-in-law. 537

During his sister-in-law's stay in Kapiapin, Turichungpi sent one of his younger brothers to fetch some tasuri bark. He approached Ikonjuwi's hammock and asked her, "Where is my brother's tasuri bark?" She grabbed his hand and thrust one of his fingers into her vagina saying, "Here is Turichungpi's cigarette cover." The younger brother left the house quite aroused. He joined the other younger brother, and while they made cigarettes, he recounted his experiences with the wife of Karudaibi. Turichungpi, who was lying in his hammock guarding the trophy head he had taken, heard them whispering and caught the words, "Too go-less."

Later, after everybody had settled into their hammocks for the night, one of the younger brothers arose and went to the house and had intercourse with Ikonjuwi. He returned and the other brother proceeded to do the same. By this time Turichungpi realized that his younger brothers had been up to something and asked them what they had been doing. They replied that they had done nothing at all. But Turichungpi, who had observed the loose behavior of his sister-in-law, forced them to confess that they had been having intercourse with Ikonjuwi. To obtain revenge for Karudaibi's repeated refusals of his hospitality, Turichungpi also went to the hammock of his sister-in-law.

The next day Ikonjuwi asked to be brought back to her husband's village. Turichungpi accompanied her, but in mid-journey the other men of the village, who had heard of her intimacies with the three brothers, waylaid the party and gang-raped her. Turichungpi was able to do no more than protect the daughter from similar treatment. By the time the men had finished, Ikonjuwi was dead. They gave her some medicine, however, which brought her back to life. During the course of the rape some of the woman's pubic hairs were pulled out. One of the men noted this and suggested, "She no longer has an owner. Let us pull out the rest of her hairs." They proceeded to do so and then allowed the mother and daughter to go on their way.

When Ikonjuwi arrived in Uacupari, she was in such a terrible state that she went to her hammock and stayed there. Her husband, Karudaibi, and his sister noted that her appearance and behavior were unusual and became suspicious. When the men sat down to eat, the sister waited on them. However, when they wanted more beijú, Karudaibi's sister called out t[illegible] or sister-in-law to bring it, hoping thereby to expose her. Ikonjuwi approached the assembled men holding the beijú in front of her vagina to conceal the fact that she had been plucked. But as she walked, the labia of the vagina, distended by the rape, made a flapping noise. All the men except Karudaibi looked up at her. One said, "Who has been tampering with the mouth of the sack of the *Dajebuiá*?" [the title borne by a man who has taken an enemy head]." Still Karudaibi said nothing, and everybody walked away from the meal in anger and disgust.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1950
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Later Karudaibi told his brother-in-law, Tibirumaiu, to go to his sister and ask who had tampered with the mouth of the sack of the *Dajabuki*. The young man went to his sister and drew her to one side by requesting that she pick the lice from his head. When they were out of earshot of the others, Tibirumaiu posed the question to his sister. She laughed and said, "Nobody except the brother of the *Dajabuki* did anything to me. But I do not know who plucked my pubic hair for I had fainted by then." The youth reported this conversation to Karudaibi. He said nothing, but thereafter had nothing more to do with his wife or their daughter.

After some days had passed he got another wife in the following manner. He approached the woman Dajumpuing while she was alone and bade her good afternoon. She was startled and said, "Ah, but you frightened me." He asked, "Did you think that I was a jaguar?" She said, "No, I did not think that, but what do you want?" He replied, "I want you to come and bathe with me." "Do you want to do with me as you do with your wife," she asked. Karudaibi said simply, "I want you for my wife." He then had a large house built just for him and his new wife.

One day, Karudaibi suggested that the men accompany him to shoot fish in the stream. While everybody spread out to shoot fish and hunt paca, he went on toward the village of Kapiopio, the home of his estranged brother. He hid near one of the paths leading from the village to the gardens, planning to kill and decapitate one of the women of Kapiopio in revenge for the seduction of his wife. Two women passed his lair, but he did not know how to behead a woman nor did he have the courage to attack them. He returned to the men whom he had left fishing and asked, "Did you kill anything?" They replied that they had killed nothing and Karudaibi said, "Neither did I."

Some days later he called for another fishing expedition. Again he concealed himself near the village and awaited a woman. While lying in hiding, an anaconda approached and asked him what he was doing there. Karudaibi explained and further lamented that he did not know how to carry out his intentions. The snake said, "Wait here and I will show you how." He then entered some thick brush at the edge of the path, and when some females appeared he made a noise in imitation of an edible grasshopper highly favored by the Mundurucú women. One entered the bushes to get the grasshopper and the snake grabbed her, covering her mouth against outcry, and cut off her head.

Karudaibi placed the head in his carrying basket and rejoined his men. He asked his two younger brothers if they had killed anything and they replied that the men had all killed many paca. (This fortune in the hunt was due to the charm exercised over the spirit mothers of the game by the trophy head.) When the brothers asked what he had killed, Karudaibi replied, "Sachiriu," and thus revealed to them the dreadful fact that he had taken a head from a fellow Mundurucú.

The basket containing the woman's head was left at the edge of the forest, and Karudaibi did not bring it to his house until everybody had retired for the night. When his wife saw the head she became fearful of her own fate and cried out,

"So this is why you wanted me." Her husband commanded her to be quiet lest she inform the whole village and then proceeded to boil the head and extract the teeth. He buried the skull in the floor of the house.

After finishing his work, Karudaibi went to the men's house for the night. The other men asked what took him so long, and he lied, "I had to wait for a sagi-sagi monkey to cook." The men were puzzled by this answer and he explained, "My new wife is different. Whenever I go to the house she weeps and wants me to stay. For that reason I call her vagina the mouth of the sagi-sagi."

When the people of Kapiepin missed the murdered woman they looked for and wife to no avail, for Karudaibi had buried his victim's body in a deep hole. Turibunggi finally sent one of the younger brothers to Uawapari to inquire for the woman. When the youth arrived, Karudaibi said, "Sit down and talk, brother, for if you do not speak now you will be ashamed to later." "No," said the younger brother, "I have just come to look for one of our women who became lost on her way back from the garden." Karudaibi replied, "I do not think that we have any newcomers here, but go and look. You know how it is. Women arrive and mingle with the other women, and nobody knows that they are here." The younger brother looked, but of course did not find the missing woman.

Karudaibi went again to the outskirts of the village of Kapiepin and this time killed a woman named Saubere. He successfully repeated the dismemberment that he had practiced on the previous occasion, but the people of his village had begun to wonder at his nocturnal activities. On the third occasion that he killed a woman from Turibunggi's village, he was discovered. After that day's hunt the wife of Tibirumaim spied upon Karudaibi's house and saw him and his two younger brothers as they were engaged in knocking the teeth out of the trophy head. When she saw that the head was that of a "person" (a Manduruvara), she ran away in terror. She went to her husband and, after recovering her courage and voice, she told him of the activities of the brothers. Tibirumaim seized his bow and arrows and went to kill Karudaibi. He burst into the house and found the brothers arrayed against him with bows drawn. "Why are you spying upon me?" said Karudaibi. Tibirumaim's courage failed him and he replied, "I only came here to offer you my aid in your work." However, Tibirumaim's wife had spread the alarm, and the news reached the village of Kapiepin.

When Turibunggi heard of Karudaibi's actions, he sent one of his younger brothers to speak to him. The youth approached the elder brother and said, "Another of our women is missing, and they say that it is you who are killing them." Karudaibi denied any implication in the murders and convinced the younger brother that the Warupawat, an enemy tribe, had done the deeds. He elaborated, "They have been near our village too. They frightened the women the other day and we later found their tracks." The younger brother reported this to Turibunggi, but he did not believe it.

Turibunggi then invited Karudaibi to visit his village. The latter accepted to allay the suspicions directed against him. Before going, however, he told the two younger brothers who lived with him to wait for him in the bushes that he had used for ambush.

599 Turishanggi, in the meantime, had told his men to club Karudaihi to death, but he wished to be certain first that the other brother was guilty. The men asked again if he had killed the women, and he again denied it. The women of the village then invited him to join them in a bowl of *dawi* and asked him the same question. Despite his protests of innocence, the women were convinced of his guilt for they recognized him by his underwear. They seized the cord and would have strangled him, but they lacked courage. He merely laughed at their suspicions.

On the following day, all the men of Kayingo went out to hunt. Karudaihi accompanied them, but chose a path that would take him near the bushes where his brothers were hiding. As he walked through the forest he played on a horn so that everybody would know his whereabouts and would therefore not suspect him of criminal activities. From time to time he met other hunters and claimed parts of their game. He came upon a man who was trying to extract a coiin from a hollow log and offered to thrust a stick in one end so that the man could catch the animal as it emerged at the other. The man placed his head in the log and caught the animal as it fled. "Has it got a big head?" asked Karudaihi. The man affirmed that the coiin had a big head and Karudaihi then asked, "Is it as big as a coconut?" When the other replied that it was, he went behind the man as if to look over his shoulder, but instead, grabbed him around the neck. The other man was strong, however, and Karudaihi had to struggle to subdue him. He then cut off the victim's head and brought it to his brothers, who took it home.

Later that evening it was noticed that one of the men had not returned. Karudaihi said, "He will come. When the coiin runs you have to follow it a long distance." As time wore on the men of the village grew increasingly suspicious that Karudaihi had killed the missing man. Some thought that he could not be at fault since they had heard his horn being played all the time they were in the forest, but the others were not at all convinced. However, they could not be sure that Karudaihi was responsible for the hunter's disappearance, and they allowed him to return to his village.

Turishanggi then returned his brother's visit. Before arriving at the village he instructed his brothers to hide near some buriti palms and to kill all the women who came to collect buriti fruit. When he entered the village, Karudaihi greeted him and invited him to join the assembled men in a bowl of coiin beer. Turishanggi consented and added, "I would also like a drink made of buriti fruit. There are trees near by whose fruit is ready to spoil." Karudaihi then sent nearly all the village women to collect buriti for his guest. One man accompanied them. Karudaihi and Turishanggi went out to hunt while awaiting the arrival of the buriti. Turishanggi was walking behind his other brother on the path and presently called ahead to him, "I have to go into the forest to defecate, brother. I will catch up with you later." When he was safely in the forest he set out on a run for his own village and proceeded to make an alliance with the Warupawi against his brothers.

When Karudaihi returned from the hunt, he was informed that all the women who had gone for buriti had been killed and beheaded, and only the man who

counted them had escaped. Karudaibi then wanted to go on the warpath against his brother, but he was not supported by his own men, who blamed him for starting the trouble.

Turidonggi and his people abandoned the village of Kapiapia for fear of the brother and went to the village of the Warupawai, from where they continued to watch the movements of the people of Tawapari. When the dry season arrived, the people of Tawapari, as is customary, left their village to take up temporary residence on the banks of a stream. Turidonggi spied their fires on the shores of the Cururi River above the rapids of Cuparaik, and decided upon a joint attack with their Warupawai allies. The war party came upon one camp, but decided that there were too many people there for an easy victory. They neared another and smaller camp, but its inhabitants were scattered along the banks of the stream. In order to get them back to camp, Turidonggi turned to a shaman and said, "Let us see how good your sorcery is. I want a heavy rain to drive all these people back to shelter." The shaman wet the end of a macaw feather with blue dye and pointed it at the sun. Instantly the sky clouded over and a heavy rain fell, bringing everybody back from their far-flung pursuits. The warriors under Turidonggi fell upon the camp and killed everybody in it.

Turidonggi started the return journey to the village of the Warupawai, but some of the men, led by Pilindipi, were tired of having human blood on their arrow points and resolved to set off by themselves. They paused near the Cururi River to shave their heads and paint themselves. Somewhat farther along their route, Pilindipi, who was sick of bloodshed, announced that he was going to descend into the ground. Many laughed at him and thought this impossible, but he entered the earth and many of the men followed him. As the last man entered, the others grabbed him and pulled him back. Those who did not choose to follow Pilindipi rejoined Turidonggi.

Turidonggi and his remaining followers stayed in the village of the Warupawai until one day when they ran out of macaw feathers. They went to Tawapari to ask some of Karudaibi. The latter received them with outward friendship, although he secretly plotted to kill his brother. Turidonggi was seated in a hammock and all the people of the village came to him to pay their respects. But the women picked up knives and were about to thrust them through the hammock into Turidonggi's back, when Karudaibi said, "Do not do that. He is my guest." His eyes, however, told the women to act as if there was no plot afoot.

Turidonggi explained the purpose of his visit, and his brother assured him that he was welcome to all the feathers he wanted. Karudaibi then took the women aside and ordered them to make the usual drink in order to delay Turidonggi and thus allow a greater opportunity to murder him. But the brother was aware of their plans, and when they sat down to the work on the following day, he said, "Brother, I need some dye to tattoo my son. Give me some in an unpainted bowl." The dye was given to him, and he went behind the men's house on the pretext of urinating. He urinated into the bowl, mixing it with the dye, and blew the mixture in the direction of the sun. The sun became

139 blackened and it grew very dark, under cover of the darkness Yatchinaggi and his men went from house to house and gathered all the manow feathers that they could find. He then said to a younger brother, "Give me a piece of bamboo." He blew the bamboo toward the sun and made it light again. He and his men then departed.

When they were hidden by the forest they began to run, for they knew that Karudaiki and his men would try to intercept them. The men of Uwapari did mount a pursuit, but every time that they came out from the forest onto the path taken by the fleeing Yatchinaggi the fugitives had already passed. They returned to the village, and Yatchinaggi and his men went far to the south, where they became savages. Their descendants are the Dikiwau, or Tandiwau.

III. [illegible] WHO TRIED TO

There lived in the village of Uwapari, the chief of which was Karudaiki, a man named Wakiwobi. Now Wakiwobi had a wife in the village of Uwadibiba, and he went there often to visit her. On one occasion he arrived when the men were all absent and only the women were in the village. He repaired to the men's house and found there a young boy whom he ordered to bring fire to light his cigarette. The boy refused, saying impudently that cigarettes were not food. Wakiwobi explained to him that for men cigarettes were indeed food, but the boy still refused to perform the errand. This angered Wakiwobi so much that he picked up a stone and hurled it at the boy, striking him in the head and killing him instantly. Only the boy's mother saw this act and she made no outcry.

When the other men returned to the village, they saw the body of the boy lying on the floor of the men's house and asked who he died. Wakiwobi replied, "I do not know. He was just standing there and suddenly fell over dead." The boy's mother remained silent.

After this incident, Wakiwobi no longer came to the village of Uwadibiba of his own accord, and the men had to send for him to sing the songs that he knew. One day he went to the village at the request of the men and sang the words, "It was I, it was I, it was I who killed the boy." They decided to kill him for his crime and invited him again. He sang for the men and announced his departure immediately afterward. But the four chiefs of the village—Ba (the head chief), Dabidabin, Watipenugwaua, and Sirawaiu—had ordered the women to make a *wowi* drink and to detain him by inviting him to partake. In the meantime the chiefs went men to the forest to wait in ambush along the trail that Wakiwobi would take.

Wakiwobi drank the *wowi* and then made the round of the houses to bid farewell. At the first house the chief of the household told his wife to heat a bowl of dawi for Wakiwobi. After he had finished the dawi, the chief said to him, "Wakiwobi, I wish to give you some manow feathers. Wait a bit." The visitor accepted the proffered gift gladly, and the chief very slowly pulled out the feathers. The same events transpired in every house that Wakiwobi entered, and he did not set out on his homeward journey until the sun was very high in the sky.

After entering the forest Wakiwéki fell into the ambush that had been prepared for him, but the arrows missed their mark, and he ran off with the others in hot pursuit. His path took him past the house of the chief Ishiwéshi, who shot Wakiwéki in the back of the head. The others caught up and dispatched the fallen fugitive, taking his head as a trophy. His body was also brought to the village where it was cooked and eaten.

Everybody in the village except one old woman was given some of the meat to eat. To avenge this slight, the old woman went to the forest on the pretense of gathering firewood, but really hoping to intercept Wakiwéki's brother to tell him what happened. She sat by the edge of the trail for several days until she finally met the brother. "What are you doing here?" he asked. She replied, "Gathering firewood. And you?" "I am going to see my brother," said the man. The old woman announced, "He is not there. He has eaten him, and Ishiwéshi has his head." The brother concealed his rage and grief and said that he would go to the village and see for himself. But once out of sight of the old woman, he backtracked through the forest and went to his own village to inform the people.

He went immediately to his sister and told her of their brother's fate. Both began to lament loudly, and their wails were heard by Kawabéli. He sent for the youth, saying, "If he has something to say, let him say it in the men's house and not among the women." The brother and sister came to him and asked that he get the head back and avenge the death of Wakiwéki.

Kawabéli ordered arrows to be made and then called all the warriors before him. He asked each to identify their warrior qualities. Some compared themselves to the sho-sho-ko-ronopo, a bird that is very hard to shoot, and others compared themselves to types of wood that arrows cannot enter. Having thus singled out the best warriors, Kawabéli ordered the sister of the slain man to go ahead of the war party to the village of Ba and there sing to the people until they fell asleep. When they were all sleeping soundly she was to steal the head of her brother, whereupon the party would attack the village.

The girl approached the village of the chief Ba, singing as she walked. Two youths of the village heard the song and crept close to the path. They saw the girl, and they also saw behind her the war party. They knew then that there would be a fight and went back to the village to warn the others. But the men did not believe them, and when the girl arrived they asked her what she wanted. "The house of my brother," she answered, meaning that she wanted his head. They gave her instead a ball-gourd full of his grawed limb bones.

Later that night the men fell asleep, and the girl wakened them by singing. This happened several times during the night until finally they all fell into a deep and exhausted sleep. The girl then took the head and ran off, turning into a curujão-do-mato, a night bird. At dawn the war party arrived in the village, and its members hung their hammocks in the men's house. They lay in their hammocks with their heads pointing in one direction so that they would be prepared to leap out and present a united front to the enemy. Ba approached them to present his greeting, but he was armed with a knife which he planned

*339 to shove through the hammocks and into the backs of the visitors. The warriors were prepared for this and they leaped from their hammocks to do battle. The fight raged on until the floor of the men's house was muddy with blood. Many men were killed, but the arrows did not penetrate the bodies of those of Kawishiki's warriors who had claimed impenetrability. Finally his men cried out that they were weak and had had enough fighting, and the attackers withdrew.

But the vanquished warriors plotted to ambush the retreating war party and lay in wait for them near the hill of Hokapipa. Kawishiki was aware of their intention and as his men neared the ambush he sang a magical song that left the enemy stupified and powerless. They then escaped safely, but never returned home. Instead they went off to the north where their descendants live today.

II. [illegible]

Kamaristaiu lived in the village of Kawishiki, which used to be east of Cabrah. The 'shaiu' part of his name means, literally, 'ashamed,' and he was indeed an ashamed man. He used to hunt and associate with the other men, but now he avoided their company entirely and was planning to leave the village. He no longer slept in the men's house, but stayed in the dwelling with his wife. Nor did he hunt in the company of the other men, but waited until all had left the village and then followed well behind them. When the column of hunters paused to allow the stragglers to catch up, he would run past them while they hurled taunts at him. His hair was neglected and had grown as long as a woman's, and all the men would wave their penises at him and shout, "Here is your lip plug, Kamaristaiu."*

Kamaristaiu was stung by these jibes and planned revenge. He said to his wife, "Tomorrow I am going hunting, and I shall not return. But I will leave a trail of leaves so that you can follow me later." He then made several bundles of arrows, which he hid along the path at intervals of 20 to 30 yards. The next day the men went out hunting on the path where the arrows had been deposited. Kamaristaiu brought up the rear as usual, and when the men stopped he ran by them in the midst of jeering taunts. However, as soon as he had passed them he wheeled about and sent all his arrows into his persecutors. When he had no more arrows he ran on with the others in hot pursuit. But he ran only as far as the next cache of arrows where he stopped and shot more shafts at the others. The same thing continued until he had killed nearly all his pursuers; he then ran off into the forest and never returned. His wife followed the trail of leaves that he had left, and from these two sprang the tribe of Parhistaiu.

III. [illegible]

There were once four men who spent all their time fishing in the streams. They were given the collective nickname of 'Kohnyó' because they always sang a song that went, "*Koho, koho, koho.*" Every day they went to the small streams deep in the forest and caught little fish.

* Only women wear lip plugs among the Mandaruni.

The four began to follow all the women in the village when they went to the gardens or collected firewood or went to bathe. If a woman refused their demands for coitus, they attempted again to seduce her. If she spurned them a third time, they cut off her head. To mislead the people of the village into thinking that the deed was done by an enemy war party, they made a great many tracks in the vicinity of the body. And they throw off any possible pursuers by walking in the stream for some distance. They then went to the middle of the forest where they hid the head and spent the rest of the day fishing.

The first time that they did this they returned to the village in the late afternoon and were told that one of the women was missing. Everybody went out to search for her, and her headless body was found where the Kokenyó had left it. Convinced that it was the work of an enemy tribe, all returned to the village.

The next time that a woman was found decapitated, the men of the village still believed that an enemy war party was responsible. But the wily Kokenyó asked, "How can it be that you find enemy tracks near the village, while we who go deep into the forest find no sign of them?" But in spite of such ruses, they were caught on their third attempt.

When the men found that a woman was missing they followed the tracks of the enemy to the banks of a stream. But this time they went up the stream to a point where they discovered a set of tracks leading from the stream to the forest. Further on they encountered another set of tracks leading into the forest, and finally they saw the tracks of the two remaining men leading in the same direction. The men followed these tracks to the point where they stopped and went on until they heard the shouting of the Kokenyó, who were fishing in a stream. "There are the enemy," they said, "encircle them." When they drew close to the enemy they saw that they were really the Kokenyó. "Ah, it was you who killed our women," they cried, but they did nothing and allowed the Kokenyó to return to the village.

For some time the Kokenyó were so ashamed that they did not molest any more women. In time the need for women grew upon them, but they now set out for another village in search of their prey. They left their own village in the afternoon and arrived at the other during the night. Creeping into the houses they had intercourse with some of the women. The women looked at them and thought, "They look like people (Manduruwá); they have armbands and leg-bands . . . " But then they looked at their waists and saw that they were wearing live snakes for belts.

The Kokenyó returned to their village that night, but the women told their husbands, for they thought that they had been visited by some type of demon. The men agreed that the culprits must have been the Elkerimwá, the people of the underworld, and they went to the village of the Kokenyó for shamans. But instead of real shamans, the Kokenyó arrived. They blew smoke over the women and pretended to extract some object. However, instead of extracting an evil spirit, they had only a piece of charcoal in their mouths. The four men took

advantage of the occasion to have intercourse with the women again. The same thing happened several times, and on their last visit they shaved the pubic hair of one of the women.

The men of the village then decided to go out and search for the Kikuyuni, whom they believed to have violated their women. They met instead the Kikuyyi, who were walking along the path singing, "Kolo, kolo, kolo." Upon spying the latter they said, "Ah, it was not the Kikuyuni who shaved the woman's vagina, but these four!" They turned back to the village, but took no action against the Kikuyyi. However, when the four men arrived in the village they were accorded a cold reception and were given no food. Knowing that they had been discovered, the Kikuyyi left for the forest to make war. They were later killed by enemies.

[illegible]

Once there was a man who hunted squirrel every day, and at night brought only three birds home to his wife. She became very sick of squirrel and did not want any more. As he approached the house one day their daughter began to cry. "Do not cry," said the mother, "your father is coming home as usual with the squirrel that makes a bitter broth." The man was near enough to the house to hear this and did not want to enter, but instead retraced his steps to the forest. He reached a place where he could spend the night, and discovered a band of proto monkeys in the tree above him. He climbed the tree, attempting to catch one to bring home for dinner, and grabbed the tail of a female. "Who has got my tail?" cried the monkey. "Let it go. It is very delicate." The man released his hold on the female monkey's tail and began to look for a male. He grabbed one and the male monkey called, "Who has my tail?" and turned upon the man, biting him in the nose. The man fell to the ground, and the whole band of monkeys descended from the tree to eat him. They ate all but one of his legs, which they put into a basket. After eating the man, the monkeys turned into people and headed for his house.

One of the monkeys now in human form, went to the door of the dead hunter's house. The man's wife thought at first that her husband had returned, but she looked up and saw instead a strange man with a basket. She looked inside the basket and immediately recognized her husband's leg, but gave no sign that she had done so. She merely said to her daughter, "Come, let us go fetch water." As soon as they were away from the house, they began to flee through the forest, for they knew that the strangers wished to eat them. They met a poisonous snake, and the woman asked him for aid. The snake said that he could not help her, and she fled on until she met a spider, who gave the same reply. The woman went to all the beasts of the forest and asked for help against the monkeys—for the band had changed back into monkeys—but all said that they were unable to protect her. Finally she encountered an ant and he too was unable to help her, but he told her that farther ahead was a frog who was also a shaman and who could surely help her. She found the frog, and he told her, "I can help you, but you and your daughter must stay behind my back." He then turned toward the advancing monkeys and shot them with a bow and arrow. He also shot a

multitude of other beasts of every species who were also pursuing the woman and her daughter, intent upon eating them.

After the frog had shot and killed all the animals, he ordered the women to skin them and to put their meat on the bakeyent and their hides in the fire. She did this, and there were so many that she was completely blackened with soot when she finished. Then the frog told her, "Go take a bath, but look only upstream and do not look behind you." He did not explain this order to her. The woman went to the stream and bathed, and the dirt from her body turned the stream black. This dirt was acting upon the fish like timbó, and they began to come to the surface, hitting their tails three times before dying. The woman heard this sound and turned around to see what it was. All the fish immediately came back to life again and swam away. At this point the frog came down to the stream to collect the dead fish. When he saw that there were none, he asked the woman if she had looked around. She admitted that she had, and the frog told her that if she had not done this people would not have to go into the forest in search of wild timbó. Instead, fish would have been killed by the dirt from the bottom of bathing women.

III. THE MAN WHO LIVED ON SMOKE

There was once a man whose only food was tobacco smoke. Without tobacco smoke he would die. He was so dependent upon tobacco that, when he ran out of it, he filled a gourd with smoke and drank from it.

One day he went to the forest to get firewood and brought along some tobacco and a gourd full of smoke. He smoked all the tobacco during the journey and began to drink the smoke from the gourd. He drank sparingly, but still he consumed all the smoke when only halfway up the tree. Since he could not live without it, he fell down to the ground dead. However, his body disappeared.

To this day people must plant tobacco only among the burned pieces of wood that he about in the garden.

TALES OF ANIMALS AND PEOPLE

This last group of legends includes a somewhat varied assortment of stories that concern animals or people or, commonly, the two in interaction. The first story explains that dogs originated from a union between a girl and a dog in human form. Two other stories also deal with the domesticated dog. In tale 37 two dogs burst out of the eyes of a burning demon, and tale 38 tells how the inhabitants of the Land of Dogs took revenge upon a Manduruku by feeding him bones.

Tales 37 to 40 are united by the common theme of hostility between father-in-law and son-in-law, an antagonism that seldom erupts into open quarrels in Manduruku society. The story entitled "The Origin of the Alligator" tells of a man who eats his son-in-law, but who is finally outwitted by a son-in-law who escapes a series of traps. The structure of the tale bears a strong resemblance to a Tenetehara legend about a vulture father-in-law* and to two Tukuna myths

* Wagley and Galvão, 1948, pp. 150-151.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
BQ13 Mundurucu BQ13

598
J78
646

collected by Nimuendajú.[a] "The Man Who Married the Guariba Monkey" is in many respects almost identical with a folktale of the same name reported by Roth from the Arawak of British Guiana.[b] An interesting note in the Mundurucú version is an incestuous union between the monkey-woman and her son. Tale 39 deals with the sorcery father-in-law's attempts to initiate the feats of his confederate son-in-law and his consequent death. The story is clearly linked to the Tenetehara "Upiamun Takes a Son-in-law."[c] Another variation of the theme of union between two species is found in tale 40, in which the deer unknowingly marries a jaguar-girl. A similar story is reported from the Tikuna.[d] both Mundurucú versions include an episode in which the son-in-law must maintain a normal demeanor in the face of the wife's family.

598 Included in the following collection are four stories about the land tortoise, a notorious predator in the folklore of the Amazon. Tales about the land tortoise are well represented in collections of Brazilian oral literature, and Charles F. Hartt devoted an entire volume to these stories.[e]

Three stories concern humans who made love to animals. Although this is a common theme in the region, it is worth while to note that the Mundurucú story of a man's love for a sloth has parallels in Carina[f] and Guiana Arawak[g] folklore. Also, stories of a liaison between a woman and a snake are found among both the Mundurucú (tale 49) and the Tenetehara.[h]

The last two stories in this section are of great interest. Tale 57 is an obvious rendition of the story of Hansel and Gretel, although the actors are spirits, and the wicked witch appears as a Tucuquet. It should be noted that the cruel stepmother is missing in the Mundurucú version, as she is in the legend "Babes in the Wood," collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara.[i] Finally, it is fitting that the last Mundurucú myth (58) to be related should be the one that explains their acceptance of the whites. Although the idea that the Mundurucú once owned the present site of the city of Belém has no basis in truth, it is quite accurate to attribute their involvement with the whites to their desire for manufactured articles. This realism is consistent with the common recognition of the modern Mundurucú that needs are cumulative.

58. CAUSE OF THE DEW

599 Daukaweri had arrived at her first menses. She therefore stayed in the house alone when her mother went to the garden and her two brothers set out for the hunt. After they had all left, a young man entered the house. His name was Karupitabi, and he was not a human at all but a dog in human form. However, at that time there were no dogs in the villages of people as there are today.

[a] Nimuendajú, 1952, pp. 140–146.
[b] Roth, 1915, p. 71.
[c] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 151–154.
[d] Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 156.
[e] Hartt, 1872.
[f] Nordenskiöld, 1924, p. 290.
[g] Roth, 1915, p. 304. This story is slightly variant in that a woman loves a male sloth.
[h] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 143.
[i] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 140–142.

Dadokoré had made a dish of wild leaf in fresh-cut milk and invited the young man to eat. After he finished she told him to lie in the hammock and brought him marine fruit and water. She then said to him, "Let us lie together in the hammock." He queried her as to whether she was serious and then asked her how many children she had. She replied that she had none, and Karuptiskó told her, "I am no good for a woman who has had no children." But she accepted him despite his warning, and they had sexual intercourse in the manner of dogs and became locked together upon completion of the act. While lying thus joined he told her that she would have dogs for children and instructed her in the preparation of the medicine that makes dogs become good hunters. He also told her how to use the dog in hunting various types of game.

Later in the day, the mother of Dadokoré returned home and called out, "I have brought you a roast yam, my daughter." The daughter was still joined to Karuptiskó in the hammock and was unable to arise. The mother came over to the hammock and asked, "What are you doing?" The young man replied, "I warned her that it would be no good, but she wanted me anyway." The mother grabbed a stick and struck them at the point of union, breaking the lock. Karuptiskó hobbled off in the direction of the man's house, but kept on going into the forest and was seen no more.

Later the younger brother returned and said, "I brought nothing for you, sister." The mother spoke up and said, "Your sister is already pregnant." "Good," said the brother, "her child can hatch mine when I have one." The older brother came home, and the same conversation took place.

At last Dadokoré's time of confinement arrived, and her mother stayed home with her while the two brothers went to the forest to hunt. Four dogs, two males and two females, were born to her, and her mother liked them very well because they were pretty. The younger brother came home and said, "I have brought nothing for you, sister." The mother said to him, "Your sister has already given birth, but her children are different. If they are people, then they have very long tails." The brother was curious and looked; he immediately wanted one. "Wait until they have grown a bit," said his sister. The second brother arrived and also announced that he had nothing to give to his sister. The mother told him that she had given birth, but that her children could not be people since they had long tails, different type feet, and tails. The older brother was also curious, but as soon as he had seen the dogs, he seized a piece of wood and killed one of the couples. The sister sheltered the remaining male and female with her body and ran off to the safety of the forest with her children and her mother.

The dogs grew to a tremendous size, for they were the children of Karuptiskó, whose people were the wolves of the prairies to the south. Every day they hunted and brought home great quantities of game, so that there was always an abundance of food in the house.

One day the younger brother came to their house, and as he approached he called out. The dogs leaped forward to attack him, but Dadokoré recognized the brother and called off her children. The brother entered the house and was

11. Murphy E-2 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ11 Mandaeans SQ11

given a large serving of meat, upon leaving they gave him roasted meat to take home.

When the younger brother returned to the village, he told his elder brother what had happened, and the latter went to visit his sister and mother also. As he neared their house he shouted, and the dogs ran out to attack him. Dachdoxet recognized the brother who had killed two of her children and did nothing to restrain the dogs. After the brother had been bitten several times, Dachdoxet called out, "That is enough," and the dogs let the brother pass. She gave him food, but he went home covered with bites.

Before he left, the younger brother had requested a male and female dog from the first litter. When the litter arrived, she sent him the two dogs with instructions on how to make them good hunters. From these two dogs grew up the present breed of small Mandaeran dogs. Dachdoxet then went off in the direction of Cayuhli with her two great offspring to join Karuskhli in the land of the Dogs.

II. [illegible] OF THE ALLIGATOR

Karuskhli had a daughter who was much desired by all men. Many came to him to ask her hand in marriage, and he consented gladly to every match, for each marriage lasted only one night. During that first night, the father-in-law always ate the bridegroom. Knowledge of this practice became widespread, but still the young men came to marry the girl, hoping to carry her off the next day. But in all instances the first day was too late.

Among those who wanted to marry the daughter of Karuskhli was a very tiny but very wise man named Anahlit. Anahlit went to his mother and asked, "Mother, is it true that Karuskhli eats all of his sons-in-law?" When the mother confirmed this, he asked if the same fate awaited him if he married the daughter. The mother replied, "Yes, he would surely eat you for you are only the size of a little boy, and he has already eaten big strong men." He was determined, however, to have the girl, and his suit was readily accepted by her father.

Now the way that Karuskhli killed his sons-in-law was to wait until they left the house at night to urinate, and when they returned he fell upon them as they entered the door. But when the clever Anahlit returned to the house after urinating, his small size allowed him to enter through a hole in the wall, and he thus eluded the malignant father-in-law.

Karuskhli persisted in his efforts to kill his new son-in-law and sent him off on the following day to make a bird blind in the branches of a tree. Anahlit knew that his father-in-law intended to pounce upon him as he descended from the tree, and to warn of his approach he stationed four birds in the tree, each bird facing in one of the four directions. As Karuskhli approached furtively along the path, one of the birds began to sing, and the father-in-law knew that he had been discovered. He tried to sneak up to his son-in-law from each of the three remaining directions, but the birds detected his presence immediately. Having no other course to follow, he then went up to the tree openly and called, "Did you kill any birds?" "Yes," came the reply. "Then bring them down,"

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Manduruca SQ13

commanded the father-in-law. "Wait a moment. There is another bird to kill," said Amabiri and shot his arrow off into the forest. He then said to Karuskabé, "I missed. Will you get my arrow for me." The father-in-law sped to get the arrow before his son-in-law could descend from the tree, but he was not fast enough. Amabiri was already safe on the ground, and they went home together.

They then went into the forest to cut down branches of the sarsaparilla tree to get the fruit. Amabiri knew that his father-in-law would attempt to seize him as he climbed the tree, and he used a piece of rattan inner bark to make his climbing ring. It broke when he put it around his feet and he sent Karuskabé for another piece. By the time the latter had returned, the son-in-law had already repaired the ring and was high in the tree. He ate some of the ripe fruit and chewed the seeds into a sticky mass, which he kept. When enough branches had been cut, the father-in-law told him to come down and start for home. But Amabiri knew that the older man was planning to grab him as he climbed down, so he told him, "Wait. There are some baby parrots up here that I would like to capture." He got the parrots, which he had previously placed there through his magical power, and began to descend. Part way down he complained of fatigue and threw the parrots to his father-in-law. After picking them up, the latter looked up at Amabiri, who at that very moment threw the sticky mass of chewed seeds into the other's face. He then fled, afraid to return to the house of Karuskabé.

Amabiri ran until he reached a stream where some people, among whom was his sister, were fishing. He told them that he was being pursued and asked to be hidden. The people knew of Karuskabé's reputation, and they consented to protect the fugitive son-in-law. Amabiri, through his magical powers, made himself even smaller than he already was, and the people tried to hide him first in the crook of their elbows and then behind the knees. But he was still visible, and it was finally decided to put him on the back of someone's neck, instructing that person to face constantly toward Karuskabé. Amabiri then gave them the following instructions: "When Karuskabé comes, he is going to look for me in your midst and will not believe you when you tell him that I am not here. He will threaten to eat you. You should then ask him to open his mouth to show which teeth he is going to eat you with. When he opens his mouth, throw a red hot stone inside it and this will kill him."

All that Amabiri predicted actually happened, and when Karuskabé opened his mouth wide, all the people gathered around and exclaimed, "Ah, there is the tooth with which our grandfather is going to eat us." The father-in-law opened his mouth still wider, and they threw the hot stone inside, killing him. They then flung his body into the stream, where it floated on top of the water. Amabiri went on his way.

The people went back to their village and announced that Karuskabé was dead and was floating upon the water; this was also confirmed by the women who went to bathe in the stream. Amabiri's sister was disturbed that the body floated and went to the stream and pushed it below the surface and under a log with her foot. There it became transformed into the first alligator.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

38. THE MAN WHO MARRIED THE GUARIBA MONKEY

×539 There was once a man who unknowingly married a guariba monkey in human form. The couple lived together until she grew pregnant; she then suggested a visit to her father. On the way she cautioned her husband, "Watch out for my father for he is very nasty. Whatever you do, do not laugh at him."

The pair arrived at a house high in the branches of a tree among the vines. "This is my father's house," said the wife, but the house was empty. They came to a second house high in a tree but found nobody. At the third house, they encountered the monkey family, all of whom were in human form.

The husband was well received by the father-in-law. The latter said to his son-in-law, "Let us eat some cupiuba leaves, and we will sing." At that time the cupiuba leaf had an intoxicating effect, although it does not today.

The father-in-law ate a great deal of cupiuba leaf and became very drunk and began to sing. The son-in-law looked at the older man's mouth as he sang and thought, "How much like a guariba monkey he looks." The idea amused him so much that he began to laugh. The monkey turned very silent and later said to his daughter, "This husband of yours is no good. Let us all leave him." He then fed the man enough cupiuba leaf to put him to sleep. When he was asleep he put him in a hammock and hung the hammock on the end of a limb, from where he could not descend. The monkey family, including the man's wife, fled.

When the man awoke he looked around and saw that there was no escape from his lofty perch. But some bees and the wasp came and brought him back to earth. The wasp said to him, "Now is the time to seek revenge." The son-in-law agreed and went home and prepared many arrows before setting out in pursuit of his in-laws. He arrived at the first tree house and then at the second, but nobody was at either. In the third house, however, he found and killed all the guariba monkeys except his pregnant wife. The wife escaped by herself and later gave birth to a son. She mated with the son and from this union came the present species of guariba monkey.

39. STORY OF THE MUCURA

At one time the mucura were people. The arabamba (a fishing bird), the perevejo (an insect), the pigeon, the honey-eating fox, the hummingbird, the otter, and the tick were also in the form of people, but, unlike the mucura, they were really animals.

The daughter of the mucura married the arabamba. One day he invited his bride to take her basket and fish with him. They went to the river, and the arabamba climbed out on the end of a long limb above the water and defecated. A fish came to eat the excrement, and the arabamba dive down and caught it. He repeated this until the wife's basket was full of fish.

When the couple went home, the old mucura greeted his daughter and inquired about their luck in fishing. The daughter reported the fine catch and told the curious father how it was accomplished. The mucura said, "Tomorrow I will go and do the same." He invited his wife to bring her basket and accompany him,

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

went to the river, and repeated all that the arabamba had done. But the fish would not eat his excrement, and he caught nothing. He returned to his daughter and said to her, "Your husband is not a person. Leave him." She did. 539

The daughter of the mucura then married the pigeon, and he too invited her to fish. They went to a small lake and the husband drank from it, and then went inland and vomited all the water. He repeated this several times and at last succeeded in drying up the lake. Many fish were left stranded on the dry lake bed, and they picked them up and brought them home. As before, the mucura asked his daughter whether they caught many fish and how they were caught. He resolved to go and do the same as his son-in-law. He went to a lake and drank heavily from it and then went inland and tried to vomit. But he was unable to, and went home to tell his daughter that her husband was not human and that she must leave him.

The mucura's daughter then married the percevejo, who invited her to help him weed the garden. They went to the garden and he said to her, "Just wait here." He then crawled around among all the weeds and urinated on them. The weeds all died. The father attempted the same without result. He ordered the daughter to leave her husband.

The daughter next married the honey-eating fox, and one day the new husband invited her to take a gourd and go hunting with him. He climbed a tree in which he spied a beehive and called out, "Honey, honey." The honey flowed out of the beehive and filled the gourds. When the father tried to emulate his son-in-law, he had no success, and he ordered his daughter to leave the fox.

The daughter married the hummingbird, who also invited her to collect honey with him. He went to each flower and opened it, and the honey flowed into the gourds. Again the mucura wished to do the same, and again he met with failure.

After being ordered to leave the hummingbird, the daughter of the mucura married the tick. One day the tick asked her to help him collect Brazil nuts. They went to the forest, and he climbed a big Brazil-nut tree, from which he knocked down several husks of nuts. When they had enough, he placed a leaf under himself and jumped out into space. "Here I come," he shouted, as he floated gently to earth on the falling leaf. The father mucura did the same, and when he had knocked down enough nuts he placed a leaf against his stomach and leaped off the branch. But instead of floating to the earth, he fell down heavily on his stomach. Like the other husbands, the mucura decided the tick was not a person and therefore not suitable for the daughter.

The daughter then married the otter. He invited his bride to fish with him, and when they reached the banks of the stream, he told her to collect a large pile of firewood. He built a roaring fire and then sliced a vine into four strips, which he wove together to make a cord for stringing fish. By this time the fire had burned down to red coals, and the otter told her, "I am going to jump into that fire and roll around. But you must not shout when you see this." The otter did as he said and then leaped out of the fire, grabbed his fish string, and jumped into the water shouting. As he swam downstream he caught many fish, which he strung on his vine.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

X539

The mucura attempted to catch fish in the same way. He built a roaring fire and jumped into it and rolled around. However, his wife saw that he was burning and reached to pull him out. She could grab only his tail, and she pulled it until the skin came off. He was now a true mucura (these animals have hairless tails), and he jumped out of the fire and scampered away into the trees.

40. THE JAGUARS AND THE DEER

At one time a deer married the daughter of a jaguar. The deer did not know that he had married a jaguar, since both were in human form. The couple went to live in the house of the deer, but one day the wife suggested a visit to her family. The deer agreed, not knowing that his in-laws were really jaguars with human bodies. On the way, the wife cautioned him, "Beware of my father because he is very ugly and ferocious. So also are my sisters and brothers and their husbands and wives. When I present you to them they will embrace you and tickle you. Do not laugh, but keep a serious countenance. If you laugh they will eat you."

When they arrived at the house of the jaguars, nobody was at home. The men had all gone hunting, and the women were away from the house. The first to return was the father. The daughter said to him, "This is my husband and your son-in-law." The father-in-law embraced him and attempted to tickle him into laughter, but the deer was forewarned and remained serious. As each of the other members of the jaguar family returned home, the same happened. All the hunters brought back game, but none had killed a deer. They all sat down and ate.

The next day all the jaguar males went out to hunt, and the father-in-law brought home a deer. At the sight of the dead deer, the deer son-in-law became frightened, for he realized that these people were jaguars and that they knew that he was a deer. The deer was cooked and served to everybody. All ate heartily except the son-in-law, who only pretended to eat.

On the following day the deer said, "Today, father-in-law, I am going to hunt also." He went out to the forest and killed a jaguar, which he brought back to the house. The jaguar family, including the deer's wife, became terrified when they saw the deer's game, for they thought that the son-in-law would surely kill and eat them too. But they did not dare to let the deer know that anything was wrong, and they cooked the dead jaguar and pretended to eat it.

That night the father-in-law said to the deer, "Son-in-law, in what manner do you sleep?" The deer said, "I sleep with my eyes open, and when I am awake my eyes are shut. And you, father-in-law?" The jaguar answered, "I am different. When I am awake my eyes are open, and when I sleep they are closed."

The jaguars were afraid of the deer, and planned to flee that night while he was asleep. The deer went to sleep, and his eyes were closed, for he had lied to his father-in-law about his sleeping habits. The old jaguar came and looked at him and reported to the others, "His eyes are closed. He must still be awake." From time to time he checked on the son-in-law, who eventually awakened. The old jaguar looked again and said, "His eyes are open. At last he is asleep." They all then fled to the forest. The deer then got up and fled also, but in the opposite direction.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

41. ORIGIN OF THE SLOTH

There was once a man who had a very peculiar hunting practice. He would accompany the other men a certain distance into the forest and then stop and let them go on. When they were safely out of sight he would proceed to cut a piece of meat out of his own thigh, crying "ai, ai," in pain as he did this (in Mundurucú 'ai' is not only an expression of pain but the word for 'sloth'). He would then collect and scatter about hair from deer that the other men had butchered, and when the others returned he always told them that he had killed a deer. 539A

After each day's hunt he returned to his house and told his mother, "I have killed only this," presenting to her the meat from his own thigh. The old woman would cook the slice of meat and bring it out to the men's house. The man's leg always healed, and new flesh replaced the part that he had cut.[a]

In time the men became suspicious of the "deer" that yielded but one piece of meat, and they also wondered at the man's custom of lagging behind. One of the men went back to spy upon him and reported his behavior to all the people of the village. That afternoon his mother received and cooked his usual offering of meat without comment. She brought it to the men's house and said to him, "Here is your meat. We used to think that you brought good meat, but you bring only bad meat from your own body." When the man heard this, he rolled over in his hammock and clung to it with his hands and feet, his back facing to the ground. "Who told you that? Who told you that?" he repeated. As he said this he began climbing up the hammock in the manner of a sloth in a tree and turned into the first sloth.

42. THE MAN WHO TURNED INTO THE MÃE DA LUA GRANDE

There was once a man who had to be fed directly by his mother, like a young bird. He had a wife, but he always refused the food that she offered and went to his mother's house to be fed. Whenever he was being fed, his mouth turned into a beak and his arms into wings. He flapped his wings while his mother was putting the food in his mouth and cried, "Wah, wah, wah."

His wife wondered why her husband would not eat, and went to spy upon him in the house of his mother. When she learned the truth, she would have nothing more to do with him. He then turned completely into a bird, the mãe da lua grande.

43. THE MAN WHO TURNED INTO THE MÃE DA LUA PEQUENA

Once there was a man who went with his wife to look for some patuá palm fruit. When they reached a grove of patuá, the man left the path to look for a tree with ripe fruit. After a time his wife heard him shout, "Here is a ripe one." She went in the direction of his voice, but did not find him. She heard him shout from another direction and again went in search of him, but still she did not find him. Once more she heard him shout, but he was nowhere visible. Finally she cried in exasperation, "Where are you now?" He called back, "Here is a ripe one . . . one . . . one . . . ," and his voice trailed off into the cry of the mãe da lua pequena, into which he had become transformed.

[a] Wagley and Galvão (1949, p. 133) report the motif of the man who cuts meat from his own leg in the context of a rather different Tenetehara story.

Il: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Munurucu SQ13

44. THE TORTOISE AND THE DEER PLAY A GAME

*539

Two tortoises were playing together on a hill at a game which they called *karurapenpenpenpen*. There was a clean, straight path on the side of the hill that terminated at the bottom in a tree. The tortoises climbed to the top of the path and rolled back down it, shouting *karurapenpenpenpen* as they descended. When they neared the tree at the bottom, they pulled their heads into their shells and struck the tree with a loud noise.

The deer arrived on this scene and watched their game with great curiosity. "What are you doing, Yautí?" he asked. "We are playing *karurapenpenpenpen*," they answered. "Try it yourself. It is lots of fun." The deer responded that they would have to teach him, and the tortoises said, "Just watch what we do and follow us." Down the hill they rolled, shouting "*karurapenpenpenpen*," and pulled their heads into their shells just before striking the tree. The deer followed after them, gaily crying, "*karurapenpenpenpen*," but having no shell his head smashed into the tree and he was killed.

The tortoises thought this funny. "Weh, weh, weh," they chortled, clapping their hands. They then sat down and ate the deer.

45. THE TORTOISE RACES WITH THE DEER

One day the deer said jokingly to the tortoise, "Yautí, do you think that you can keep up with me if we run together?" The tortoise immediately replied, "Yes. I can keep up with you." The deer did not believe him, and they agreed to run together the following day.

The tortoise then went to all the other tortoises and posted them along the line of the race. He instructed them, "Whenever the deer calls out 'Yautí,' answer him." The tortoise himself waited at the finish line.

When the race started, the deer ran for a while and then, curious to see whether the tortoise had kept the pace, called out "Yautí." "Ah?" came the answer from a tortoise posted along the route. The deer ran faster and later called again. Again he was answered and he ran even faster. This happened several more times and each time the deer ran faster. Finally he fell over dead from exhaustion. All the tortoises laughed, "Weh, weh, weh," and clapped their hands. They then sat down and ate the deer.

46. THE TORTOISE, THE JAGUAR, AND THE ALLIGATOR

One day the tortoise was traveling through the forest and passed under a najá palm in the top of which some brego monkeys were eating the palm fruit. He stopped to eat some of the fruit which had fallen to the ground when the monkeys spied him. "Ah, there is Yautí," they exclaimed. "Come up and eat with us, Yautí." The tortoise replied that he could not climb, and two of the monkeys went down and carried him to the top of the tree. He ate najá fruit with them until they departed, leaving him alone in the tree.

A passing jaguar saw the tortoise in the top of the tree and called to him, "How did you get up there, Yautí?" "I climbed," answered the tortoise. The jaguar, who

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

wanted to eat him, then said, "You climbed! Come down and show me how you did it." "No," said the wily tortoise. "I do not know how to get down. Besides, I like it here." The jaguar remained under the tree, with his neck craned upward, imploring the tortoise to come down. Finally he grew tired and his head drooped down. At this point, the tortoise jumped from the tree and struck the jaguar's head with his hard shell, killing him. "Weh, weh, weh," laughed the tortoise, as he clapped his hands and sat down to eat the jaguar. 539^

After he had consumed the jaguar, the tortoise made a flute out of one of the jaguar's bones. He sat at the entrance of a hole that he was using for a home and played a song in which he sang, "Here is the bone of Yanarite (a proper name given to the jaguar). How ugly it is." Another jaguar came along and said, "Yauti, are you calling my name?" "No," answered the tortoise, "I am calling my own name." He then sang the song, substituting 'Yauti' for 'Yanarite.' The jaguar went away satisfied, but he had gone only a short distance when the tortoise sang the song again with the original words. The jaguar returned and the same dialogue transpired. The third time that the tortoise did this, the jaguar ran back enraged and tried to grab him. The tortoise quickly retreated into his hole, and the jaguar managed to seize only a forepaw. But the tortoise, whose skin is like bark, laughed and said, "You have only the root of a tree." The jaguar released his grip and the tortoise withdrew deep into the hole.

Some time later an alligator arrived at the entrance to the tortoise's lair and called inside, "Yauti, do you know that fava beans grow on vines?" The tortoise responded, "No, they grow on trees," and an argument ensued. At last the patience of the alligator had reached its limit, and he covered the entrance to the tortoise's hole with sticks and dirt. The next day he returned to see if the tortoise was dead so that he could eat him. He called out, "Yauti," and received the answer, "Ah!" "Do you know that there is a lot of wood fungus [eaten by tortoises] in the forest?" The tortoise was not to be lured out by so transparent a ruse and replied, "I am not interested, since I have already eaten well." The alligator returned for several days in a row, but the durable tortoise was still alive. Finally, the tortoise decided to trick the alligator. He shed his old shell and grew another and then awaited the alligator. When the latter called to him, he answered in a weak and fainting voice, and the alligator thought that he was near death. He then escaped from his den by another entrance.

On the following day, the alligator received no answer and proceeded to dig out the hole to get the body of the tortoise. He saw the shell and reached for it, whereupon the very much alive tortoise sneaked up behind him and pushed him into the hole and covered it. He clapped his hands and laughed, "Weh, weh, weh." The next day he returned and called, "Alligator." The alligator replied and the tortoise taunted, "Do you know that there are a lot of fish just spoiling in the river?" The alligator lamented, "Ah, but I cannot get out of this hole." The alligator dried out and weakened very rapidly, and a few days later the tortoise received only a weak answer from his prisoner. The next day, the tortoise received no reply whatsoever; the alligator was dead. The tortoise laughed, "Weh, weh, weh," and clapped his hands.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

47. THE TORTOISE AND THE TAPIR

x539

The tortoise was under a buritĩ palm one day, eating the fallen fruit. The tapir discovered him there and exclaimed, "Ah, it is you who have been eating my food." He stamped upon the hard-shelled tortoise a number of times and drove him deep into the muddy ground. The tapir went away, but the tortoise was so thoroughly stuck that he remained there for a long while.

At last a band of peccaries came to eat under the buritĩ palm and stirred up the mud so thoroughly that the tortoise, who had by this time grown greatly, was uncovered. They said, "Ah, it is you Yautĩ. What were you doing down there?" The tortoise told them what had happened, and the peccaries counseled him to go seek his revenge.

He followed the old tapir tracks for a long time and finally came to an old pile of tapir dung. "Is the tapir very far away?" the tortoise asked of the dung heap. "Very far. You will never catch up to him," was the reply to the slow-moving tortoise. Farther on the tortoise sighted a place where the tapir had bedded down some time ago. He asked the same question and received the same answer. He continued on his journey, and the dung heaps and the sleeping places became fresher, but still they answered that the tapir was very far away. He persisted and finally came upon the sleeping tapir.

"Now that I have caught him, what shall I do with him," thought the tortoise. He contemplated biting the tapir's left foreleg and bit his own to experiment. It did not hurt, so he tried all his other legs with no success. He then bit his own testicles and this hurt terribly. "Ah, that is it," explained the tortoise, and he clamped onto the tapir's testicles with his jaws. The tapir jumped up and ran, wild with anguish, but the tortoise maintained his grip. The tapir ran and ran and finally dropped dead. The tortoise said, "How did you like that? That is in return for all of my sufferings under the ground." He clapped his hands and laughed, "Weh, weh, weh."

He called the other tortoises to help him eat the tapir, but there was still too much meat, and some jaguars came to help them. They all ate, and when they were finished the jaguars were thirsty. But there was no water in the neighborhood.

The tortoise, who can go for long periods without water, said to the jaguars, "There is water near by." He then went off a short distance, urinated, and rolled about in the water. He returned, wet and muddy, and announced to the jaguars that he had just bathed. They went out one by one to look for the water but returned thirstier than before. The tortoise did this again and again, and all the jaguars died of thirst. All the tortoises laughed, "Weh, weh, weh," and clapped their hands in glee. They then sat down and ate the jaguars.

48. THE MAN WHO LOVED THE SLOTH

There was once a man who loved a sloth named Araben. Every few days he and his brother would go out to work in the garden and, after a short time, he would announce to the younger brother that he was going off to the forest to kill birds.

But instead of hunting for birds he passed under a tree from which the sloth was hanging. He then called, "Araben, Araben. Come down." The sloth replied very lazily, "I do not want to. I do not want to. Your wife will talk about me. She will say that my teeth are like biribá pits [which are black, like sloth's teeth]." "No," reassured the man, "she will not know about us." The sloth would then climb down very, very slowly, as do all sloths. When she reached the ground they had intercourse and spent the rest of the day in playing. After his tryst with the sloth, the man would return home and tell his brother that he did not see even a toucan that day. 539x

The younger brother, who had no trouble in killing birds, grew suspicious of the activities of his older brother. The next time that the latter took his leave from the garden, the former followed him. The younger brother watched the other's activities with the sloth with some wonderment and then went home to tell his sister-in-law of the behavior of her husband. But he cautioned her, "Do not say anything to him. I am going to kill the sloth."

On the following day, the younger brother went by himself to the tree in which the sloth lived. He called to her, "Araben, Araben. Come down." The sloth, thinking that it was the older brother, descended from the tree. The younger brother then said to her, "Do you know what? I am angry with you," and killed her with a blow from a cudgel. He then laid a large branch across her head to make it appear that there had been an accident.

The next time that the two brothers went to the garden, the older one went off on the usual pretext of killing birds. He called to her but received no answer. He then cried to her, "What is the matter? Did somebody say something to you about me?" There was still no answer and upon further investigation he discovered his lover's body lying under the tree, seemingly crushed by a falling limb. He accepted her death as an accident, but was so grieved that he cried until he could hardly speak. He returned to his house and refused the food that his wife offered to him on the excuse that "the jaguar has stolen my voice."

The man then resolved to kill himself by eating all varieties of inedible plants, in the hope that one would prove to be poisonous. He ate many plants without result. Finally he tried the fruit of the *mõriapa*, not knowing that this fruit would enable him to detect the truth and see things as they really were. He ate the fruit and fell into a trance, during which he saw that his brother had killed the sloth. When he revived he killed the brother in revenge.

49. THE WOMAN WHO LOVED THE GREEN SNAKE

There was once a woman named Utukerebõ, who loved a green snake named Tupašerebõ. The woman would frequently say to her mother that she was going off to collect sorva fruit from branches that had fallen to the ground (limbs of the sorva tree often break under the weight of the fruit). She then went out to a sorva tree, high in the limbs of which was the green snake. "Come down, Tupašerebõ," the woman would call, and the snake slithered down and they would have intercourse and play all day. At the end of the day, the snake used to climb back up the tree and knock down enough sorva fruit to fill his lover's basket. She would

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

X539 then go home and give the fruit to her mother, who distributed it throughout the village.

Utukerebō went to gather sorva fruit every few days, and finally she became pregnant. Her brother became suspicious of her frequent trips to the forest and wondered at her invariable fortune in finding sorva fruit. He followed her to her rendezvous one day, but he did not notice her partner. She cried out in the midst of romping with the snake, "Do not make me laugh so much, Tupaŝerebō. You are making me laugh so hard that I am urinating." The brother could see her but not the person to whom she spoke. However, he finally saw the snake after it had climbed the tree and was crossing the branches in search of fruit to knock down to the woman. The brother went home and told the mother, who warned all the people in the village to avoid the fruit for it was gathered by a snake and not by a person.

The woman's brother decided to kill the snake, and he went to the sorva tree and called out, pretending that he was Utukerebō. The snake came down from the tree, and the brother exclaimed, "Do you know what? I am angry with you." He then killed the snake and coiled him at the foot of the tree so that the serpent appeared to be asleep.

The sister went again to see the snake and found him dead at the foot of the tree. She returned to the village empty-handed and went immediately to the house of the man who had loved the sloth to ask him how he found the killer of his lover. He told her of the fruit that he had eaten which gives people the ability to see everything as it truly is. The woman ate it and found out that her brother was the guilty one. She took no action against him but bore and reared her son, the product of her affair with the snake. When the son grew up she told him that it was his uncle who had killed his father. The boy asked the uncle to make arrows for him and took one of these arrows and shot and killed him. After the two incidents of the sloth and the green snake, the shamans saw that everyone could have access to their magical powers. To prevent this, they made the *mōriapo* plant poisonous, and today nobody can eat its fruit.

50. THE MAN WHO WENT TO THE LAND OF THE DOGS

There was once a Mundurucú who traveled downstream with his white patron (rubber trader) to the lands bordering on the sea. There they entered the Land of the Dogs, in which dogs existed in the form of people. The patron introduced the Mundurucú to the dogs as a man from the savannah land of the interior. They said, "Yes, we know about your people. They mistreat our grandchildren (the dogs owned by the Mundurucú) and give them nothing to eat but bones." The dogs then invited the trader and the man to eat with them. They went to the edge of the village and brought a pile of bones which they gave to the Mundurucú, saying, "Here is some of the food that you give to our grandchildren."

Later, the patron and the man took their leave. The dogs came out to attack them as they left the village, but they ran away and escaped aboard a ship. The

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ship sailed out to sea and almost to the end of the world, where it went under the water and came out in the land of the sky. (The Mundurucú believe that the sky and water meet at the end of the world.) There they were met by Karusakaibõ who invited them to look down upon the world. The man looked down and saw that his wife was already married and pregnant. Karusakaibõ advised him to go back and take another woman. He went back to the world and finally found his way back to his village. He lived there to an old age. 539x

51. THE MAN WHO HAD COITUS WITH THE FROG

A man was hunting in the forest one day when he heard a female frog named Wawa singing, "Wa, wa, wa, wa," in a croaking voice. The man went over to Wawa, who was sitting in a hole in a tree and said, "Why are you making that grunting noise? Be mine, and I will make you grunt from the pain of my penis inside you." The frog continued singing, and the man went away. However, as soon as he left Wawa transformed herself into a beautiful woman wearing a lovely, bluish dress. She appeared on the path in front of the man and said, "What did you say when I was singing back there?" He replied, "I said nothing. Nothing at all." The transformed Wawa said, "You did say something. You said that you wanted to marry me and make me grunt from the pain of your penis. All right, I want to be your wife." The man was pleased with this, for she was very beautiful.

They walked along the path a bit, and the man then wanted to have coitus. Wawa agreed and said, "Let me know when you are ready to ejaculate." They had intercourse and when he reached his climax he told her. At that instant she changed herself back to a frog and went hopping off with the man's penis caught in her vagina. He stood helplessly as she hopped away and stretched his penis out to an incredible length. After it had stretched to about fifty feet she released her grip and went on her way.

The man wanted to go home, but he could not; his penis was so long that he could not carry it. He tried to coil it over his shoulders, but it was too heavy. He attempted to wrap it around his waist, but that failed. He stood in despair with his penis lying coiled about on the ground when some otters arrived.

The otters asked the man what was wrong and he hold them what had happened. "That is nothing," they said. "We will fix you up." They went to the stream and caught a caratinga and roasted it just enough to heat it. They applied the heated caratinga to the man's penis, and it began to shrink. When it had diminished to a palm's length, they asked, "Is that enough?" He said, "No, a little more." They reapplied the caratinga, and the man's penis shrank to the size of a little finger. "How is that?" they asked. The man cried out in dismay and jumped away. He went home with a tiny penis.

It was due to this episode that the caratinga is now half-black from being half roasted. To this day the caratinga is known as *"awareaipõ iuiuata"* (heated the penis of the otter—the discrepancy is obvious; it was really the man's penis that had been heated).

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

52. THE CITY OF THE GIANT ANACONDA

A539 A party of Mundurucú and Apiacá were returning from a war foray and camped upon the banks of the Tapajós River for the night. They chose a place near a stretch of very deep and calm water, and they heard from it the sounds of roosters and cows. Also, one of the boys had cried all night, and this was taken as a bad omen. Before dawn, the old men woke up saying, "Let us go in the direction of our *ibé* [water and manioc flour, but frequently used as a generic term for food and, as in this case, home]."

The party set out across the river in two large bark canoes. The first crossed the river safely, but the second was sucked down by a giant whirlpool. The men in the second canoe were dragged down to the bottom of the river, and there they arrived in a wonderful city inhabited by enchanted people and owned by the giant anaconda. In it they had coffee, chickens, and cows and all the other marvels of a great city. All the men were allowed to enter except two, who rose to the surface and swam to an island in the middle of the river. There they shouted to the men of the first canoe, who picked them up and brought them to shore. All the others stayed in the city.

53. HOW DOGS AND JAGUARS BECAME ENEMIES

At one time, dogs and jaguars were not enemies.

A hunter and his dogs went into the forest to kill some game. On their return trip the hunter left his dogs and his arrows by a tree and went to get some tauarí bark to make cigarettes. While he was stripping and pounding the bark into thin sheets, a jaguar arrived and greeted the dogs. "Hello, children, what are you doing here?" "We are waiting for our father who went off to get tauarí bark," they replied. The jaguar noticed the arrows leaning against the tree and said, "Here are your father's arrows. Can they really kill people?" The dogs assured the jaguar that indeed they could kill people, and the jaguar picked up a smooth shaft and passed it back and forth in his fist. He laughed and commented that this one could not hurt anybody. He then took a fishing arrow having a small bone barb and passed it inside his fist. The barb caught him and he said, " This might do a bit of damage." He did the same with a blunt-nosed bird arrow, and when it did not pass through his fist, he said, "This one looks dangerous." He then took a large hunting arrow such as is used for big game and laughed, "This one certainly could not hurt people." "It can so kill people," cried the dogs who were angered by all this foolishness, and they barked at the jaguar and chased him up the tree. The hunter heard the commotion and returned to investigate. When he saw the treed jaguar, he picked up the same arrow that the jaguar had sneered at and killed him. Since that time, dogs and jaguars have been mortal enemies.

54. HOW THE BIRDS GOT THEIR COLORS

A royal eagle mother lived with her child in a nest atop a samauma tree. One day the mother eagle flew down to the water to seize a terrapin that was surfacing. She

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

caught the terrapin in her claws, but it was so large and strong that it dragged her down to the bottom of the river. 539x

The motherless eagle child cried and cried until a black eagle came and fed it. The latter soon grew tired of caring for the fledgling and left. Then came a rapina eagle, who fed the young one and stayed with it until it was fully grown. He then said, "You are now big. You must take revenge upon the terrapin." The black eagle and the rapina eagle then put a log which weighed the same as the terrapin in the water and said to the young royal eagle, "If you can lift this up to your nest you can do the same with the terrapin." The eagle flew down to the water and after a great struggle carried the log up to its nest.

The eagle was ready for the terrapin and waited at a good vantage point for him to surface. The terrapin surfaced and, thinking that the young eagle was in its nest, shouted, "It was good that we ate your mother." The terrapin was all decorated with the feathers of the dead eagle. But the son swooped down from behind and grabbed the terrapin. The latter submerged, pulling the eagle with him, but the other terrapins pushed them to the surface, and the eagle flew off to his nest with his prey.

The eagle called upon the other birds to help him devour the terrapin; but first they had to open the shell. The toucan pounded at the hard shell with the side of his beak (which accounts for its present shape), but to no avail. Then the carpinteiro, a kind of penicapau, pecked at the shell until it broke. The birds all ate and decorated themselves with the red blood, the blue fluid from the gall bladder, and the yellow fat. The toucan put the blue fluid around his eyes and placed yellow fat on the trunk of his tail and in a band across his breast. He also placed blood on his tail. The penicapau put blood on his head, and the pipira covered himself completely with blue gall. The mutúm put blood on his legs and beak and then called out to the galsa, who had just arrived, "Let us smear some white clay upon ourselves. You go first." He did this to keep the galsa from using any of the terrapin dyes. The galsa covered himself with the white clay and then said, "Now you." The mutúm, who did not intend to paint himself white, flew away, but the galsa reached out to grab him. He caught only the tail of the mutúm, which to this day is white.

The royal eagle gave the head of the terrapin to the rapina eagle to reward him for his trouble in rearing him. The head, when used as a horn, made a noise that sounded, "Toe, toe, poat, poat." The tawató eagle, a very large bird, grew envious for he had a very shrill voice. He asked the smaller rapina eagle for the horn with such insistence that the latter yielded it. Today the tawató eagle has a deep voice and the rapina eagle can only cry, "Eee, eee, eee."

55. HOW THE BRAZIL-NUT TREE GREW LARGE

The Brazil-nut tree was once so small that even the women could climb it to gather nuts.

One day a woman was in the branches of a Brazil-nut tree when a man arrived below and asked her to come down and have intercourse with him. She refused him, but he persisted and called to her to hurry. She still refused, and he said,

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

X539

"Let me go up and gather the nuts for you, but come down first." Still the woman refused. The man then threatened, "If you do not come down, I will make this tree grow so big that you will never get down." She replied, "I will have gotten down before you can make it grow so big." He called again to her to come down and kicked the tree, making it grow suddenly to its present enormous size.

The woman remained trapped in the branches of the tree for such a long time that the bees began to gather around her. A bird, the penicapau, came to her and said, "Sit on my back and I will take you to the ground." She climbed on his back, but no sooner had she done so than a bolt of lightning came down and singed the bird's tail feathers, causing him to leave her in the tree. Next came a coatipurú monkey, who invited her to ride to the ground on his back. They started down, and a bolt of lightning struck at them. But the coatipurú dodged to the other side of the great trunk and they were unharmed. More bolts struck, but the monkey eluded them all, and they reached the ground safely. The woman was so grateful to the monkey that she offered herself to him, but the monkey did not want her. Instead she gave him one of her pubic hairs, and this hair is to be found in the armpit of the coatipurú monkey to this day.

56. HOW THE BRAZIL-NUT CASE BECAME HARD

The outer husk of the Brazil-nut case used to be so soft that any animal could get to the nuts inside. One day a frog and a deer were about to make a repast of Brazil nuts when the cutia arrived. He said to them, "Be careful. That fruit may be poisonous. Let me eat some first to see if it is edible." The frog and the deer were frightened by these words and let the cutia test the Brazil nuts. He ate and ate and ate, and then pretended to fall over on his side as if dead. The deer said, "Look what happened to him. That fruit must be poisonous." The cutia then pretended to revive and said to the others, "You see how poisonous it is. Do not eat it." The deer went away, and the frog, to make sure that nobody would be poisoned, made the case so hard that only the cutia could gnaw his way through it. It was thus that the cutia fooled all the other animals and today is the only one that can eat Brazil nuts.

57. STORY OF THE SPIDER: HANSEL AND GRETEL IN THE AMAZON

The mother spider had many, many children. So many, in fact, that the parents were hard pressed to get enough food for all. One day the father spider said to the mother, "I am going to take a boy and girl to the forest and leave them there." He selected two of the children and said, "Let us go to the forest and tap a beehive of which I know." He took along a hollow gourd for the ostensible purpose of collecting the honey and led the children into the forest.

Upon reaching a certain point, the father spider said, "The beehive is near by, but let me go ahead to check on its location. When I find it, I shall call for you by blowing across the mouth of this hollow gourd." He then went on into the forest and ascended a hill. On top of the hill he climbed a tree, from the branches of which he hung the gourd. Descending the tree, he went home by another path.

Later the wind rose and blew across the mouth of the gourd, making the sound: "Zoom, zoom." "Ah," the children said, "there is father signaling to us." They headed in the direction of the noise, but not seeing the father, went too far and became lost. 539x

The two spider children wandered in the forest for days, but finally came upon a well-beaten path. Following it they arrived at the house of an old woman who was nearly blind. This old woman prevented people from entering her house unannounced by sitting in the doorway and swinging a length of cane back and forth across the aperture. But in the house the hungry children spied much farinha and many bananas, and the boy said to his sister, "Wait here. I am going to get some bananas." On the way in he made a slight noise, and the old woman swished her stick back and forth to see if anybody was there. But the boy eluded the old woman and returned with food. He did this again with similar success. After finishing all the food the children were still hungry, and the girl volunteered to make a foray into the house. The brother protested, but the girl insisted upon going. She entered without being detected, but on the way out the old woman swung the stick and touched the girl. The latter grabbed the stick, and the old lady said, "Who are you?" The girl explained that they had wandered in the forest for many days and were hungry. "Who is with you?" asked the old woman. The girl replied that it was her brother, whereupon the old woman invited them both into the house.

Now the children did not know that the old lady and the other people who belonged to the household were really Yuruparí, but the old woman wanted the children for herself, and when the other people of the house returned that evening she hid them in the rafters. The other Yuruparí were usually in voyage and only stayed at the house for very short periods of time. When they left, the old woman brought the children down from the rafters and imprisoned them in a closed room. She fed them well, and every month entered the room to feel their arms and fingers. "Ah," she would lament, "you eat so much, but still you do not get fat." This continued for months until they finally grew big and plump. She then said to them, "Go out into the forest and gather lots of firewood and bring it back to the house."

The children went out and began to gather firewood when a parrot flew overhead and called out, "What are you doing?" After a few moments he flew overhead again and asked the same question. He did this several times and finally, when the children had almost finished their chore, the parrot lit on a branch and asked again, "What are you doing?" "We are gathering firewood," replied the children. "The old lady sent us to gather lots of it." The parrot responded, "Do you know why she sent you to gather firewood? She is going to build a big fire and cook and eat you. Now when you get back, she will tell you to build a fire. Do this. Do not disobey her. When the flames get high, the old woman will then ask you to dance around the fire. She will then shove you into it."

"However," continued the parrot, "you must do the following: when she tells you to dance, reply that you do not know how. In order to teach you, she will dance

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

×539 around the fire singing, 'It goes like this, it goes like this.' When she gets quite close to the fire, push her in. As she burns, her eyes will explode and out of them will come two dogs. These dogs will be yours."

The children followed the parrot's instructions, and when the dogs came out of the old woman's eye sockets they washed them and continued on their voyage. They traveled with their dogs, and whenever they arrived at a house, they checked first to see that it was unoccupied and then proceeded to rob it of whatever food they could find. To avoid any further repetition of their recent troubles, they slept in the forest. At one deserted house they found watermelon seeds. They took these seeds and spread them all over the land of the Mundurucú, and this is why the Mundurucú have watermelons today. After a long time the sister died, and the brother wandered through this region alone except for the two dogs.

58. HOW THE WHITE MEN TOOK PARÁ FROM THE MUNDURUCÚ

Three Mundurucú men, Tuŝapará, Cheyubörubö, and Peŝeo, built a village where now stands the white man's city of Pará (Belém, capital of the state of Pará, Brazil). After they made this village the first white men arrived, and soon they came in such great numbers that they pushed the Mundurucú out completely. The three chiefs fought the whites at first, but then the white men captured two Mundurucú boys and raised them. These boys were sent back to tame the Mundurucú and with them they brought baskets full of steel axes, hoes, machetes, and other articles. The boys met a war party in the forest and showed them the good things that they had brought and explained to the warriors that the whites merely wanted to tame them and not to harm them. Each member of the war party received a present, and they went back to show these things to the old men of the village. The old men were impressed and accepted the white men.

Although Pará was taken over by the whites, it kept the last part of the name of Tuŝapará for its own name.

VI. RELIGION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

In the first chapter of this study it was suggested that changes in Mundurucú religion could better be understood through an analysis of changes in other aspects of the culture than through knowledge of the activities of the missionaries. This is not to deny that the priests are and have been powerful and influential figures among the Indians. But their proselytizing efforts have consistently been realized only after certain social and economic changes have taken place. Also, changes in religion have consisted principally in the disappearance of activities and beliefs. The acquisition of Christianity has been an extremely slow process, although it might be hypothesized that it will become accelerated with further disintegration of Mundurucú society. 178 797 771

Until very recent years, the core of Mundurucú religious beliefs was the relationship between the world of humans and that of the game animals; the sharp decline of this aspect of Mundurucú religion is one of the most striking changes. The bond between animals and humans was clearly expressed in the complex of beliefs and rites connected with the spirit mothers of the game, and the *Arasiarsi* and *Dajearuparip* ceremonies were the most important of all Mundurucú rituals. Their enactment protected humans from the vengeance of the spirits and promoted the fertility and availability of game. Even the sacred trumpets, originally the abodes of ancestral spirits of localized clans, acquired a vague and undefined relationship with the animal spirits. Warfare, also, was rationalized by the beneficent influence of the trophy head upon these supernaturals. Furthermore, the shaman was not only responsible for feeding the spirits, but he was believed to be able to cure the animals that dwell in human form in the Land of the Game, much as he cures the tame game animals found in every Mundurucú village. 771 778

The closeness of the human-animal bond can be seen in other aspects of belief. Mythology abounds with accounts of animals that at one time had human forms, and the origin of certain species from the metamorphosis of humans is common. That the reverse can also take place is seen in the conversion of people into animals during the *Duparip* ceremony. The best example of the merging and interpenetration of the two realms is the saga of Perisuít, who became almost animal through an extended and solitary stay in the forest.

The relationship between Mundurucú society and the animal kingdom was one of symbiosis. The Mundurucú depended upon the animals for subsistence, and the animals, through their spirit mothers, depended upon the Mundurucú for the performance of rituals essential to their well-being and increase. The disappearance of these rituals is explained quite simply by the Mundurucú as owing to the lack of shamans sufficiently powerful to protect the animal spirits and human participants from attacks by the *Yurupari*. This view is true to the extent that there are fewer shamans among the contemporary Mundurucú, but it also reflects a characteristic fatalism and apathy toward the aboriginal culture. Not only are modern shamans said to be weaker, but men, in general, are not believed to be as strong, brave, and wise as were their forebears. And game is not as plentiful as it was in times past, nor are women considered as beautiful and desirable.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

77/ 78 In short, the Mundurucú view their present condition with apathy and face the future with pessimism. They make no great effort to preserve past practices because they feel the struggle is futile and their way of life altered beyond redemption. As one Mundurucú informant phrased it: "We are now all *parivat* [non-Mundurucú]."

Reasons for this attitude can be found in the effects of more than a century and a half of contact with white society. During this period the population has been assailed by European-introduced epidemic diseases, and large numbers of people have migrated to the vicinity of white settlements where trade goods can be procured. The present Mundurucú population is probably one quarter that of the mid-nineteenth century. This depopulation and the increased involvement in the extraction of wild latex brought an end to warfare during the early part of this century. This had the obvious effect of terminating the ceremonial cycle devoted to the trophy heads, but it also had other repercussions. Warfare was, even more importantly than hunting, the principle expression of masculine values among the Mundurucú. It served to provide the men of several villages with a common goal, thereby promoting social cohesion, and it constituted a means of safely releasing repressed hostilities that had accumulated between members of the society. The end of warfare thus deprived the males of their sustaining and fortifying self-image as valiant warriors and removed one of the chief bases of social unity.

The pursuit of the hunt, however, continued after the termination of military forays. But the Mundurucú had become deeply committed to rubber tapping, and the demands of this activity upon their time forced them to depend even more heavily upon fishing during the dry season, when rubber is collected. Today, the men of the savannah villages still hunt almost daily during the rainy season, but three quarters of the surviving Mundurucú population, who live along the banks of the larger streams, rely chiefly upon fish as a source of protein throughout the year.

The shift from hunting as a primary subsistence activity further undercut the cultural emphasis upon masculine values, which were central to the religious complex surrounding game animals. Of even greater importance, it stripped the ceremonies of their economic rationale and made them less meaningful in terms of mundane activity. Finally, the progressive, ongoing fragmentation of Mundurucú society has not only induced apathy toward the traditional culture, but it has weakened the group unity upon which the performance of ceremonies depended, and which they expressed.

Collective religious activity, in general, has almost completely disappeared among the Mundurucú. Small gatherings take place when the sacred musical instruments are moved to a new men's house, and the trumpets are still played a few nights a week. But social change has had a profound effect upon this sector of Mundurucú religion also. The connection between the instruments and the clans was based essentially on a patrilocal rule of residence. Under it, the dominant or only clan of the village could quite reasonably be considered as the owner of the village instruments which were the repository of the ancestral spirits of the clan. Since the change to matrilocality, the instruments are considered to belong to

the clan of the man who manufactured them. If he dies or moves to another village, it is quite possible that no other man of that community will belong to the clan owning the trumpets. It is, therefore, understandable that informants were often vague when asked to explain the connection between clans and instruments. Many people believed that the trumpets had souls of their own and that these were the most important spirits resident within them. And, as has been mentioned, it was commonly thought that the playing of the instruments was pleasing to the spirit mothers of the game. 771 178

The actual function of the trumpets in present-day Mundurucú society has little to do with clanship, but much to do with the maintenance of the sharp dichotomy between the sexes. The instruments are primarily the property of the village men and are expressive of their unity and identity in the face of the women. In this connection it is significant that the villages that arose along the Cururú River have never had either the men's house or the sacred trumpets. As a corollary, the gulf between the sexes in social participation and labor that characterizes the savannah villages is lacking. On the Cururú the nuclear family is the basic social and economic unit. Men eat and sleep with their families and join their wives in tasks that would be considered degrading by a savannah dweller. But the demands of the rubber trade, combined with the covert hostility and factionalism that exist in all Mundurucú villages, are currently promoting migration from the savannah communities either to the Cururú River or to isolated residence along other streams. The end result will be the complete lapse of the sacred instruments and the men's organization.

The only other extant ceremonial is the one devoted to curing victims of soul loss. Since human souls are stolen by the spirit mothers of the game, this rite is also one of the few remaining religious acts that deals with this category of supernaturals. It is most significant that all the important means of obtaining the good will of these spirits and the increase of game have lapsed, although the Mundurucú have clung tenaciously to the technique of defending themselves against the spirits and rectifying the damage done by them. It may be said of the religion of the contemporary Mundurucú that it has retained those items that specifically protect the individual and, to a less degree the society, from harm though dropping those features that were not so immediately defensive in nature and which were more expressive of the integration and central values of the society.

To continue this line of thought, we turn to a consideration of those elements of Mundurucú religion that have maintained greatest vitality—shamanism and sorcery.[1] The two institutions are inseparable in the Mundurucú mind; the shaman cures diseases, which are invariably caused by sorcery, and the sorcerers are recruited from the ranks of the shamans. But disease, its explanation and its cure, has much greater significance than as a system of belief. Kluckhohn has shown for the Navaho that sorcery plays a vital role in the release of aggression,[2] and Beatrice Blythe Whiting's monograph *Paiute Sorcery*[2] shifts emphasis somewhat and stresses the function of sorcery as a mechanism of social control. Both of these fac- 178 771 152 754 578

[1] Kluckhohn, 1944.
[2] Whiting, 1950.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178
771
152
754
578

tors, but primarily that of aggression release, play a part in Mundurucú sorcery also.

In a previously published work[8] I set forth the thesis that aggression cannot be tolerated in Mundurucú society because of the combination of a matrilocal residence rule and a patrilineal descent system. Under these social conditions each man has two sets of allegiances, one to his clan and the other to the household and village of his wife. Since the two do not coincide, he occupies social roles that potentially can conflict. That is, a quarrel between households or villages may well pit fellow clansmen against each other, and, correspondingly, conflict between clans can cause internal dissension within villages and even households. Open aggression is therefore avoided among the Mundurucú, and, although interpersonal and interfactional tensions abound within the group, they are generally suppressed. The feeling of horror at the outward display of hostility between men is so strong that informants were unwilling to give data upon its occurrence, although it occasionally happens.

Violence during warfare or the execution of a sorcerer, however, is thoroughly condoned. Attacks upon enemy tribes served to channel hostility upon surrogate objects outside the society and thus promoted social cohesion, but this avenue of release is no longer open. The only remaining catharsis for aggression is the practice of sorcery and the execution of suspected sorcerers. Another alternative, withdrawal from the frustrating situation, has been made possible by the general pacification of the upper Tapajós area and the consequent possibility of flight from village life. In former times it would have been most risky for an individual or family to forsake the mutual security offered by the local group, but today it is common for Mundurucú to live in the midst of the Brazilian rubber-gathering population. Even within the confines of Mundurucú territory, the tendency toward neolocal residence makes isolated or semi-isolated existence socially acceptable.

Mundurucú sorcery has a number of interesting facets. It is impossible to induce any shaman to admit the practice, but the body of detailed knowledge of witchcraft techniques suggests that it indeed exists. Granting that witchcraft is not completely a figment of the Mundurucú imagination, the practitioner undoubtedly derives considerable gratification of his antisocial inclinations. Also, the Mundurucú generally fix suspicion of sorcery upon the more deviant shamans. Thus of the two people known by me to have been suspected of witchcraft, one was a rather humorless, silent, and aloof man, and the other, although more outgoing, far outstripped the other members of the village in rubber production. The threat of sorcery accusation, it may be inferred, tends to enforce social participation and conformity.

These factors of covert release of aggression and social control are, however, applicable only to the ranks of shamans. Persons born without shamanistic powers are unable to practice witchcraft, and sorcerers do not practice on behalf of others. But the dogged persistence of belief in black magic among the members of the society at large suggests that it does perform a very vital social function. It has al-

[8] Murphy, 1957.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ready been mentioned that depopulation, the disintegration of the social structure, and the decline of such highly valued activities as warfare and the hunt have robbed the Mundurucú of much that was vital and positive in their way of life and left them disheartened and apathetic. Frustration, in the classic paradigm, normally leads to aggression, the expression of which is forbidden in this culture. Fear of sorcery among the Mundurucú is a means of embodying and phrasing in understandable terms not only the manifold anxieties of their existence but the latent aggression that nearly all members of the society carry within them. In this connection, it will be remembered that the intrusive objects made by the sorcerer are spread abroad and are not usually directed against any one person. The sorcerer is then, as the Mundurucú say, malevolent toward society in general. This is not only logically consistent with the indiscriminate ravages of epidemic disease, but it also suggests that the accusers of the sorcerer displace generalized aggression to his person and eradicate it through his execution.

That considerable aggression is unleashed upon the executed sorcerer can be inferred from the quality of the executions and the way in which informants report them. Many, if not most, executions take place from ambush, but some are bloody affairs in which the accused is beaten to death with clubs. And the Mundurucú enthusiastically relate these episodes with obvious hatred for the victim. The men of the village of Cabruá derived evident satisfaction by pointing to a brown smear on the posts of their men's house and saying: "That is where we wiped the blood of our last sorcerer from our hands." This emotional intensity parallels that reported by Kluckhohn among the Navaho,[6] and among both peoples this is atypical behavior.

Since aggression is related not only to real interpersonal differences but to frustration and general insecurity, it should be expected that witchcraft accusations would be most common in periods of stress. This is borne out by the Mundurucú practice of refraining from direct action against the sorcerer until illness becomes severe in the community and deaths occur. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient historical material to demonstrate conclusively, as did Kluckhohn, that sorcery troubles are correlated with historical periods of crisis. The best primary source on the Mundurucú, the report of the Brazilian engineer Antônio Tocantins, in 1875, describes sorcery executions as extremely frequent and one of the major problems of the Barabal mission.[7] But it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this data and to control all the variables in the situation without similarly complete reports from other periods. In 1875 the Mundurucú still waged war and therefore had available a means of expression of hostility which had the obvious advantage of being directed outside the society. But on the other hand, Mundurucú society was then being subjected to its greatest threat since the contact with the whites, for these were the first years of the rubber-extraction period, and the Indians themselves were becoming increasingly involved in the industry. White rubber tappers were penetrating the area in growing numbers, and the mission had just been established. In

[6] Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 58.
[7] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 107-111.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756
754
152
578

view of the complexity of the problem and the paucity of data, however, it can only be concluded that sorcery was also common in times past. Whether or not accusations and executions have increased in number or in proportion to the number of shamans cannot be positively ascertained, but it is highly significant that the institution has been perpetuated into the present, a period that has seen the disappearance of much of Mundurucú religious activity.

It has been said that the shaman occupies a most precarious role today. The source of much of the evil threatening the group, he also is the only person who can cope with the harmful forces, and his services are in great demand. The Mundurucú are deeply concerned with illness and frequently sought relief in the medicine afforded by my wife and me and by the mission and Indian Service Post. But given their theory of disease, modern medicines were inadequate for a complete cure and were believed efficacious only in healing the damage done by supernatural agencies. The removal and destruction of the latter can only be accomplished by the shaman. The role thus has a dual function; society purges itself of repressed hostility through the imputation of malevolence to the shaman, and it is also the means by which society protects itself from the believed evil.

This dual function makes shamanism a most ambivalent practice. All but the most powerful practitioners, who usually are called upon to detect sorcerers, are in great and continued danger. The general reduction of the Mundurucú population has proportionately thinned the ranks of the shaman, and executions have further reduced their numbers. Many leave the Mundurucú country in flight from execution parties or in fear of future accusation. Others refuse to practice shamanism in the hope, often vain, that they will thus shield themselves from suspicion. The result is that many villages are without shamans, and their residents accordingly lose another motive for remaining members of nucleated communities.

The involvement of sorcery in repressed conflict may be seen through an examination of a few case histories. The instance already cited in which the village of Missão Velha split on whether to kill the accused Antonio is a case in point. Antonio was the most industrious rubber tapper of the village and was much disliked by the family of the chief. The latter group was, as in most Mundurucú villages, the strongest aggregation of kinsmen in the community, since it included not only the sons-in-law of the chief, but also his sons, who are customarily exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Relations were strained between the chief's group and the men of many other households of the village, for the latter looked upon the chief as the appointee of the missionaries and resented the strength of his family. These dissidents sided with the condemned shaman. They were not, however, willing to court the possibility of open factional struggle by offering physical defense of Antonio, but resolved instead to leave the village.

Another case of sorcery, this time in the savannah village of Cabruá, saw the men of the village determined to kill the stepson of the chief. The latter, supported by his sons and sons-in-law, intervened, and the man's life was spared. In a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

third village, however, the power of the chief's family must have been weak, 756
for both he and his son were slain as sorcerers by the other men of the village. 754
The tendency for villages to fractionate because of sorcery fears and accusations
is probably greater now than in the past. Not only is village cohesion in general 152
much weaker, but the disappearance of such leadership activities as heading war 578
parties and trading on behalf of the village as a whole has made it most difficult for the chief to obtain the consensus necessary to carrying out an execution. It must not be thought, however, that lack of unanimity in sorcerer killings indicates a decline in belief in black magic; it rather reflects distrust of the sincerity of the accusers and the existence of latent factionalism that may not be directly caused by witchcraft. But these occasions bring conflicts to a head and open breaches that are in many cases irreparable and can be resolved only by the removal of one party.

This analysis of the Mundurucú data indicates that although the institution
of sorcery may be viewed in one light as socially integrative, so far as it acts 182
as a cathartic for aggression, it may also be most disruptive of social cohesion, 152
for it often aggravates tensions.[6] It would seem that shamanism and sorcery have 754
become complementary to the central direction of social and economic change. 578
The ecological accommodation to increased participation in rubber production calls for the dispersal of the population into ever smaller units in the vicinity of the stands of wild rubber trees. Correspondingly, sorcery conflicts tend to disintegrate larger village units while being integrative for factions within the village, which then commonly establish themselves as small local groups. This is not the only means by which social fission occurs. Latent conflicts that do not involve sorcery sometimes cause families and factions to leave villages; others leave because of the economic expediency of residence near their rubber avenues. But sorcery remains as a contributing motivation for the participants in the process. The Mundurucú example thus suggests that the institution of sorcery may promote the cohesion of a society as a whole, but only where other bases for such cohesion exist.

The close relationship of religion to the social structure can be seen quite as
clearly in the context of change as in a synchronic dimension. As the society 182
has become progressively divested of those mechanisms that integrated tribe 178
and village, so also have group religious activities fallen into abeyance. What 771
remains are the essentially individual practices of shamanism and sorcery. This is the same process noted for other parts of South America by Steward, and which he has phrased as part of a change in "level of sociocultural integration."[7] But beyond the scope of participation in religious activity we have seen another selective factor determining which segments of religion will persist. This, in brief, is the simple question of whether the element serves some social function in the changed setting. By this criterion, the warfare ceremonies have totally disappeared, and the ceremonies for the animal spirits have declined with the shift of a large part of the population from hunting to fishing. Similarly, the

[6] Kluckhohn (1944, p. 71) has noted the presence of disruptive elements in Navaho witchcraft also, although the analysis of these tendencies were beyond the scope of his treatise.
[7] Steward, 1951.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182
771
178

religious complex of the sacred musical instruments is extant only in five villages. The beliefs connected with all these rituals remain, but, lacking expression in action, are no longer effectively transmitted to the young.

On the other hand, those aspects of religion that are keyed to the persistent problems of Mundurucú society show great tenacity. Sorcery beliefs may be currently disruptive of tribal and village integration, but they maintain a vital social function in terms of the needs of a society undergoing fractionation and individualization. These are beliefs that explain human malice and suffering and offer techniques for defense against them. They are not closely linked to and dependent upon the peculiarities of native Mundurucú culture, or of any particular lowland South American culture, and it is undoubtedly for this reason that shamanism and sorcery remain active among the peasants of the impoverished Amazon and can be found among the lower classes of its cities. The maintenance of specifically defensive functions of native religion is not peculiar to South America. We need only look to the United States, where the Sun Dance and the peyote cult have become primarily curing rites. These are flourishing parts of radically changed cultures and expressions of altered social systems and cannot be looked upon as lag phenomena. If there is a functional relation between religion and society, it must also exist in historical depth.

Appendix A

GLOSSARY OF MUNDURUCÚ WORDS

In this list, the letters *i* and *u* have the phonetic value of the Spanish *i* and *u*, *ö* is pronounced as the German *o* with umlaut, and *ł* is equivalent to the English *sh*. 104

Arsiarsi the ceremony for the spirit mothers of game animals, which lasts an entire rainy season.
aïk a spirit that steals the souls of children.
asima łi spirit mother of fish and other aquatic creatures.
awaabi pipi pain in the side.
bia łi spirit mother of the tapir.
Bia łi ayya Mothers of the Tapir, a men's society.
borombö an instrument used by the shaman.
conki the intrusive object, created and spread by sorcerers, that causes disease.
chearetaibitch ayya those who know how to explain dreams; persons who learn supernaturally powerful songs from dreams.
chewoi the supernatural power possessed by game animals.
Dajearuparip the shorter, ten-day ceremony for the spirit mothers of the game animals.
Dajeboiji the title bestowed on a warrior who took an enemy head.
daje łi spirit mother of the peccary.
Darekki ayya The Mothers of the Arrow, a society to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.
dea pipi pain in the leg.
dowö a drink made of tajá leaf and a broth extracted from grated Brazil nuts.
Duparip an extinct ceremony.
ekaabi pipi pain in the back.
ibikoium chronic bad luck.
ibiunbik soul; also shadow, reflection, picture.
iböböt an instrument used by the shaman.
iboiwatitit the clan that possesses burial rights over certain clans of the opposite moiety.
ibikoipat the sorcerer.
Iayeuborotaptam the first part of the trophy-head ceremonies.
ipac pipi pain in the stomach.
iki rap ayya ipichat a species of jaguar, one of the eponymous spirit "companions" of the sacred musical instruments of the village of Cabruá.
karikö the sacred musical instruments kept in the men's house.
karikö ajewet spirit "companion" of the sacred musical instruments.
kia a flute played during the *Arsiarsi* and *Dajearuparip* ceremonies.
kökeriwat the spirits of the underworld.
mombat łi the mother of the rain.
mamé shaman.
mamé heren a shaman who uses his power for foolish or scandalous ends.
möri a gruel made from sweet manioc.
möriapa a shrub, the fruit of which is believed to have been capable of endowing people with clairvoyant powers in mythological times, but which is now poisonous.
Muchacha ayya a society of learned and honored warriors.
nonch an instrument used by the shaman.
nunchai pipi pain in the uterus.
ochö ochö the common cold.
ok pipi pain in the intestine.
paiat fever.
pem a horn used only by members of the *Muchacha ayya* society.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

104 *Piuabikmõkup ayyen* the curing ceremony to retrieve a stolen soul.
piwat leader and sponsor of a ceremony.
põtpouchap an instrument used by the shaman.
putoka ki the spirit mother of all game animals.
rupoem ki spirit mother of the deer.
sikiriu a species of small bird having a short beak.
Taimetorom the final phase of the trophy-head ceremonies.
taubokat the third and final stage of the illness, *ujewaii*.
tauí ai spirit mother of the prego monkey.
taukõrenjujut a species of small bird.
tekerá a species of small bird.
tubõ ancestral clan spirit.
uai uru a tree.
uautaukuakat wandering soul.
wirapurú a bird, the body of which is used in love magic (Tupi).
ujewaii a lingering illness which causes the victim to sicken and die.
wira anan literally, 'jaguar with a beak'; the term applied to newly made sacred musical instruments.
wirakuá a supernaturally potent and stonelike substance.
yabip a malignant supernatural object, said to resemble a louse, possessed by game animals.
yapõ a wanton woman.
Yalegon the second part of the trophy-head ceremonies.
yauhú the second stage of the illness, *ujewaii*.
Yurupari a highly malignant forest and water spirit.

Appendix B

GLOSSARY OF PORTUGUESE WORDS

apoiseira a tree.
arabamba a fishing bird.
assaí a palm (*Euterpe oleracea*).
beijú flat cake made from manioc flour.
biribá the fruit of the biribaseiro tree (*Duguetia maregraviana* Mart.).
bisorro an insect.
boa boa a bird.
breu de jutahí sap of the jutahí tree.
buriti a palm (*Mauritia vinifera* Mart.).
cajú fruit of the cajueiro tree (*Anacardium occidentalus*).
cajú assú (*cajuacú*) giant cajueiro tree (*Anacardium giganteum*).
cão-cão dos campos a savannah bird.
cará the South American yam (*Dioscorea* sp.).
caratinga a species of fish (*Diapterus*), family Gerridae, genus *Diapterus* and *Eugerres*.
castanha de arara a tree of the Euphorbia family (*Joannesia heveioides* Ducke).
castanheiro the Brazil-nut tree (*Castanhea vesca*)
catitú (*caititú, taititú*) a small wild pig of the family of Tayassuidae (*Pecari tajacu*).
coatá the spider monkey (*Ateles* sp.).
cupiuba a tree (*Goupia glabra*).
curujão da noite a night bird.
cutia agouti (*Dasyprocta aguti* Lin.).
envira (*embira*) a generic term applied to several vegetable fibers used as cord.
farinha a coarse flour made from bitter manioc.
fava a domesticated food plant of the family of Leguminosae.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

104

feijão bean.
galas a wading bird.
gavião rapina a species of eagle (*Cerchneis sparverius eidos*).
gavião real a species of eagle (*Thrasaetus harpyia*).
gavião tawaté a species of eagle (*Hypomorphus urubitinga urubitinga*).
guariba the howler monkey (*Alouatta seniculus*).
imbauba (*umbauba*) a tree (*Cecropia palmati*).
ingá the fruit of the ingazeira tree (*Inga* sp.).
jabotá a tree (*Cassia blanchetti*), the bark of which is used to make canoes.
jacamí (*jacamim*) a species of trumpeter bird favored as a pet (*Psophia crepitans*).
jacú various species of birds of the family of Cracidae, especially those of the genus *Penelope*.
jamará a plant (*Cucurbita idolatrica* Laceria).
jambú a plant of the family of Compostas (*Wulffia stenoglossa*).
japín (*japím, japí, zezeu*) a bird (*Cacicus cela*).
jararaca a species of poisonous snake (*Lachesis lanceolatus* Lacep.).
jiju a species of fish (*Etythrinus unitoeniatus*).
juriti (*jurutí*) various species of pigeons of the family of Columbidae.
jutahí (*jutahý, jutaí*) various trees of the family of Leguminosae, genus *Hymenaea*.
kamaiú a cane from which arrow shafts are made.
lagarta caterpillar.
macazeira sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*).
mãe da lua (*urutau*) a night bird (*Nyctibius grandis*).
mãe de bicho mother of the beasts—a bush supernatural, belief in which is widespread among the caboclo population of the Amazon.
maracanã a species of parrot (*Propyrrhura maracana*).
matrinchão a species of fish (*Brycon brevicaudatus*).
mel de chupé a type of honey.
mucura (*gambá*) various marsupials of the genus *Didelphis*.
muquim small red tick.
murirú pagé a medicinal plant.
mutúm the "turkey of the jungle," name applied to various species of the genus *Crax*.
najá (*anajá*) a palm (*Maximiliana regia*).
nambú (*inambú*) various species of birds of the family of Tinamidae, especially those of the genus *Crypturi*.
orelha de pau literally, ear of wood; a fungus that grows on trees.
paca a river rodent (*Cuniculus paca*).
panema a term for chronic bad luck used by the Amazonian peasants.
patuá (*pataúá*) a palm (*Cenocarpus patana*).
pau d'arco a tree (*Tecoma heptaphylla*), highly favored for the manufacture of bows.
pau de candeia tree, used for medicinal purposes (*Vanillosmopsis* sp.).
pau de sacupema (*sapopema*) tree with roots that spread from the trunk to form buttresses.
paxiuba a palm (*Socratea exhorrisa*).
paxiubarana a tree (*Tovomita triflora*).
peixe-boi manatee (*Trichechus inunguis* Desmaret).
pensicapau (*pica-pau*) woodpecker.
percevejo an insect, parasite (*Cimex rotundatus*).
piaba a small fish (*Leporinus copelandi*).
pipira (*tié-sangue*) a species of bird (*Rhamphocelus brasilius*).
piquí a tree bearing a round, oleaginous fruit (*Caryocar villosum*).
piranha a carnivorous fish noted for its ferocity (*Pygocentrus piraya*).
prego a species of monkey (*Cebus macrocephalus*).
samauma (*sumauma*) a large tree (*Ceiba pentandra*).

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

104 *sipó* (*cipó*) a generic term for liana.
sorva the fruit of the sorveira tree (*Couma utilis*), also used as a source of sap.
tajá (*tinhorão*) a plant (*Caladium bicolor*).
tamanduá grande the giant anteater (*Myrmecophaga tridactyla*).
tartaruga a species of river turtle (*Emys amazonica*).
tauari a tree (*Cariniana* sp.), the inner bark of which is commonly used as a cover for cigarettes; sheets of the bark are used as walls in the traditional Mundurucú house.
timbó a generic term applied to many lianas and roots used for drugging fish.
tipoia bark-cloth sling in which women carry infants.
tracajá a species of river turtle (*Emys tracaja*).
trucuá a liana used for medicinal purposes (*Philodendron myrmecophilum* Engl.).
tucumã a palm tree (*Astrocaryum tucuma* Mart.).
uchi fruit-bearing tree (*Sacoglottis uchi* Hub.).
urucú the fruit of the urucuzeiro bush (*Bixa orellana*), used as a source of red dye.
veado capoeira a species of deer.
zogi zogi (*macaco boca d'agua*) squirrel monkey.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

BALDUS, HERBERT
1946. Lendas dos Indios do Brasil. São Paulo.
BATES, HENRY WALTER
1863. The Naturalist on the River Amazons. London.
CASAL, MANOEL AYRES DE
1845. Corographia Brasilica (third ed.), Rio de Janeiro.
COUDREAU, HENRI
1897. Voyage au Tapajoz. Paris.
HARTT, CHARLES FREDERICK
1875. Amazonian Tortoise Myths. Rio de Janeiro.
KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE
1944. Navaho Witchcraft. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. 22, No. 2. Cambridge.
KOCH-GRÜNBERG, THEODOR
1923. Vom Roroima zum Orinoco. Ergebnisse Einer Reise in Nordbrasilien und Venezuela in den Jahren 1911–1913. Vol. 3. Stuttgart.
1927. Indianer Marchen aus Sudamerika. Jena.
KRUSE, ALBERT
1934. Munduruká Moieties. Primitive Man, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 51–57.
LOWIE, ROBERT H.
1948. The Tropical Forests: An Introduction. Handbook of South American Indians (Julian H. Steward, ed.), Vol. 3, The Tropical Forest Tribes, pp. 1–56. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143. Washington.
MAGALHÃES, COUTO DE
1935. O Selvagem (third ed.). Rio de Janeiro.
MARTIUS, KARL F. P. VON
1867. Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Amerika's zumal Brasiliens. Vol. 1: Zur Ethnographie. Leipzig.
MÉTRAUX, ALFRED
1928. La Religion des Tupinamba. Bibliothèque de l'ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sciences Religieuses, Vol. 45. Paris.
1948. The Tupinamba. Handbook of South American Indians (Julian H. Steward, ed.), Vol. 3, The Tropical Forest Tribes, pp. 95–133. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143. Washington.
MURPHY, ROBERT F.
1954. The Rubber Trade and the Mundurucú Village. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia Univ. May be obtained from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
1956. Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society. American Anthropologist, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp. 414–434.
1957. Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion. American Anthropologist. Vol. 59, No. 6, pp. 1018–1035.
NIMUENDAJÚ, CURT
1915. Sagen der Tembé-Indianer (Pará und Maranhão). Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, Vol. 47, pp. 281–301.
1946. The Eastern Timbira, trans. and ed. by Robert H. Lowie, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 41. Berkeley.
1952. The Tukuna, ed. by Robert H. Lowie and trans. by William D. Hohenthal. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 45. Berkeley.
NORDENSKIÖLD, ERLAND
1924. Forschungen und Abenteuer in Südamerika. Stuttgart.
NORONHA, JOSÉ MONTEIRO
1862. Roteiro da Viagem da Cidade do Pará até as Ultimas Colonias do Sertão da Provincia. Pará.
OBERG, KALERVO
1953. Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publ. No. 15. Washington.
ROTH, WALTER E.
1915. An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-Lore of the Guiana Indians. 30th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. 1908–09, pp. 103–386. Washington.
SERRA, RICARDO F. DE ALMEIDA
1869. Navegação do Rio Tapajós para o Pará. Jornal do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brazileiro, Vol. 9 (second ed.), pp. 1–16. Rio de Janeiro.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

113 SPIX, JOHANN B. VON, and KARL F. P. VON MARTIUS
1831. Reise in Brasilien. Vol. 3. München.
STEWARD, JULIAN H.
1951. Levels of Sociocultural Integration: An Operational Concept. Southwestern Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 7, pp. 374–390.
STRÖMER, C.
1932. Die Sprache der Mundurukú. Linguistische Anthropos-Bibliothek XI. Mödling bei Wien.
TOCANTINS, ANTONIO M. G.
1877. Estudos sôbre a tribu "Mundurucu." Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro, Vol. 40, pt. 2, pp. 73–161. Rio de Janeiro.
WAGLEY, CHARLES
1942. O Estado de Êxtase do Pagé Tupí. Sociologia, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 285–292. São Paulo.
1943. Xamanismo Tapirapé. Boletim do Museu Nacional. N. S. Antropologia, No. 3. Rio de Janeiro.
1953. Amazon Town. New York.
WAGLEY, CHARLES, AND EDUARDO GALVÃO
1949. The Tenetehara Indians of Brazil. New York.
WHITING, BEATRICE BLYTHE
1950. Paiute Sorcery. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 15, New York.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

133

a. View of the savannahs southwest of the village of Cabruá.

b. Forests and valleys east of Cabruá, looking toward the Das Tropas River.

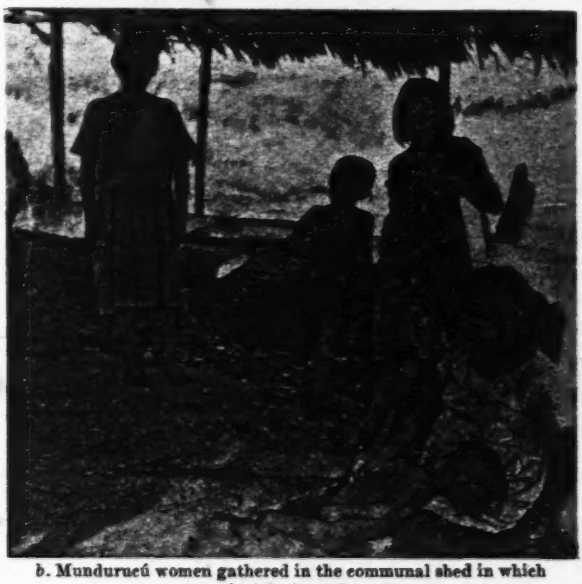
[end plate 1]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

142
291
304
301

a. Young Mundurucú man. Note tattooed vertical lines on neck and continuing use of ear plugs and arm bands. The houses of Cabruá are in the background.

[343]



b. Mundurucú women gathered in the communal shed in which *farinha* is made.

[end plate 2]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

342

a. Bark-walled dwelling house occupied by the author and his wife.

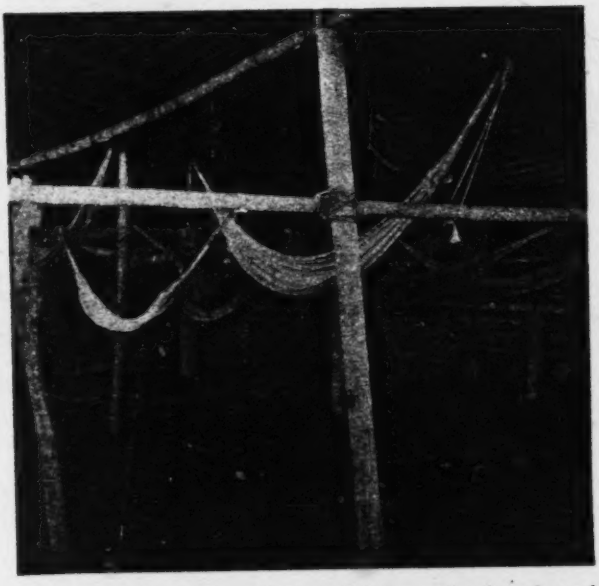
[352]

b. Interior of Mundurucú dwelling.

[end plate 3]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

342
352

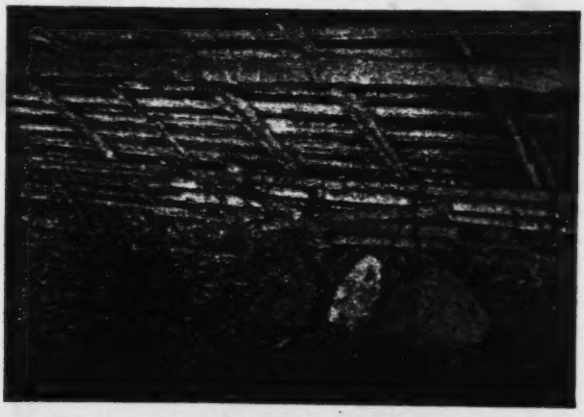


Sleeping section of the men's house. The hammocks of members of the White moiety are hung in the foreground, those of the Red moiety in the background. The far wall contains the entrance to the chamber in which the sacred trumpets are kept.

[end plate 4]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534
778
415
796
342



a. Instruments used in the ceremonies of the Game. The cylinders are horns played in these rites, and the earthenware pots are used as containers of the beverage offered to the "spirit mothers" of the game animals. Note the tapir skull between the vessels.

b. Mundurucú man playing one of the sacred trumpets, or *karõkõ*. Another of the set of three instruments is leaned against the wall at the right.

[end plate 5]

11: Murphy
539, 773

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[For the texts of 58 Mundurucu myths and folktales, see category 116, pp. 70-132.]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[P. ii] UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
[P. i CONTAINS NO TEXT]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ROBERT F. MURPHY

HEADHUNTER'S HERITAGE

social and economic change among the mundurucú indians

BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES, 1960

[P.iii] [Title Page]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

COO

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California
Cambridge University Press, London, England
© 1960 by The Regents of the University of California
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 59-15891
Printed in the United States of America
Designed by Marion Jackson Skinner

[p.iv]

CF2520.1
M8
M8

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

preface

This book has three principal aims: to present a picture of the life of a South American Indian tribe as it is today; to analyze the processes through which this society has evolved to its present form; and to relate conclusions derived from the study to the general body of anthropological theory. [2]

The material on which the work is based was gathered by my wife and me during a field investigation among the Mundurucú Indians of the Tapajós River in the State of Pará, Brazil. I originally became interested in South American Indians (and anthropology) as a student in Professor Charles Wagley's courses in Columbia College. Later, during graduate study at Columbia, the Mundurucú at-

PREFACE

121 tracted my attention as a research possibility because the tribe had become differentiated into two distinct groups, one characterized by adherence to traditional ways and the other drastically modified. Since I was studying problems of social and economic change, I felt that the Mundurucú presented an opportunity for a "controlled comparison," to use Dr. Fred Eggan's words, between the two sections. I phrased my research proposals in these terms and carried out my intent in the field. Of our thirteen months in Brazil, from May, 1952, to June, 1953, we spent about five months each in a conservative village and in a more "modern" one.

This book does not present a general ethnography of Mundurucú culture; it is rather an analysis of economy and social structure, and their changes. The study of social relations in space and in time inevitably involves theory. I have not attempted to keep "theory" and "fact" rig-
128 idly compartmentalized, for facts are meaningless outside a frame of reference and theories are equally devoid of content unless based on substantive data. This is especially true in the present study, as some data appear incomprehensible until their proper position is seen in the light of theoretical assumptions.

122 The field trip was supported by the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, administered by Columbia University, and by a Research Training Fellowship awarded by the Social Science Research Council. Much of the writing of the book was done in 1957 with the support of a Faculty Summer Fellowship given by the University of California. Funds awarded by the Research Committee and the Institute of International Relations at the University of California made possible research assistance and typing. Mrs. Janet Seibert prepared the manuscript and was a continual source of help and encouragement.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PREFACE

My teachers, and friends, Professors Julian Steward and Charles Wagley have imparted instruction, stimulation, and encouragement to me throughout the Mundurucú research, the writing of this book, and my anthropological training. My personal and intellectual debt to them has no bounds. My formulation of the Mundurucú data has also gained much from the fresh viewpoints and remarkably incisive comments of my colleague, Dr. David M. Schneider.

Brazilians make field work in Brazil a pleasure, and it is with happy reminiscences that I thank my many colleagues and friends in that country. Drs. Eduardo Galvão and Darcy Ribeiro did everything possible to facilitate my research, and I also benefited from their extensive knowledge of Brazilian Indians. The Brazilian Indian Protection Service extended transportation and hospitality at their Mundurucú post to my wife and me, and the Brazilian Air Force gave us transportation and even flew supplies in to us. On the Cururú River, the priests and nuns of the mission to the Mundurucú were unfailingly generous and sympathetic with our task.

Many prefaces to anthropological works tell of the noble wife who always smiled and never complained during the field trip. Such a statement, I feel, would belittle the intelligence of wife and reader alike. Let it simply be said that Yolanda did not complain as much as was justified by the circumstances—or as much as I did. In addition to remarkable forbearance in the face of insects, occasional hunger, and total isolation, not to say dysentery, she also did excellent field work among the Mundurucú women. Much of the data in this book were collected by her, and I gratefully acknowledge this—and very much more.

Berkeley, March, 1959 R. F. M.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

contents

000

1 *the setting* 1

THE MUNDURUCÚ · THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT · THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT · METHODOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION

2 *the contact period* 27

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD · THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD · CHRONOLOGY

3 *economic life* 51

THE SAVANNAH VILLAGES · HUNTING · FISHING · GATHERING OF WILD VEGETABLE PRODUCTS · HORTICULTURE · DIVISION OF LABOR · PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

4 *kinship and marriage* 71

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE · MARRIAGE · KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

5 *the local group* 97

THE VILLAGE · THE MEN · THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY · POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

[P. ix]
[P. viii contains no text]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

000

CONTENTS

6 *social solidarity and social fission* 126

THE TRIBE · SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION · THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS · COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

7 *the mundurucú of the cururú river* 154

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRATION · THE RUBBER TRADE · THE CURURÚ VILLAGE · DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

8 *the changing social system* . . 178

bibliography 194

index 199

MAPS

1. Region of the Tapajós and Lower Madeira Rivers 6
2. Present Territory of the Mundurucú Indians 14

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

KATIWAT, before you came to live with us, our lives were as always, and we were happy. We worked, we ate, and then we slept. When you came we were glad, for you brought us many fine gifts. And every night, instead of going to sleep, we sat with you, drank coffee, smoked your tobacco, and listened to your radio. But now you go, and we are sorry, for all of these things go with you. We now know pleasures to which we were unaccustomed, and we shall be unhappy.

The Chief of Cabruá upon our departure

[p. xi]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

104

glossary

Araiarai the ceremony for the spirit mothers of game animals, which lasts an entire rainy season.

barracões stores of traders

beiji manioc flour "bread"

caboclo neo-Brazilian, usually lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior

campineiro Brazilian term for savannah-dweller

Dajcaruparip the shorter, ten-day ceremony for the spirit mothers of the game animals

diwat "dwellers of the river"

farinha a coarse flour made from bitter manioc

tbolwatitit the clan that possesses burial rights over certain clans of the opposite moiety

karökö the sacred musical instruments ("trumpets") kept in the men's house

karökö ejewot spirit "companion" of the sacred musical instruments

Muchacha anyen a society of learned and honored warriors

padrinho godfather

pariwat Mundurucú who live as Brazilians

patrões patrons

regatões itinerant merchants, in contrast to *patrões*, regular patrons

timbó a generic term applied to many lianas and roots used for drugging fish

tipiti basketry press for grated manioc

tubö ancestral clan spirit

[p. xii]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

1

the setting

In the Amazon valley, a region where ferociousness was the mode, the Mundurucú Indians enjoyed a reputation for unalloyed, untempered savagery until the turn of the century. Their war parties ranged outward almost every year, striking indiscriminately at tribes anywhere within a radius of five hundred miles, burning the villages, kidnapping children, and taking heads of adults as trophies of their exploits. They did not indulge in cannibalism, as so many of their neighbors, but the terror they inspired was so great that they themselves were seldom preyed upon and eaten. Their homeland on the upper Tapajós River, south of the Amazon, was rarely attacked, and though they no longer go to war their reputation still protects them from the hostile tribes of the region. 181 648

Wild and lawless though the Amazon may still seem by 182 648

[P.1]

THE SETTING

182 American standards, it is tame in comparison with the sit-
648 uation of a century ago when the Mundurucú were still in the heyday of their militarism. The lives of the native peoples are shorn of the elements of excitement and danger; pacification has no doubt been a relief to the weaker tribes, but to the Mundurucú it has been destructive. The tribe is now a society without important goals or a future, and its members know this well. Even more important in the progressive deterioration of the social fabric, though more insidious in its operation, has been trade and the activities that go into the acquisition of salable commodities. The effects of the relations of the Indians with the whites are obvious to the most casual inspection. When my wife, Yolanda, and I first walked into a Mundurucú village in 1952, we hardly expected to encounter a flamboyantly warlike people, for we knew well that the warring had ended some half-century ago. But we were psychologically
[177] unprepared for the dismal sight of Indians dressed in tattered cottons, for the cheap metal pots and pans, the rubber-tapping apparatus, and the little suitcases that sat in the rafters of every house and in which the people packed their clothes for journeys to their rubber trees or to trading posts. Little children with distended abdomens played in the dirt, hollow-ribbed dogs fought over scraps of fish entrails, and an occasional, and very unaboriginal, rooster crowed. The effect of the sun beating mercilessly on the mud huts in the village clearing, of the surrounding monotonous forest, of our inability to communicate with the people, and of our total incapacity to fend for ourselves in this strange environment, was a most depressing experience. This, I believe, is what some anthropologists refer to as "culture shock."

123 We settled in the village, acquired a Brazilian interpreter who spoke Portuguese and Mundurucú, and began to

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

probe beneath the surface appearances. The Mundurucú were equally curious, and relentless to the exclusion of all personal privacy in their own ethnographic investigations on us. This is perhaps the worst part of field work, and it was more difficult for Yolanda than for me. The insect life forced her to dress in khakis, and only the canons of empiricism convinced the Mundurucú children—and many of the adults—that she was truly a female. The women shook her hammock before dawn to ask her if she was awake, and they made continuous and repetitive demands on her for bright glass beads. Her relations with the females were of a reciprocal nature; that she was another woman was more important than her role as a foreigner, and she was able to establish close rapport with them for field work. I, who did not hunt, fish, sow, or reap, could claim no such close identification with the men. Our research proceeded, and we found that there was still much that was distinctively Mundurucú below the veneer of material acquisitions. Beyond this, the grinding processes by which Mundurucú society had become transformed and is becoming transformed unfolded themselves through our observations of their continuing mode of existence. The headhunter's heritage, pale and secularized as it may be, was of consummate interest to us as social scientists. 123

This book, in essence, is the story of the relationship between the white man and the Mundurucú. It is a prosaic and simple tale, unadorned with episodes of valiant resistance and glory, and surprisingly lacking in oppression and suffering. But, perhaps for this reason, it contains an element of tragedy, because the processes of this history have worked inexorably upon Mundurucú society and cultrue for a century and a half and have brought a once proud people to the brink of social extinction. 121

The complex causes and processes of change in Mun- 177 182

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians SL4

M
177
182

durucú society are the subject of this study. But fundamentally what has taken place is the attraction of a simple people by the new, glittering, and eminently useful objects proffered by Western civilization, and their ultimate reliance upon these items. These things, in themselves, have had limited effect on aspects of culture other than the material inventory. Rather, it has been the means of obtaining them and the social relationships in which they are exchanged that have altered the nature of Mundurucú society. These means have been the production first of manioc flour and later of wild rubber as cash commodities, and the establishment of a client relationship to white patrons in a mercantile economy.

M
[439]

B
M
182
563
177

The experience of the Mundurucú is not unique. It has parallels throughout the world, especially in Amazonia. There, remnants of similarly fragmented tribes have merged into the racially mixed population, and others are on the threshold of assimilation. Incorporation into the neo-Brazilian, or *caboclo,* population of the Amazon valley is not as long a step for the Indian as the corresponding process in the United States. The term caboclo is used in Brazil to designate the lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior. In the Amazon it refers to the rubber collectors and farmers, whose racial composition is generally a cross of Indian and Caucasoid with a minor admixture of Negroid genes. No strictly defined racial demarcations prevent the transition of Indian to Brazilian. The barriers are social, linguistic, and cultural. That is, the Indian remains such as long as he identifies himself with a tribal society and plays social roles within it; and the extent to which he preserves the cultural and linguistic symbols of his own society makes possible life within it and inhibits communication beyond it.

Most Indian groups of Brazil are today transitional to

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians SL4

incorporation in Brazilian society. They have acquired a limited but adequate body of common understandings with their Brazilian neighbors, and their social structures have become accommodated to their relations with the whites. Straddling two worlds, their positions are not stable, and they push themselves and are pulled from the outside into closer relations with Brazilian society. The "pull" arises from the chronic demand for cheap labor in the Amazon; the "push" is a product of the native's increasing desire for manufactured possessions, coupled with disturbances in his society which resulted from this acquisitiveness. The outcome of the process is the disappearance of traditional Indian social systems. But the affected Indians are not left in a social limbo. Rather, they shift their principal bonds of dependency to their already existent relations with the whites and move into the general orbit of caboclo society.

B M 182 563 177

An understanding of the process by which native societies of the Amazon have become economically and socially dependent on the white man, and of the effects of this dependence, are central to an understanding of the transition from Indian to caboclo. Other aspects of the native culture are secondary in importance; the Indian, once incorporated, has ample opportunity to learn the white man's ways. Or, if he is disinclined or unsuccessful in this respect, his children, who have been reared outside the traditional social matrix, certainly will become linguistically and culturally as much, or more, Brazilian than Indian.

B M 177 182

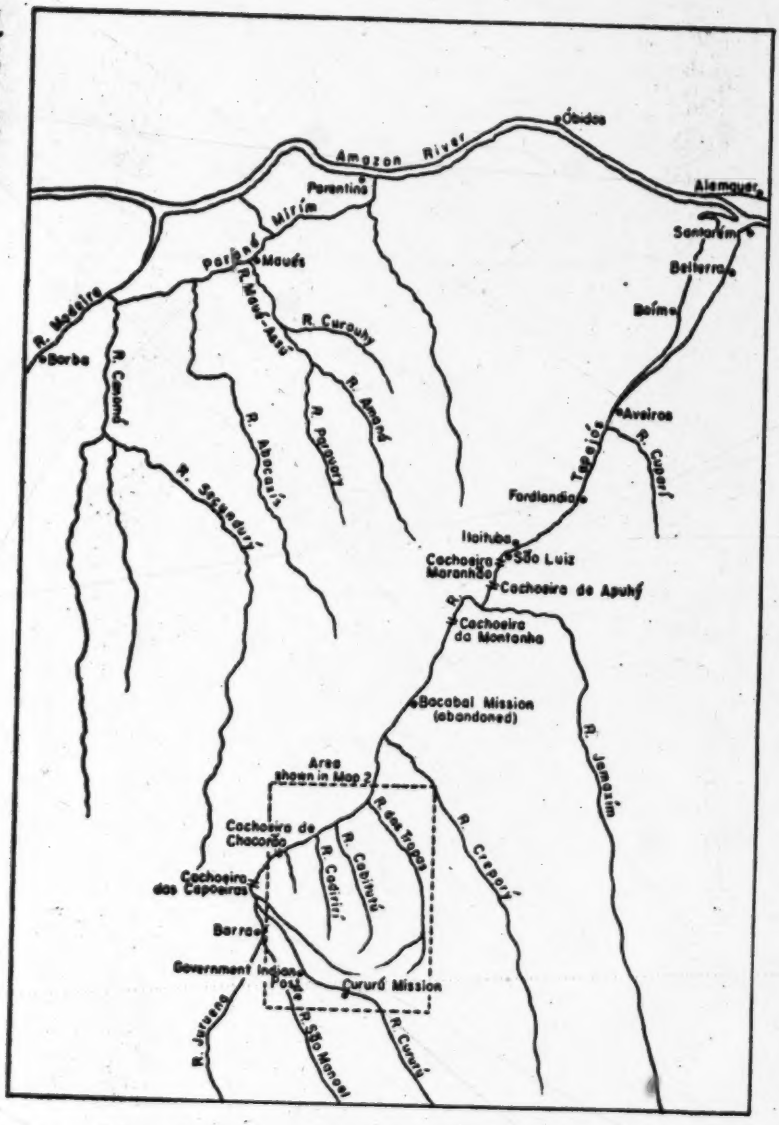
These remarks are also pertinent beyond the Amazon valley. The final chapter of this book will consider the general relevance of Mundurucú social and economic change to an understanding of the broader problems of culture change.

M [128]

[Text continues on page 7]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

102
103
131
133



Map 1. Region of the Tapajós and lower Madeira rivers

[p.6]

THE SETTING

The Mundurucú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Assú, Secundurý, and Abacaxís rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River. 131

The Mundurucú are usually classified as a Tupian-speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Mundurucú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Mundurucú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identification of the Nambikuara as the "Juruena Mundurucú" are erroneous.[3] The Mundurucú originally were an autonomous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact. 197 [101] [114] 101 131 166

The present-day Mundurucú population consists of about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea 161

[1] Nimuendajú, 1938, p. 975.
[2] Kruse, 1934, p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

161 of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Mundurucú in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantini's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Mundurucú population of the upper Tapajós River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Mundurucú should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Mundurucú in the upper Tapajós area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

648 The Mundurucú enjoy a solid position of importance in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and [181] docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of attacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter the Mundurucú were the friends and military allies of the whites. The capitulation of the Mundurucú was a recognition of both superior force and the material advantages to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Mundurucú continued their pursuit of warfare against other tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colo- [727] nists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of the major goals of their wars.

171 Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that distinguished the Mundurucú from their Tupian neigh- [273] bors. The Mundurucú have never manufactured any of the common intoxicants of the region, although they are now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

In the sphere of material culture, the planting and use of cotton were introduced 171 after their contact with the whites, and their only water- [248] craft were bark canoes of the type the German ethnologist [501] Karl von den Steinen saw in the upper Xingú.[4] The moiety- phratry-clan system of Mundurucú social organization is [61] considerably more complex than most Tupian societies, and the system of kinship nomenclature is correspondingly divergent. Mundurucú religion follows the broad [771] outlines of supernatural beliefs and rites of the area, but there are significant differences in mythology.

These are only a few points of dissimilarity between the Mundurucú and the other Tupian tribes of the coast and lower Amazon region, but when considered with the linguistic data, they are sufficient to suggest a considerable period of independent development. There are also fundamental points of similarity: subsistence techniques are much akin to those found throughout the tropical-forest region of South America, and the Mundurucú are a village-dwelling people. And in common with other tribes of the area, class stratification is absent, political controls are simple, and the fundamental organization of the society is established along lines of kinship.

Certain characteristics lead me to suspect that the Mun- 174 durucú may have originally dwelled south of their present habitat. Their lack of cotton and the dug-out canoe and the absence of cannibalism and alcoholic beverages suggest that they may have come from the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Also, although they were and are industrious horticulturalists, their supernatural beliefs and ceremonies are only marginally concerned with cultivation; their major emphasis in ritual is on hunting. One other factor suggests a more southerly origin. The traditional Mundurucú villages were situated in the northernmost savannah coun-

[4] Steinen, 1894, pp. 222–223.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

174 try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional home-
191 land as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 360 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in
177 search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his
[298] first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western
[301] style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is
[415] a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong
142 in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the
[304] younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the
171 Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely
361 Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

as most of the population. These small one- or two-family 361
groups do not have the social frame of reference necessary
for the perpetuation of the native social system. And the 367
social units are too small for the effective transmission of
the traditional culture to the young.

Village life, relative isolation from Brazilians, greater 182
population density, and, therefore, more intensive interac- 184
tion with other Mundurucú, make for better preservation
of the Indian culture among the residents of the Cururú
River. But here, too, tradition is on the wane, and the na-
tive social structure has been drastically modified.

Actually, the stronghold of Mundurucú society and cul-
ture lies in the remaining savannah villages; and it is from
the savannah area, once far more populous, that the con-
temporary dwellers of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers orig-
inally emigrated. It cannot be said that the Mundurucú of
the savannah villages represent the "aboriginal culture,"
for they too have been deeply affected and altered by
Brazilian society. But change has been the least among
this population. A greater degree of political and economic
autonomy is preserved, and the native social system per-
sists, although it has been subjected to modifications. So-
ciety and culture in the savannahs is certainly not the
same as one hundred fifty or even fifty years ago, but it
is still more distinctively Mundurucú than in the Cururú
villages and far more so than among the scattered Indians
of the Tapajós River.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Planalto de Mato Grosso is a thinly forested and rug- 133
ged upland, ranging in altitude from 2,000 to 3,000 feet,
which forms the divide between the streams flowing north
to the Amazon and south to the Paraguay River. The head-
waters of the Madeira, Tapajós, Xingú, and Araguaya

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

133 rivers rise there as small streams meandering through gallery forest. As they flow south, they increase greatly in volume, and their valleys cut deeper into the uplands, tumbling over waterfalls and dropping through strong rapids on their descent to sea level. The forest on either shore becomes vast and deep, but in the interior, the Planalto scenery continues, for the high country extends in long fingers between the rivers and reaches north in some places to the very shores of the Amazon. This is uninhabited, and largely unknown, terrain; its rivers are small, and delightfully cool and swift, and the landscape is characterized by open savannahs, flat hills, and fantastic rock formations.

The Tapajós River proper begins at approximately 7½° S lat. and is formed by the confluence of the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. For about 300 miles below this point, it flows through a valley that is in places broad and flat—typical Amazonian scenery—but is more commonly hilly. There are numerous rapids in this stretch, but none so spectacular and dangerous, as the Cachoeira (Rapids) de Maranhão, at which point the river passes through a low range of hills and drops to about the same level as the Amazon. The Tapajós then continues, without further rapids north of this point another 150 miles to its confluence with the Amazon at the city of Santarém. This section of the river is by far the most beautiful. It gradually broadens to form a bay ten miles wide, bordered on either side by forested hills. Unlike most other rivers of the area, the Tapajós is blue and clear, and its lower reaches are lined in the low-water dry season by endless stretches of white sand beach.

131 The Mundurucú live in the area immediately north and east of the point where the Tapajós is created by the juncture of the São Manoel and Juruena rivers. For this reason, I will refer to their habitat as being on the "upper Tapajós,"

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

while the lands lying north of the last rapids, the Cachoeira 131
de Maranhão, will be termed the "lower Tapajós"; this division follows local usage. The traditional location of their villages has been in a high and hilly area inland from (361) the Tapajós, between the Cururú and Tropas rivers. This is a region of mixed savannah and forest in which several minor tributaries of the Tapajós have their headwaters. Topographically, this high savannah land is a continua- 133
tion of the Serra do Cachimbo; it extends northwestward through the Mundurucú country and across the Tapajós at the Cachoeiras de Capoeira and Chacorão. Beyond this point there is some savannah land at the headwaters of the Securidurý and Abacaxis rivers, but the terrain soon flattens out into the great, forested Amazon lowland encompassed by the Negro and Madeira rivers.

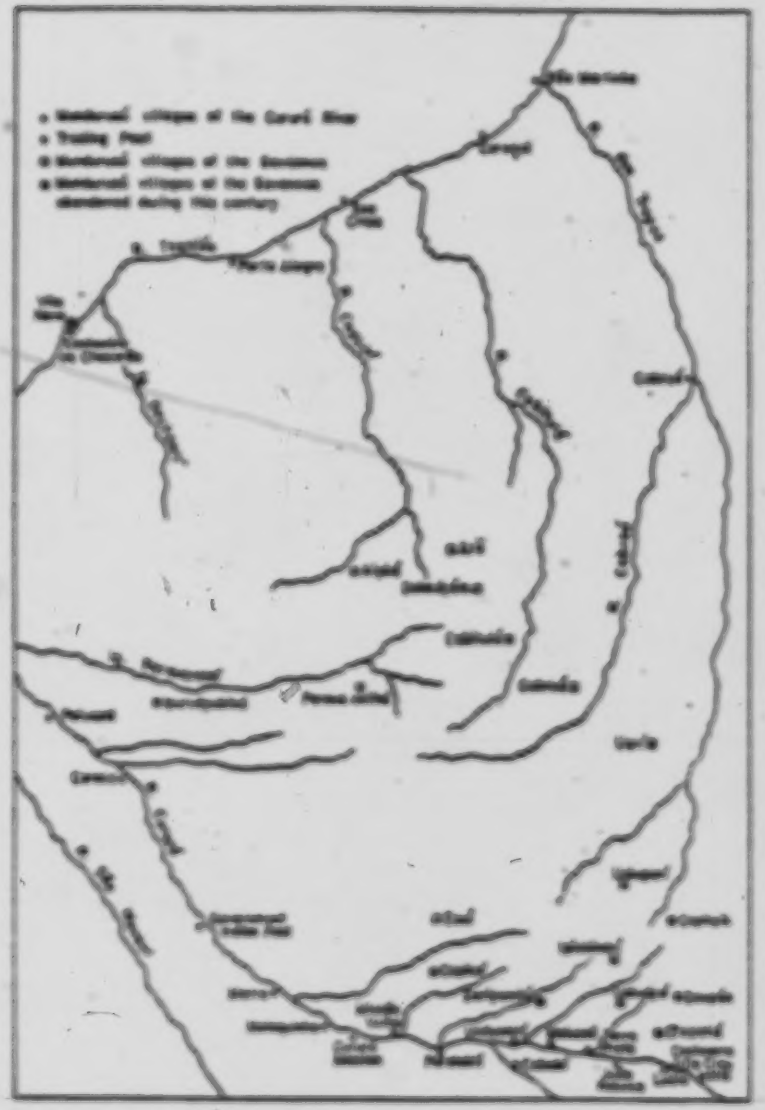
The savannahs in which the Mundurucú have long 133
dwelled are considered agreeable by Indians and Brazil- 361
ians alike, although the latter do not live in the area. The villages are usually situated on high, grassy knolls, and some offer vistas of twenty miles across forests and open country, low hills, and valleys. The local streams are small, but the water is cool and pure. And the forests are far richer in game than in the more heavily settled areas of the Amazon.

The climate of the upper Tapajós follows a more pro- 132
nounced wet-and-dry cycle than that of the Amazon valley proper. The rains begin in mid-September and increase in frequency and intensity for the next three months. The heaviest rains fall between January and March; then they gradually slacken until the dry season commences in June. The great extremes between wet and dry seasons can be seen from the following figures on average January- and July rainfall, collected by the Cururú Mission. During 1945–1951, the average January rainfall was 420.6 milli-

[Text continues on page 15]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

102
103
191
133
361
366



Map 2. Present territory of the Mundurucú Indians

P- 14

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

meters, but during July in the same period an average of only 6.05 mm. fell. The extremes during this seven-year ranged from 530.4 mm. in January, 1947, to no rainfall in July, 1945, and again in 1951. The rivers rise and fall with the rains, overflowing their banks in November or December and receding in May. 132

Contrary to popular belief, the heat is seldom excessive in this part of Brazil. Although the sea breezes that blow up the Amazon from the sea as far as Manaos every evening are not felt in the upper Tapajós, the temperature usually drops at night to very comfortable levels. It was my experience that one could use pajamas and two cotton blankets at night; the Mundurucú, who do not possess such luxuries, generally sleep in their cotton clothes and awaken at three or four in the morning to light a small fire beneath their hammocks. There are no great variations in temperature from one month to another. Days are slightly warmer and nights cooler during the dry season, but the lower humidity makes it more agreeable than the rains. Maximum temperatures throughout the year range between 87° and 95° F. (30° and 35° C.), minimum temperatures between 63° and 77° F. (17° and 25° C.). During June, a cold wind blows from the distant Andes and chills the entire region for two to four days. Temperatures then fall to as low as 63° F. (17° C.). [291] [513]

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Mundurucú habitat is surely not an earthly paradise, but neither is it the "green hell" so often pictured by royalty-minded travelers and writers. The Brazilians of the Tapajós River, however, do live in a social and economic hell. They distinguish themselves from the Indians by the self-designation of *civilizado* or, less often, *cristão* (Christian). The Indian is commonly called *caboclo* by them, 101 648

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101
648 which, ironically, is what the townsman calls the backwoodsman. The Brazilian residents in the upper Tapajós are scattered along its banks and the lower sections of its larger tributaries as far south as 9° S lat. on the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. Beyond this point the country is inhabited by the Nambikuára, Tapayuna, and Tupí-Cawahíb Indians, who are all hostile to the whites and effectively prevent further penetration. The Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó Indians, who live to the east of the Mundurucú, have raided the upper Tapajós in recent years, and at the time of our visit fear had induced all inhabitants of the east bank of the river between the Tropas and Jamaxim rivers to move to safer areas.

511
249 The local Brazilians have an enormous fear of hostile Indians. This is especially true of recent immigrants to the Amazon, and it is reinforced by a general feeling of insecurity in the jungle environment. The natives of the States of Ceará and Piauí who have been attracted to the area through aspirations of wealth in rubber, are frequently heard to remark that "life here is a sacrifice"; or "it is better to starve in town where there is movement and people than in this desolation." Inhabitants born in the area are, of course, accustomed to it, but they recognize their own poverty and the despair of their condition. Life in the jungle is difficult; the people are poor and often hungry and deprived of the barest necessities of life. Rubber, the basic export of the area, once offered rich returns to collectors, and especially to traders, but the latex of
[439] the wild *Hevea* is now submarginal on the world market; the population engaged in its extraction has correspondingly experienced a forty-year period of depression.

648 The governments of Brazil and of the State of Pará are remote from the region. On rare occasions, one or two policemen from the town of Itaituba, the seat of the mu-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants who read and write usually learned to do so in another area or through literate parents. Actually, the Mundurucú are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, because both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educational facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher section of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods. These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers, often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the *barracões* (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local traders, who buy the produce of the caboclo and sell him needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses adjacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the houses of rubber tappers whose rubber avenues are nearby, and others belong to people who live there during the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 customers of the patron remain in their isolated dwellings the year round.

439 Every rubber collector deals steadily with the same
648 patron, because the latter controls the section of forest land in which his clients work. The trader usually has no legal title, but receives rights of exploitation by paying
[651] the state tax on the gross cash return from the land. The right of exploitation, perpetuated by the state tax, usually rests on a nebulous title, and, according to Wagley, it is
[423] "control over the land, and not legal documents" which establishes ownership in the Amazon.[8] The patron grants permission to the rubber tapper to extract rubber from his lands and, in return, exerts a trade monopoly in which his client sells rubber to him and buys goods from him.
[651] The patron profits from both sale and purchase and, since he passes the state tax on to the rubber collector, the latter receives but small return in terms of the prices prevailing in the urban markets. The client has freedom of movement only when he is not in debt to the patron, which rarely happens. If he owes money, he can transfer to another patron only if the new one settles the debt and transfers it to his own books. The rubber collector sometimes deals with the *regatões*, or itinerant merchants who ply the rivers, but these transactions are infrequent and in small amounts because the patron does not tolerate a substantial loss of commerce. The rubber collector who deals too often with the *regatão* might be denied credit by his regular patron or, less frequently, evicted from his avenue.

911 The economic power of the trader is especially strong
439 on the upper Tapajós River because of a combination of
648 geographic and economic factors. The lower Tapajós, from its mouth at Santarém to the first rapids 150 miles upstream, is economically diversified, and its rubber pro-

[8] Wagley, 1953, p. 92.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

duction is overshadowed in value by agricultural products, 311
cattle, and hardwoods. Some rubber is still produced at 439
the old Ford plantations, now government-owned, at Bel- 648
terra and Fordlandia, but both installations are currently mainly used for experimental cattle breeding. Commerce is correspondingly brisker on the lower Tapajós. The inhabitants are not only visited regularly by several traders, but they have access to the market facilities of small towns and the city of Santarém.

The upper Tapajós and its two main tributaries, the São 133
Manoel and Juruena rivers, are broken by a series of heavy rapids, some of which are impassable in the dry season. The first set of rapids, the Cachoeira de Maranhão, can be passed during the flood stage of the river only with con-
siderable danger. For this reason, a five-mile-long road 439
was built around them early in the century with the result that the trading company that controlled the road could force the local patrons to deal only with it, and thus effectively monopolize trade on the river. This is done by allowing only freight bought from the company and destined for freightage on the company launches to be transported on the road. Several attempts at competition by passing cargo through the dangerous rapids have ended in failure. Whatever company has controlled the two-way trade of rubber export and consumer-goods import has been able to fix consumer prices at whatever the market would bear. These prices have usually been too high to keep a stable, permanent working force, and there has been a chronic labor shortage on the Tapajós, even after the great rubber boom ended. The prices charged by the company for freight and goods are based on a cost index already made high by lack of the deep-water transportation available on the lower Tapajós. On the upper river, the rapids force the use of shallow-draft diesel launches

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 that carry only ten tons of cargo. This limitation prohibits the diversified economy of the lower Tapajós from developing further upstream, for the only worthwhile product in terms of transportation costs is natural rubber, which sold in 1952 for the artificially supported price of Cr. $25 (approximately U.S. $0.75 at the open-market rate of exchange then prevailing) per kilogram at the government-operated Rubber Bank of Brazil in Belém.

439 The economic hierarchy of the Tapajós River consists of the company, with headquarters in Belém; the patrons,
452 who are by necessity customers of the company; and the rubber collectors, who are the clients of particular patrons. Transactions between all parties are made on credit. The company advances commodities to the traders and the latter to the rubber collectors against expected deliveries of rubber. Very little cash passes hands.

The river valley can be conceived of as a socioeconomic
439 unit for it is bound together by economic ties from the
621 company through the patron down to the rubber collector;
648 and to the man born on the river, it is the only world he knows. Most ties of kinship, marriage, and friendship are confined to the river banks from the rapids to the limits of Brazilian penetration on the São Manoel and Juruena rivers. Most of the approximately 2,000 inhabitants of this huge region are either personally acquainted or have knowledge of each other.

Within the broad social framework imposed by the river
621 system, the local community consists of the patron and his
648 dispersed rubber-collecting clients. The patron serves as the focal point of community life: he is usually the *padrinho*, or godfather, of the customer's children; it is at his house that devotions to the saints are usually held; it is there that secular festivals such as dances occur; and his store serves as the gathering place on Sundays or alternate

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Sundays when the people come to trade and to enjoy social contacts. The patron is also expected to intervene in cases of serious violation of the law, and he is frequently called upon to settle disputes among his clients. The latter depend heavily on the traditional mutual obligations between patron and client. If the rubber collector falls ill and cannot work, the patron is expected to continue to extend credit to him so that his family may subsist. The patron is also supposed to offer food and coffee when his client visits and to show generosity to the latter's children, even if he is not their godfather. In turn, the client is expected to produce as much rubber as possible and to be loyal to his patron. But it is, at best, a very loosely knit community, for membership shifts frequently and the daily life of the people is carried on in one- or two-family isolation. The most important factor holding the community together is trade with the same patron. 621 648

This paucity of social interaction and the loose cohesion of the community is generally caused by the extraction economy prevailing in Amazonia and especially by the collection of wild rubber. The wild rubber trees exploited in the Amazon are scattered along the streams and are usually found on land flooded during the rainy season. Access to the trees is along paths that wind through the forest from one tree to another. The average rubber gatherer has one to three such "avenues" that he visits in rotation every third day to make a fresh cut in the bark of the tree and, later in the same day, to collect the latex that has accumulated in a metal cup placed below the incision. The trees are so widely distributed, except in the richest areas, that he usually works from dawn to late afternoon just to tap one avenue. The great area necessarily exploited by each rubber tapper, plus the fact that large riverine areas are found with few rubber trees and are thus unoccupied, 314 621 314 361

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

314 makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transpor-
361 tation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined
[489] with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

314 The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up
511 to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to
[226] fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber.
[224] The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other im-
241 portant subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is
511 not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situa-
621 tion. Under these circumstances of great distance from his
511 neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete individualization of production, the bonds of economic coöperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no re-
[426] course because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

METHODOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION

This study undertakes to analyze the processes of change in economy and social structure operative among the Mundurucú at the time of this investigation and in the past. I have chosen to focus my attention on the economic and social structural categories rather than on the broader range of interest of the usual acculturation study, for I feel that it is here that the causes of social and cultural change, in general, are to be found. I use the term "cause" advisedly, for I know that it has been used, and misused, in a variety of contexts. I shall avoid interpretations of a finalistic or teleological nature, and I shall similarly eschew the particularism inherent in the concept of immediate causes. I will rather concentrate my interest on the sufficient causes underlying the emergence of new, or modified, social forms. 121

So far as society is a system, an organization—and this is inherent in the definition of society—the direction and effect of changes in the system will be governed by its component parts and its over-all nature. In short, sufficient causality lies in large part within the social structure, and the dynamics of social change need not be sought completely outside the unit under study. From this point of view, external forces producing certain effects in one system may have different results in another. This must be kept in mind, for it is only in this way that we can arrive at general laws of social and cultural change: laws that will not only tell why something happens or exists in one instance, but why it does not in another.

The search for causes of change leads into functional analysis of the Mundurucú social system. If understanding of how a system changes is to be obtained, it is necessary

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

121 to know how the parts of the system are related to one another and to the totality. It is also necessary to understand how the system becomes a coherent and integrated set of social relationships in terms of observable behavior. I attempt to do this in the present work. A functional analysis of social structure has another important value, and one that is not fully utilized by anthropologists. Since a basic assumption of the method is that a system has internal coherence, it is possible to see clues to the past in items that do not fit into the present. This, of course, is reminiscent of the now unpopular use of "survivals" for purposes of historical reconstruction. I do not think, however, that I have engaged in a form of "conjectural" history. Rather, I have attempted to relate my clues, the nonfunctional and disfunctional items of the present, to the probable structure of Mundurucú society as it existed in the past. And I have attempted to marshal as much historical and ethnographic data as possible to validate my reconstructions. In this way, I have avoided speculations based on one or another shred of data and have remained within the framework of structural analysis. And, it might be added, I have thus tried to bring my historical material under the canons of internal criticism of historical data.

178 Economy and social structure have changed a great deal during the past century and a half of Mundurucú history, making the tribe an especially good subject for this type of study. I have relied to a certain extent on older informants for data of past conditions. The memories of the old people are variable in accuracy, richness, and content, and I tried where possible to corroborate points with a number of informants. It would, however, be naïve to assume that material obtained from an old informant, however well corroborated, is valid for the "aboriginal," or pre-contact, period. A sixty-year-old man—of whom there are

124
128

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

very few among the Mundurucú—interviewed in 1952 was 124
born in 1892. Since his most reliable recollections prob- 128
ably date from his adolescence, his memories of things seen and heard will be of value only for the time after about 1905—and I am being generous here. The period of 1905 and shortly thereafter is within the last decade of the rubber boom and is well over a century after the first contact between Mundurucú and whites. In short, it has been necessary to exercise great caution with these data.

A good deal of the data from informants were datable, within broad limits, by their context. Thus, when I heard that a duty of the chief in times past was to "buy goods for the people," I know that I was not faced with the pristine. And, fortunately, there is some highly useful doc- 127
umentary history on the Mundurucú. One does not get a smooth historical continuum replete with detail, but it is possible to discern in the written records some of the large-scale changes that have taken place in the society. I have avoided the method, common in acculturation 121
studies, of working with two cultural base lines, the aboriginal and the present, and comparing the two. This procedure may have some value when the transfer of items of culture from one society to another through diffusion is studied, but it does not lend itself to the analysis of the continual interplay of the forces of stability and change acting on a social system.

The Mundurucú present advantages for the student of 121
social change. It has been said that there are three socially 184
and culturally distinct Mundurucú populations, which differ in degree of change—a differentiation that took place only during the past twenty-five years as a result of migration. This study does not include the population of the Tapajós River, where Mundurucú society is most drastically changed, but concentrates on the people of the savan-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

121 nahs and the Cururú River. The differences between the
184 savannah villages and those of the Cururú, and between the modes of social life of the two groups in general, are profound, and I believe that they can be traced to the degree of participation in trade and the rubber-extraction industry. A comparison of the two groups is rewarding because it reveals two points of Mundurucú history. And since the savannah villages will probably be abandoned in a generation or two, and their residents will move also to the banks of the larger streams, a comparison also gives a glimpse of the future. Beyond these considerations, an element of control over the data is introduced. Processes of change that may be surmised to be at work in the savannah communities may be seen to have run their course on the Cururú. Conversely, we need not speculate on the antecedents of social structure on the Cururú River, for we see them on the savannahs.

I start my analysis with a presentation of Mundurucú
128 history, based on published sources and information given
[127] by the priests of the Cururú mission. The next four chapters, the main body of the book, present general material on traditional Mundurucú culture and social structure in the savannah communities. The last of these four chapters, chapter 6, discusses the contemporary bases of social integration, and the centrifugal tendencies in Mundurucú society. This is also the logical place to discuss relations with the whites. Chapter 7 shifts attention to the Cururú River villages and analyzes the progressive disorganization of Mundurucú society there. The final chapter summarizes the findings on social change and discusses their implications for general anthropological theory.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

2

the contact period

The Mundurucú explain in the form of legendary history how and why relations were established with the white man: 173 648

> In the old days our grandfathers were still wild and fought against the white men. The whites used to come up our rivers in their canoes, and we always battled. One day a group of them came up, and there was a fight and our men were driven off. Two of our young men were wounded and were left behind. They were captured and taken away.
>
> The next time the white men came we were about to attack when the two men who were captured stood up in the canoe and told us not to do anything as these people were our friends. They then came forward and showed us clothes, knives, axes, and many other good things that the whites gave them. They said that if we gave rubber and *farinha* to the whites, we too would receive these things. The elders decided to do this and ever since we have been friends of the white men. [439]

[p. 27]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

439 This account is hardly the complete story of the Mun-
648 durucú's contact with Western society, and, since more than one hundred fifty years have passed, it cannot be taken literally. But it explains summarily how the Indians became engaged in the Amazonian barter economy and were induced to accept the whites. Trade with the white men had much to offer. Steel tools are so far superior to stone axes and bamboo knives that they have been sought after eagerly by almost all aborigines. The efficacy of firearms, also, was early and forcibly demonstrated to them by the whites. The traders had many other things that attracted the primitive population of the Amazon. Among them were trinkets and glass beads, the raw Brazilian rum, *cachaça,* clothes to protect them from insects and the cool nights of interior Brazil, and all the gewgaws and gadgets of the civilized world.

177 Once exposed to these mixed benefits of Western cul-
648 ture, it is as difficult for the aborigine to turn away as it is
439 for the American; he is caught in the trap of his own newly induced needs. So strong is the Indian's desire for manufactured goods and so great is his dependence upon them that the Brazilian Indian Protection Serivce commonly uses the lure of Western commodities to establish communication with hostile tribes preliminary to their pacification. Traders in the Amazon region have classically used this technique to attract and hold native labor, which they have always desperately needed in their efforts to extract wild products. The Mundurucú have not suffered from the worst excesses committed by the commercial interests, but other means, including torture and degeneration by rum, have been used to recruit them and other Indians throughout the Amazon Valley. The net effect has been to draw the native population into a client status under white patrons and to integrate it into the mercantile econ-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been 177
the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural 648
change in this part of South America. 439

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported 175
Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong at- 648
tacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2]

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth 131
century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of 175
a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Ta- [797]
pajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the

[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[2] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.
[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 175 Tapajós in 1779, which located the "Mondruci nation" on the "Rio Vermelha," probably either the Cadirirí or Cururú River.[4] Also, although Martius was personally acquainted only with the Mundurucú living between the Tapajós and Madeira, he confirmed the upper Tapajós to be their area of greatest strength in 1819.[5]

175 648 [166] The Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River remained relatively isolated during the early contact period, although large numbers of migrants from these villages moved north to the proximity of the white settlements. This population shift, caused by the lure of manufactured articles, was facilitated by the rapid decimation of the intervening Indian tribes. The complementary, and frequently identical, agencies of colonization and catechization had broken and absorbed those groups, such as the populous Tapajó, which had occupied areas near the Amazon, and disease had reduced the ranks of the surviving [165] societies. Mundurucú warfare aided the process. For example, Serra located the Hiauain tribe in an area several days' travel above the first rapids of the Tapajós in 1779,[6] but in 1817 Manoel Ayres de Casal placed them on the east bank of the lower Tapajós, to where they had fled from Mundurucú war parties.[7] The net effect of these demographic changes was to provide the Mundurucú with uninterrupted avenues of access to trade facilities.

175 648 197 The Mundurucú who moved into the lower Tapajós valley soon entered into close relations with the whites. The mission of Santa Cruz was established in 1803 and was followed by other missions to the Mundurucú at Boim and Pinhel, all on the lower Tapajós.[8] The inhabitants of these

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 3–5.
[5] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[6] Almeida Serra, 1869, p. 3.
[7] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 232.
[8] Martius, 1867, p. 395.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

settlements traded to obtain Western goods. The process 175
of assimilation proceeded with such rapidity that by 1817 648
Ayres de Casal was able to say, "Almost all the Mundurucú 797
hordes are today our allies and some already Christians." [9]
The Mundurucú occupants of the lower Tapajós were not, however, completely mission-dominated, as "a quite considerable distance above Vilanova de Santa Cruz on the west bank of the Tapajós, there is a village inhabited by another horde of Mundurucús, still pagans, and already [177] having gardens, some already using trousers, and the women skirts, all of cotton." [10] There is no mention in the sources of the presence of the traditional village and men's house on the lower Tapajós. Apparently, the migrants did not transfer the native community organization to their new habitat.

The Madeira River area was likewise a region of post- 175
contact penetration by the Mundurucú. This contradicts 648
the information given to Lt. Herndon of the U. S. Navy by Alphonse de Lincourt, a French engineer of Santarém. According to the latter, the Mundurucú, after becoming friendly with the whites, moved out of the region between the Tapajós and the Madeira and retired to "the deep solitudes of the Tapajós above the cataracts." [11] It is much more probable that the Madeira region was an area of late eighteenth-century hostilities in which members of the marauding Mundurucú war parties had settled near the Brazilians and were later followed by other migrants.

Johann B. von Spix and Karl von Martius state that in 175
1819 the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá 648
River in the lower Madeira drainage had 1,000 Mundurucú 797
under its control.[12] The Indians were settled at the mis-

[9] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[11] Herndon and Gibbon, 1854, p. 311.
[12] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[175 648 797 459] sion and were also scattered throughout the surrounding forest. They were already conducting trade with the whites in manioc flour, sarsaparilla, and *guaraná* and apparently did not have the men's house and the other accoutrements of the traditional men's organization. According to these explorers, the Indians were found mainly on the Canomá and its tributary, the Secundurý. About forty years later, Mundurucú inhabitants lived also on the Abacaxis and Maué-Assú rivers, two other tributaries of the Paraná-Mirim, a channel that connects the Amazon with the lower Madeira.

The Mundurucú of that area are of interest, because the earliest assimilation of large numbers of the tribe took place in the Madeira River region. It was there too that a long tradition of friendly relations with the whites was established; this friendship was to a large extent sealed by the coöperation of the Mundurucú in the quelling of tribes of the region still hostile to the colonists. In the late eighteenth century, two tribes of the lower Madeira, the Mura and the Arara, especially the former, waged incessant warfare against the white settlements and did much to impede the colonization of the central Amazon Valley. Unable to cope with the Mura, the whites enlisted the aid of the Mundurucú and from this date, according to Charles F. Hartt, the whites and the Mundurucú were allies.[13] By 1819, Ayres de Casal reported the lower Madeira River town of Borba to have a nearby settlement of Mura who had sought refuge from the Mundurucú,[14] and in 1852, Henry Walter Bates, the noted English naturalist, found fugitive remnants of the tribe scattered along the Amazon as far as the town of Catuá, a short distance below the mouth of the Rio Teffé.[15] At the time Bates wrote, the at-

[13] Hartt, 1885, pp. 116–117.
[14] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 238.
[15] Bates, 1863, p. 168.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken. 175 648

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cuparí River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[14] Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343; [182] [361] [177] 175 182 648 [161]

[14] *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 240.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

1869, 100; 1885, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirim and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[22] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco and the collection of guaraná, sarsaparilla, and copaiba oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[20] Agassiz, 1868, p. 308.
[21] Ibid., p. 312.
[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 434.

of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous."* Contact 175
between the two regions has completely terminated since 648
that time, and the modern Mundurucú of the upper Ta- 182
pajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only
by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but ver-
bal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area in- [177]
dicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

The assimilation of these Mundurucú has been made 582
complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the com- 648
mon-law type, between Mundurucú and caboclos. These
unions are almost always between Brazilian men and In-
dian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it de-
grading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also,
there has historically been a shortage of women in the
Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have gen-
erally been unmarried men. The children of such mar-
riages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer con-
sidered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically,
the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the
Tapajós is partly Mundurucú. The mother of the mayor of
the municipality of Itaituba was Mundurucú, and he is
quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the
Tapajós agree that the Mundurucú are "good people and
hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive con- 175
tact between Brazilians and Mundurucú in the region ad- 648
jacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the cen-
tury these Mundurucú merged progressively with caboclo
society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their
homeland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

* *Ibid.*, p. 425.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ence any large-scale direct contact with the whites until a comparatively late period.

Before the rubber boom, the hinterlands of the Amazon Valley were only marginally penetrated and exploited by white settlers, and colonization was largely restricted to the great river itself and the lower reaches of its tributaries. Exploration for minerals, however, had attracted white men to the headwaters of the southern affluents of the Amazon. Access to these regions was generally from the south, across the Planalto de Mato Grosso. The middle reaches of the Tapajós remained relatively undisturbed. The only major exception to this isolation of the Mundurucú country and the tribal areas to the south took place during the long period of Paraguayan-Brazilian hostilities, which closed the Paraguay River to Brazilian trade and isolated Cuyabá, the commercial and political center of Mato Grosso. Most of Cuyabá's commerce then had to be conducted with cities on the Amazon, and the southern tributaries were used as trade arteries. This trade gained considerable magnitude on the Tapajós. Chandless reported that several fleets of ten to fifteen canoes made one round trip a year between Cuyabá and Itaituba, at the head of deep-water navigation on the Tapajós.[24] The members of these fleets undoubtedly had contacts with the Indians along their routes, but without deep or lasting effects on the latter. The Brazilians' task was to freight goods from one port to the other in the shortest possible time. They neither tarried nor traded with the natives.

Until the expansion of trade relations to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós, the most important relation between the tribe and the whites was through its service to them as mercenary warriors. The early action against the Mura and Arara Indians of the lower Madeira River was prob-

[24] Chandless, 1862, p. 278.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ably principally undertaken by Mundurucú who had emigrated to this section. But their rapid engagement in trade and the resultant fragmentation of the native social organization made the migrants ill adapted to warfare, and the burden of mercenary activities shifted to those Mundurucú who had remained on the upper Tapajós. 175 648

Raiding on behalf of the whites continued throughout the nineteenth century. Coudreau described one such expedition in 1895.[25] Three white traders had been killed by hostile Indians on the Madeira River, and a group of merchants approached the Mundurucú to enlist their aid. The Indians were promised advance payment in manufactured goods, and a war party consisting of sixty men and forty women set forth. They traveled to the upper Secundury River across an area of savannah between that stream and the Tapajós; this route had long been the major means of communication and emigration between the Mundurucú settlements of the upper Tapajós and those on the Madeira waters. This particular expedition met disaster, however, for the virulent malaria of the Secundury River killed almost all participants. [721]

Their military service for the whites was an important factor in maintaining the stability of Mundurucú culture. The Indians had already become dependent on Western commodities, and warfare provided a means of obtaining them that did not necessitate direct labor for the whites in an extraction industry. Since the latter occupation is, as shall be seen, destructive of the traditional society, the Mundurucú were, in effect, granted a reprieve from more complete participation in commerce and its effects. Furthermore, they were encouraged by the white men to destroy other tribes and thus to continue a pattern that was dominant in the culture. Warfare contributed greatly to 175 182 648 721

[25] Coudreau, 1897, pp. 38–40.

115 social cohesion also, because it provided a rallying point
182 for tribal coöperation and a common goal in the pursuit
698 of which factional differences were forgotten. And it af-
721 forded an escape valve for aggressions that could not be safely unleashed within the society.

These factors helped to preserve the integrity and autonomy of Mundurucú society during a period of stress and encroachment. Their coöperation with the whites set a pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship. Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade [439] goods, and restricted their military activities (which were not by any means always or even usually at the immediate behest of the whites) to tribes that were not yet pacified. And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucú were gradually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in contrast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the transition is no doubt partly attributable to the ties of economic dependency and friendship which had become established.

Trade and exploitation of natural resources came late
115 to the upper Tapajós because of the impediments to nav-
439 igation imposed by its many rapids, and also because of
698 the specific commodities available there. The rich Tapajós rubber did not begin to assume great economic importance until well into the second half of the century, while the Madeira waters had abundant resources of guaraná and sarsaparilla, both of which were intensively sought in the early nineteenth century; and agricultural products were traded in the latter area on a large scale at an earlier date, also, because Brazilian markets were not far.

Shortly before the mid-century the Mundurucú of the

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early commerce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.[26] The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The regatões served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

> They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of manihoca and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cachaça—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.[27]

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs. The regatão gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

[26] Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 439 648

the Brazilian traders cheated the Indians mercilessly. Accounts were and are to this day arranged so as to keep the Indian almost continually in debt. The trader thereby attaches the labor of his Indian clients and induces the creditor chiefs to exact as much work from their people as possible. As a case in point, in 1875 Antonio Tocantins found one Mundurucú chief to owe the then phenomenal sum of 6,876 milreis.[28]

The Indian trade reported by Bates was mainly in manioc flour, which was also a major product of the Mundurucú of the Madeira waters visited in 1819 by Spix and Martius. Only small amounts of rubber were collected on the upper Tapajós in 1852, but the importance of this commodity soared rapidly in the next quarter century. Tocantins reported it to be the principal item of commerce in 1875.[29] By 1860, Brazilian rubber tappers had begun to penetrate the Tapajós valley during the dry season. They were found in greatest concentration below the Cachoeira de Chacarão, although some drifted further upstream. Chandless, in 1860, encountered a group of clothed Mundurucú working for two runaway Negro slaves on the Juruena River, a tributary of the Tapajós.[30] More Mundurucú were noted in small settlements on the banks of the Tapajós far downstream.[31] During the period of which Chandless wrote, only a small percentage of the Mundurucú of the savannah country were working in rubber. He commented that "the people here [the Mundurucú] trade in salsa [sarsaparilla] and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers."[32] During the next twenty years, they became more completely committed to the

[28] Tocantins, 1877, p. 154.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 149-154.
[30] Chandless, 1862, p. 275.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the establishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Tapajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to protect the Indians from the traders and is said by Tocantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for yourselves, your women, and your children." [32] The priest's technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were powerful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon complaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Bacabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of commerce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was extended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little, although the violence of the boom days has subsided and the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant, poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client system and they also came into closer proximity to the whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian population remained in the savannah villages and collected rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

[32] Tocantins, 1877, p. 149.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Tocantins states that many
175 Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servi-
466 tude by the whites,[34] a practice common to all of Amazonia
648 at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons
[166] to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mun-
[162] durucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[35] All these scattered Mundurucú
[177] were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average pop-
[592] ulation of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

175 The population of the savannah villages decreased dur-
621 ing this period because of death from disease and loss of
622 people to the river banks. However, the villages them-
648 selves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are
439 mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became
900 a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[35] Coudreau, 1897, p. 168.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Second, warfare, for both mercenary
pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced 175
scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because 182
of the acquisition of firearms.[36] The continuance of warfare 648
helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as 721
social units for the reasons already discussed, and also be-
cause it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating [622]
their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional vil- 175
lages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not 439
as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian so- 648
ciety as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap [177]
rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, in-
creasingly, were available only through rubber production.
The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely
pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service
had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more 175
valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the 464
end of the century was netting the traders fabulous mon- 648
etary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber col- 221
lecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their
village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June
to September, during which period they left their savan-
nah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber
avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a
precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along
the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in
times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dis-
persed population reunited in their villages, where the na-
tive round of activities persisted throughout the remain-
ing nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional- 131
type villages no longer existed on the waters of the 175
Crepory River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[36] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 pajós,[37] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited
175 the headwaters of that river in 1860.[38] Thus, by 1895 at the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining
[177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization. They had acquired steel tools and clothes from the whites, and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber
182 economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and
648 mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was
177 a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads. It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men, who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically at the past.

175 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom col-
439 lapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension
648 to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased in importance and yielded decidedly less return. The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

[37] Candreua, 1897, p. 30.
[38] Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

on manufactured goods and continued to tap rubber, although on a reduced scale. 175 439 648

In 1911, a German priest, Fr. Hugo Mense of the newly established Franciscan diocese of Santarém, ascended the Tapajós and chose a site on the Cururú River where he established a mission. The location decided upon was about two miles north of the Cururú on the boundary between the savannahs and the gallery forest that borders the stream. In 1912, the mission personnel numbered two priests and three nuns. The priests attempted to catechize the Indians while the nuns were in charge of the mission school, which, according to William C. Farabee, had twenty-six Indian and Brazilian children in 1916.[39] At that time, the Cururú region was populated only during the dry season, when the Indians moved from the savannahs to the Cururú to collect rubber. During this period, they were visited regularly by merchants who plied the river. Many people of the savannah villages, within a range of from three hours to two days by foot from the Cururú, did not, however, tap rubber. 175 797

In 1918, a new priest arrived at the mission who urged the relocation of the mission because of the distance from the river bank and the shortage of agricultural land in its immediate vicinity. Plans were made for a larger, permanent, self-sustaining establishment and to that end, the mission moved to its present site on the banks of the Cururú, began to raise its own crops, and instituted a policy of trading with the Indians. That policy gave the mission an income and simultaneously removed the Indian from his dependence on the traders. The priests had recognized the great influence held by the patrons over their Indian clients and saw that it would be to the advantage of the mission if it assumed this role. But in the beginning [439]

[39] Farabee, 1917, p. 138.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 797 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose some-
175 what as a result of export restrictions imposed on the plant-
439 ers of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns
797 caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a greater return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on
[361] its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to
[166] grow up on the river banks. This population shift pro-
[162] ceeded so rapidly that by 1950 there were only about 360 Mundurucú left on the savannahs, whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

Of less importance in attracting a permanent popula-
175 tion to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the
439 Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Serv-
657 ice in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadirirí rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175
439
657

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

175
166
361

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

[177]
[342]

175
184
361

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

175
184
186

[797]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 hand, refers to the people living on the Cururú as *pariwat*,
184 or "foreigners," because they live like the Brazilians. How-
186 ever, his feelings toward the Cururú people are not inspired by the fear and alienation felt by the latter. Rather, he is puzzled and chagrined that they remain aloof from him and will not accept him, although they are all Mundurucú.

175 The split within the tribe occurred only during the past
184 three decades, but it has contributed to a decrease in migration from the remaining savannah villages to the Cururú. People are still leaving the savannahs, but usually
[166] to move to the Tapajós or to the lower reaches of the streams on the headwaters of which they live. The ambivalent attitude of the Cururú people makes that river decidedly unattractive to them.

CHRONOLOGY

175 For purposes of greater clarity, the history of the contact between the Mundurucú and the whites can be conveniently divided into four distinct periods. These are based on significant changes in the structure of Brazilian-Mundurucú relations.

1770–1795.—During this period, the warlike Mundurucú came into contact with the Portuguese colonists and directed attacks against them in the region along the Amazon River between Gurupá, on the east, and the lower Madeira River, on the west. The first Mundurucú settling of the latter area took place during these years and was probably motivated by the desire to obtain trade goods. In 1795, a punitive expedition against the villages of the east side of the upper Tapajós River, the original Mundurucú territory, ended hostilities.

1795–1850.—The Mundurucú, at peace with the whites,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

were used by the latter as mercenary warriors in the battle to rid the central Amazon Valley of hostile Indians. The lucrative aspect of these wars no doubt attracted increasing numbers of Mundurucú into more immediate relations with the whites and induced the Indians to settle in the proximity of the Brazilians. Of even greater influence in stimulating migration to the Madeira waters were the manufactured goods offered by white traders and missionaries in return for *farinha* (coarse manioc flour), sarsaparilla, and guaraná. The same lure caused Mundurucú to settle on the lower Tapajós, below the rapids. 175

The Mundurucú who remained on the upper Tapajós were comparatively undisturbed during this period. They occasionally warred on behalf of the whites, and a sporadic trade, principally in farinha, existed between them and wandering traders, or regatões.

1850–1914.—After 1850, the Mundurucú of the lower Tapajós and Madeira regions became progressively assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. However, the emphasis in the Amazonian extraction economy was already shifting from farinha, guaraná, and sarsaparilla, the chief sources of wealth of the lower Madeira, to rubber. After about 1860–1870 the upper Tapajós became permanently inhabited by rubber tappers, and patrons acquired rights to rubber-producing regions. The Mundurucú of the savannahs became active rubber producers, and a gradual attenuation of warfare against other tribes began. Social integration was partly preserved by the practice of returning to the native villages after each rubber-tapping season, and the traditional way of life went on largely unaltered during most of the year. Also, the chief, whose importance in war was declining, maintained his prestige by acting as a middleman between his people and the trader.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

175 Throughout this period, there was a gradual drift of population from the villages to the main stream of the Tapajós where these migrants ultimately became assimilated.

After 1914.—In the period of 1912–1914, Mundurucú warfare ceased completely. This period also coincides roughly with the end of the Amazonian rubber boom. The Tapajós River lost part of its Brazilian population, and many Mundurucú withdrew from rubber production. In the late 1920's, a rise in the purchasing power of rubber brought increased participation of the Indians in rubber tapping. The demands of rubber production and the influence of the Cururú mission, established in 1911, caused a large-scale migration of people from the savannah villages nearest the Cururú to the banks of that river. These migrants did not establish villages of the traditional type, and the native culture there declined in general. Also, the remaining savannah dwellers, who are more inclined to preserve the old culture, have become estranged from their fellow Mundurucú of the Cururú.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

3

economic life

Until about 1925, the bulk of the Mundurucú population of the Tapajós area lived in the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest that begins some twenty to thirty miles east of the upper Tapajós River. The population of about 360 living in seven villages in this area today is constantly diminishing. The villages and their approximate populations are: Arö, 90; Cabitutú, 45; Cabruá, 67; Aipka, 50; Dekodyem, 50; Cauí, 25; and Parawaröktiká, 30. The last-named village is in the traditional savannah area and has some antiquity, but in recent years the organization of village life has shifted to the characteristic pattern of the Cururú River. Cauí was established in recent times by conservative Mundurucú who became dissatisfied with their new way of life on the Cururú River and wished to revert to more traditional practice. How-

131
162
361
184
361
[p.51]

184 ever, the people of the village still maintain trade relations
361 and their closest social contacts with the Cururú River settlements.

The other five communities are those which before the migration to the Cururú were farthest removed from its shores. A glance at the map will show that communication by water with the dwellers of that river is not feasible, and a two or three days' march would be necessary by land. Thus, geographical removal has combined with the social gulf that has arisen between campineiros and Cururú residents to make contact between the two groups most sporadic.

THE SAVANNAH VILLAGES

121 Most of the research in the savannahs was done in the village of Cabruá. The choice was made primarily for physiological and nonscholarly reasons; it had the least insects and the most food of all the villages. A vacant house was also available and ready to be occupied. Beyond considerations of creature comfort, Cabruá was suitable because it had the second largest population, several excellent old informants in residence, and it was a typical community of the more traditional type. Its five houses
[361] were arranged in the customary circle around a central plaza, and its male population lived in the traditional men's house. My wife and I accordingly settled in Cabruá during the second half of our Mundurucú sojourn.

22 The Mundurucú are essentially forest dwellers. Al-
[361] though their villages are on high savannahs, they depend on the resources of the forests and rivers for their subsistence. Their ecological adaptation does not differ greatly from that of other tropical forest tribes except in varying emphasis on different pursuits. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening were and still are the basis of Mun-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

durucú subsistence. Trade is for Western manufactured 22
goods only; all food is obtained from the immediate en- [439]
vironment.

The village is the basic unit of social interaction and co- 619
operation among the Mundurucú. Strong ties exist be- 621
tween the residents of each community, and all feel them-
selves to be members of the tribe as a whole; there are no linguistic or cultural differences between any of the savannah villages, and feelings of localism are but weakly developed. But despite the fundamentally pan-tribal identification made by the people, the local community is the essential framework in which their daily existence is passed, and it is the largest social unit with a continuing political organization. Each village is autonomous within terms of the subsistence economy, and its membership constitutes the significant group engaged in production and distribution.

HUNTING

Of the four principal subsistence-seeking activities, hunt- 224
ing and horticulture contribute more to the food supply than fishing and gathering, except during the dry season when residence shifts to the river banks. To the Mundurucú man of the savannahs, the proper daily activity is the hunt. The men are tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prize game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. Many, but by no means most, men now have firearms, usually muzzle-loading shotguns. The principal animals hunted are tapir (*Tapirus americanus*), wild pig (*Tayassu albirostris*), catitú (*Tayassu tajacu*), several species of deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca* Acc.), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. Although the men enjoy

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

274 hunting and look upon it as one of the acmes of masculine activity, it is extremely exhausting and time-consuming work. The hunters leave their villages shortly after dawn and travel long miles through the forests and across sun-baked savannah before raising the tracks or scent of game. There then follows an arduous pursuit that sometimes lasts for hours. And the successful hunter often ends his day by [482] carrying a one hundred-pound wild pig on his back for three hours on the homeward trail to the village. Occasionally, he makes his kill late in the day and far from home and has to spend the night in the forest. The men hunt nearly every fair day except for those happy occasions when good luck brings a great quantity of game to the village. All activity then stops and the people sit around eating the meat, which would otherwise spoil after about three days. The pressure of maintaining a meat supply is great when one considers that a village of eighty people can eat one tapir or two wild pigs in twenty-four hours. The men are therefore rarely able to relax from hunting for more than two consecutive days.

Of the Mundurucú hunting techniques, the collective hunts are most important. The usual system is for three or four men to go ahead of the others with dogs to raise and chase the game. The rest of the men wait along the path which the animal is expected to follow in its flight, usually at a point where it crosses a stream. This calls for a great deal of teamwork in addition to an intimate knowledge of the country and the habits of game. The pursuing hunters inform their waiting companions of the species of the animal by sounding signals on bamboo hunting horns. If an ambush is not possible, the dogs run down the animals and bring them to bay, allowing the hunters to approach and make the kill. Although individual hunters frequently stalk game, the described techniques are most important [262] for the killing of wild pig, the principal game food.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Whereas it is possible for only one to three men to hunt other species of animals, the entire male population of one or two villages is needed for profitably hunting wild pig. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to one hundred. Under these circumstances a single hunter can kill only one or, at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men can surround the animals and obtain a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, wild pig, and deer are also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal; if there are two or three hunters, the possibility of successfully dispatching the animal is thereby improved. 224

The increased use of firearms is highly significant in this regard. Even a ball from a muzzle-loading shotgun has greater range and velocity than an arrow. The lower power of the arrow is especially noticeable at longer distances, for its large surface area causes it to be considerably slowed by air friction. Besides, the bullet has greater stopping power. This is important, for wild pig and tapir frequently run for hours with two or three arrows in their bodies. In the village of Cabruá, the men owning firearms frequently hunted deer and tapir alone, while those using bows and arrows depended on their companions for added firepower and the opportunity to mount ambushes from which the animals could be shot at close range. Since firearms are still scarce in the savannah villages, collective hunting patterns remain relatively undisturbed, and the hunt may be considered a cohesive factor in village life. 177 234 411

FISHING

Fishing is secondary in importance to hunting in the subsistence economy of the savannah villages, but the Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the larger 226

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 streams rely primarily upon fish for protein. The savannah villages are several hours inland from the nearest navi-
[361] gable streams. This settlement pattern was well adapted to the defensive requirements of a warrior society, but it removed the communities from the best fishing sites. The narrow, shallow streams within easy reach of the villages yield only smaller species of fish and in limited quantities.

The Mundurucú relied little on the river system for
177 food or transportation in times past, as is shown by the
501 fact that only in recent years has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The modern Mundurucú canoe is usually of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders; before contact with the whites the only water craft used was the bark canoe. Not even this canoe, however, was native to the Mundurucú for they acknowledge having acquired it from their Tupian-speaking neighbors, the Apiacá. In early times, the bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when the Indians were on war expeditions. Small streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among the Mundurucú of the savannahs, despite their annual dry-season residence on large streams. Only two men in the village of Cabruá owned canoes and no one in Cabitutú had one.

An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual
226 rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks, allowing the
[132] fish to disperse through the flooded forest where they feed on fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is difficult in the rain-forest region, even for people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who have to fish with bow and arrow from the river banks, it is almost impossible. The modern residents of Cabruá say that their lack of canoes would make it necessary for them during

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the rainy season to fish by wading through the *igapó*, 226
or flooded forest—impractical because of poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

These formidable obstacles restrict the savannah people to one or two trips per rainy season to streams where small fish are taken by drugging. The yield is unimportant in the total rainy season diet, and the expeditions do little more than satisfy a desire for variety in food. Fishing is quite important during the dry season, however, when the people move to their rubber-avenue homes on the banks of large streams. This, as has been mentioned, [221]
represents a continuation and intensification of a pattern that predates the rubber trade; in those times, the villagers spent several weeks every dry season in temporary camps along the rivers, where they hunted and caught fish.

Dry-season fishing is done by two means. The first is to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms are often built in the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it is preferred to the hook and line, which was intro- [177]
duced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth, and the turgid flood waters make the bow and arrow useless.

A second and equally important method is by poisoning the waters of lakes and medium sized streams with *timbó*, a generic term for a variety of fish poisons used throughout the Amazon. The timbó paralyzes the gills of the fish and suffocates it, but the fish remains edible as it does not become poisoned internally. Timbó is found in wild form in forest lianas, but the Mundurucú use

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 the poisonous root of a shrub which is cultivated in their gardens.

A group timbó fishing expedition is usually organized and directed by the man who supplies the drug and issues the invitations; the invited participants help in the task of pulling up the roots. These are chopped into one-foot pieces and wrapped in bundles. Before dawn of the next day, or on the afternoon before if the chosen fishing site is distant, the party embarks. The best places to fish with timbó are in restricted bodies of water where the poison may attain greatest density and the fish have the least possibility of escape. For this reason, streams and inter-island channels of about thirty feet in width or lagoons of limited size having only one entrance are preferred. Upon arriving at the location early in the morning, the party breaks up into two, three, or possibly four groups, depending on the number of participating people. The men who are to poison the water go upstream while the rest of the men and the accompanying women and children wait for the stunned fish to swim downstream. The poisoners then place their bundles of timbó on a rock or log in the water and begin to beat them with a heavy stick, causing the white poisonous sap to be exuded into the stream; they periodically dip the bundles to wash out the sap more thoroughly. The excited cries of those waiting downstream inform them that the poison is taking effect, and, when the drug has been thoroughly beaten out of the roots, they go downstream to join the others in the collection of the fish.

The downstream scene is always pandemonium. Everybody is usually in the water trying to catch the fleeing fish, which are already semistupified by the drug. The women use handnets to scoop up the fish while the men impale them with fishing arrows or club them. At large

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tinhó parties the water is poisoned by two or three 226
separate groups at points about 1,000 feet apart along the stream. As soon as the fish begin fleeing downstream from the group farthest upstream, a sentinel stationed a short distance downstream gives several loud shouts to the next group, signaling them to start beating the drug into the water. The fish thus have little opportunity to escape to pure water. To prevent any from making their escape, a dam made of branches set into the stream bottom is sometimes placed about a mile or two downstream from the fishing location. A space is left open until the morning of the fishing to allow fish to swim upstream during the night. This system is particularly effective to catch the matrichdo (*Brycon brevicaudatus* Gunther), which ascends the smaller streams every night to sleep and then returns downstream with the coming of day.

These communal fishing trips are undertaken by as many persons as can conveniently gather together; lack of canoes and the long distances between rubber-avenue dwellings limit the size of these gatherings among the contemporary campineiros. The efficacy of this system of fishing is remarkable. My wife and I took part in one 229
such venture on the Cururú River in which more than
one hundred people from four different villages participated, and approximately two tons of fish were killed. The surplus yield is preserved by smoking, salting, and 251
sun drying, but due to the crudity of the process it remains edible for a period of only one week to ten days.

GATHERING OF WILD VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Gathering of wild vegetables and fruits is and was the 222
least important subsistence activity and food source in Mundurucú economic life; it is often done incidentally to hunting, fishing, or trips to the gardens. Among the main

ECONOMIC LIFE

222 articles collected are several species of palm fruit, the Brazil nut, the fruit of the *cajú* tree (*Anacardium coryphoeum*), wild cocoa, mangaba, and several varieties of berries.

222 462 Wild foods found only at long distances from the village are always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they have been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees are near the village, one man or an older boy usually goes out with a party of women, the male to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it home. Climbing is done with the climbing ring, a loop of [491] vine passed around the feet, which gives sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps—similar to the principle employed by our lumbermen using a belt. For fruits far out on limbs, hooked sticks are used to drag the limbs down, or the climber chops the limb off. [262] Fruits are not a staple food, but they are valuable adjuncts to the diet and greatly appreciated delicacies.

HORTICULTURE

241 Mundurucú gardening is done by the slash-and-burn method used throughout the tropical areas of the New World. The garden is cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation is allowed to dry during the dry season, and the plot is burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks are dragged off to one side and the ground is then ready for planting after the first rains, which usually occur in the beginning of September in this region.

Among the crops of New World origin planted by the 261 Mundurucú are several varieties of bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which form the dietary staple, sweet 262 manioc (*Manihot aipi*), yam (*Dioscorea sp.*), sweet po-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tato (*Ipomoea batatas*), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, 241
and pepper. At some time after the advent of the whites in 242
the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, po- [171]
tato, and sugar cane were introduced. Cotton, although [248]
native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the
Mundurucú until the nineteenth century. Similarly, al-
though the potato is native in western South America it
was not found aboriginally in the eastern part of the conti-
nent.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village is more 134
than adequate, but not unlimited. Amazonian forest soil 241
is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and fri- 311
able and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks formerly
used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids
essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is
that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy
annual rains. There is some variation in soil quality, how-
ever, even in this rather uniform environment. Much land
is unusable in Mundurucú territory because it is period-
ically inundated or because it is sandy, grass-covered
savannah. The tillable forest land is classified by the Mun- [229]
durucú into the categories of black, red, and clay earth.
The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a
significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land
and is usually the only kind in which they raise squash,
melon, beans, and rice. These crops can be grown with
uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize
can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of
soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the
list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in
certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings. 241
On the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter 311
manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant

241 311 themselves and yield for several years in abandoned gardens. Other plants, such as timbó and some fruit trees are also productive long after the garden goes out of regular cultivation. The reason for planting a field only twice is obvious when one considers that bitter manioc matures in about eight months on the first planting and in more than a year on the second in the already "tired" soil. A third planting would yield little and, also, as the local Brazilians say, "the jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there is adequate virgin forest or old second-growth forest available to meet the needs of the population, and they simply clear new gardens. The usual system is for each man to clear land annually and thus have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting. But men often feel that they have adequate crops and let a year pass without clearing forest; this is especially common if a housemate has a new garden.

The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of [423] forest land explains the absence of concepts of private or corporate property in land among the Mundurucú. When the best forest soils within a convenient range are exhausted, the village moves a short distance to the proximity of fresh soil. But the Mundurucú build new villages [361] every ten years whether nearby garden land is scarce or [166] not, and the present depleted population may shift within a one-mile radius over a forty- to fifty-year period. When conveniently situated forest is exhausted, they merely move out of this orbit to a new locale a few miles away, near which they remain for another long period. Villages probably moved somewhat longer distances in time past, when their populations exceeded two hundred people and pressure on the land was correspondingly greater.

423 The same causes that operate to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

level also, and there is no land-holding unit in Mundurucú society. The man who chooses a garden site and initiates and directs the labor upon it, however, is entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby becomes the "owner" of the yield of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this is a very loose concept, for it will be seen that food is freely shared among relatives and fellow villagers. A person who, for some reason, does not have a garden is invariably given food or allowed to harvest from the garden of another.

The Mundurucú coöperate extensively in their horticultural work. Although almost all married men have their own gardens, the heavy work of clearing the forest is done by an all-village male work group. Each man who plans a garden invites all the other men of the village to help him. He supplies the food, usually beverages made of palm fruit and sweet manioc, consumed while actually doing the work. The work is done under the general supervision of the man whose garden is being cleared. His directing activities, however, consist of little more than deciding on the location and extent of the garden. These collective garden-clearing ventures are of doubtful efficiency. The participants generally dawdle on the way to their work, bathing, gathering fruits, and chewing the palm buds, is frequently interrupted by joking, conversation, eating, and little jaunts into the wood in search of parrots and pigeons. I have seen gardens being cleared by Brazilians and single families of Mundurucú in which far fewer man-hours produced equal results. Ethnographic literature presents many similar instances of collective labor for purposes of enjoyment and companionship. These same motivations obtain among the Mundurucú; but coöperation is also valued and demanded as a positive expression of social solidarity and has its roots in the social structure.

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done
476 by the owner, usually aided by other members of his
462 household. His wife and the other women of the house plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid
252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beiju*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of farinha (flour).

Beiju manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from
[912] the gardens in burden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal farinha "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the manioc with steel knives, using spoils of trading [illegible] and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The
[412] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *paxiuba* palm, halved and placed side by side to form a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against
[177] the sides of five-gallon gasoline cans which have been cut out and punctured with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipiti*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger squeezer. The tipiti is suspended at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

one end from a roof beam of the farinha shed, and a long lever is passed through a loop at its lower end. One or two women sit on the end of the lever, stretching and compressing the tipití, and much of the prussic-acid-bearing liquid is squeezed from the grated manioc. After being taken from the tipití, the semi-dry mass is then passed through a basketry sieve in order to extract coarse lumps and fibers. The resultant damp flour is fashioned into thin cakes and baked on a copper griddle placed over a clay-walled furnace. Since prussic acid is highly volatile, the cooking process completes the extraction of the poison. 252

Farinha manufacture follows the same principles and many of the procedures of that of beijú. A type known as *farinha seca*, or dry manioc flour, is made by the same process as that followed in beijú, except that the grated and sifted mass is not made into cakes, but is spread out on the copper griddle and stirred with a paddle. The result is a toasted flour. When making farinha seca, the women often soak the grated manioc in basins of water and then squeeze it with their hands and drain it before placing it in the tipití. This water, to which the liquid extracted by the tipití is added, is allowed to stand for a day. The starch leached from the manioc settles to the bottom, and the water is then poured away. This starch is toasted on the griddle to make tapioca.

Because they conserve the starch, the most nutritious component of the tuber, farinha seca and beijú are the best manioc foods available. But expediency causes the starch-wasting process by which *farinha d'agua* (manioc flour from water) is made to be the one most commonly used today. In this procedure, the manioc is brought directly from the garden to a small stream, where it is placed in the water and allowed to soak until soft and pulpy. This generally takes three days in warm water and five days

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

252 in cool streams. The tubers are then split open and the pulp is scooped out into baskets and brought back to the village. Much of the starch washes away during the soaking process, but the necessity of grating is eliminated. The pulpy mass is placed directly into the tipití, squeezed, and then sifted and toasted.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an over-all picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with all tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor is by sex. There are no specialized [463] occupations among the women, and the only ones among the men—shamanism and chieftaincy—are hereditary, done without reimbursement and without releasing the individual from production. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú is especially deep. The men hunt, fish, and do only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also make baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women do all the other gardening work, process manioc, cook, tend children, fetch water and firewood, weave hammocks, and make [177] pottery. The two latter arts, especially pottery making, are now being displaced by manufactured articles.

Among persons of the same sex, and only occasionally 462 between the sexes, coöperation is the keynote of the 476 Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which are almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts are made in groups. This does not discount the individual pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trail-

ing, and bow-and-arrow fishing, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture is done by numbers of men working in coördination. 462 476

House-building is also a collective task; men do the heavy work of construction while women and children aid in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since house-building is almost always done only when the entire village moves, every household helps the others in the task of construction. All houses of the new village rise uniformly instead of being completed one at a time, thus giving considerable efficiency in the collection and preparation of material.

Women, also, rarely work alone. Farinha is manufactured in a true division of tasks corresponding to the number of distinct steps in the process. Thus, one group of women is occupied in digging up the tubers and transporting them to the village; two or three more women grate the manioc; two others work the tipiti; another sieves the wet flour; and, finally, two women are busy toasting the product on the copper griddle. Chores are occasionally exchanged. Whatever the relative advantages or disadvantages in efficiency that may be obtained through coöperation, the sheer drudgery of farinha production is mitigated, for these are sociable gatherings. The females of one household form the nucleus of work party, and all women of the village commonly join in. Coöperative manioc processing by all village women originated after contact with the whites, and informants say that as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century the women of single households constituted the basic work groups. Depopulation has contributed to this change, for in former times the household-extended family included as many women as there are in some modern villages. Also, before the introduction of the large, copper pans, beijú and farinha were toasted on ce- 777 462 476 [415]

177 ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the
462 copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one
476 toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because
[415] they are large enough to meet the needs of the population,
but because they are expensive and beyond the means of
most extended families. These pans are generally consid-
[422] ered to be the property of the community in the savannah
villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating fac-
tor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the
462 women always seek company when they go to the stream
476 to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the
gardens. Their sociability and cooperativeness on these oc-
casions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone
[776] person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly
subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is
especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young
[834] woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seek-
ing an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on cooperation in the econ-
477 omy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open
competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely
nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued
[558] person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accom-
plishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and,
formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly
to outdo anyone; even in [illegible] pay is noncompetitive with
[526] the exception of one strength-t[illegible] game indulged in by the
young men, consisting of an attem[illegible]

[1] Caboclo families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the caboclo is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in they hamlets.

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conver- 477
sation the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons [526]
and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider [521]
even to find out who collects the most rubber.

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the com- 423
munity as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be.

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are con- 422
sidered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and [431]
if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if [405]
others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible.

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

422 shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel axes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal [423] property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutil- [424] itarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

[425] Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mundurucú personal property. [426] But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned 427 by individual Mundurucú are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Mundurucú derive no [428] profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

4

kinship and marriage

One of the major points of discontinuity between the Mundurucú and other Tupian-speaking peoples lies in the realm of social organization. The existence of exogamic unilineal descent groups was first reported by Mrs. Louis Agassiz, who visited the Mundurucú of the lower Madeira waters in 1865 and wrote: "The tribe is divided into certain orders or classes. . . . Marriage is forbidden . . . between members of the same order."[1] Farabee, who traveled on the Tapajós in 1915, confused the picture somewhat [illegible] classes of "war chiefs" and "peace chiefs" that intermarried.[2] The actual situation was clarified in a paper written by Albert Kruse, O.F.M.,[3] one of the priests of the Cururú

[1] Agassiz, 1869, p. 320.
[2] Farabee, 1917, p. 137.
[3] Kruse, 1934.

614 mission, who described a rather complex system of 34 patrilineal clans, some of which were linked in unnamed phratries, and which were parceled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamic moieties. This report is substantially correct, but for the minor fact that Mundurucú informants can list 38 clans, and the actual number, before depopulation set in, must have been well above 40. Actually, only 30 clans are currently extant.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

616 Although the clans are formally exogamic, their marriage-regulatory functions are superseded by the more inclusive moiety system. The moieties, called "Red" and "White" by the Mundurucú, comprehend 16 and 22 clans. In addition to their marriage-regulatory functions, the moieties partake of the characteristics of reciprocity, rivalry, and antithesis, which, as Lowie notes, are commonly found in moiety systems.* During many ceremonies and on all festive occasions intersexual joking between members of opposite moieties is acceptable and expected; and in the course of everyday village life, one may act with much greater levity toward a person of the complementary group. While the joking aspect of moiety relations may indicate behavior appropriate to prospective sexual partners, latent affinal antagonism is manifest in their recip-
[578] rocal duties and rights. Every clan in each moiety is des-
[764] ignated as the *thunuatiit* of certain clans of the opposite. This mutual relationship entails the duty to bury each others' dead. The Mundurucú look upon this not only as an obligation, but as a right and a privilege, or, as they sometimes phrase it, a mode of revenge. This is not merely
616 symbolic phraseology. During the period when raiding
727 still occurred, it was considered necessary that every dead

* Lowie, 1948, p. 242.

warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during ceremonies. The members of the *Biudi ayyen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubó*; this term is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubó of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubó of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Mun-
775 duruká. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaibé divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This belief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to
[114] which the Mundurucú were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaibé through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[5] The latter account and the previously
614 mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *dissi*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*di* = river, *uni* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Pawusdisui* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would
614 contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the
591 Mundurucú are—and this is important—predominantly matrilocal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brides; fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patrilocality, and we are here presented with the possibility that the Mundurucú underwent a basic change in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than the conjecture raised by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued [illegible] of clanship.

614 Each uwumuh village has a men's house, which is the
[115] dormitory and club house for all post-puberty males.

[5] Kruse, 1956, pp. 56-57.

Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karóbó*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tubó) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karóbó ejwuit*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tubó resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Wará* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Ik* and *Bapurú* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrifocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nucleus of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Wará*, *Ik*, or *Bapurú* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments [illegible] which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Mundurucú who might happen to be in

the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to be placated by playing the instruments and presenting them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the kartikö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

Clan ownership of the kartikö and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Wituru*, *Wakö*, and *Karö* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called uawbuap, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *uchaim*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karö* subclan, *Kabö*, *Arö*, *Turi*, and *Ik* clans of the Red moiety. *Turi* and *Ik* are linked by common recognition of apat, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karö* subclan and *Arö* are affiliated through common recognition of the yartikpikpikpika, a bird; *Kabö* and *Arö* are affiliated through

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Kawó, a tree; and *Arú* and *Yuri* find a bond in *Ikinip*, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the *Sau* clan may bestow the name *Mari* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kirdi* clan of the White moiety and the *Wari*, *Sau*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kakusuat*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan half is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

614 then it may be surmised that Mundurucú clans have un-
174 dergone a basic process of segmentation. That such a
615 process continued into recent centuries is indicated by the incomplete differentiation of these four clans. If it can be supposed that the four subclans would in time become increasingly independent of the parent group and would eventually assume their own names and tubö while maintaining a more nebulous bond through the common "companion" spirits, the end result would be a phratric alliance. There is no definitive proof for this hypothesis, but such a process is the only unitary explanation of the phenomena of phratries and subclans. The data given by informants on the relation between clans, phratries, and the spirit "companions of the trumpets" are irregular. Certain clans that should logically be linked by common spirits were said by informants to be unaffiliated; others were placed within the same phratry where no grounds for such linkage exist. This unevenness is reminiscent of the problems encountered by students of Pueblo clan and phratry organization. Depopulation and the weakening of broader kin groupings have obscured the intricacies of the system, making reconstruction most difficult. But the Mundurucú data do show a pronounced tendency toward consistency between phratric affiliation and shared "companion" spirits.

The creation of new clans by the internal segmentation
121 of old ones has numerous parallels in other societies. Pat-
591 rilineal clans frequently segment under conditions of an
614 expanding population, which causes lineages to break off
174 and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. The offshoot group in time becomes differentiated from the parent unit and may establish itself as a new clan, although maintaining some symbolic representation of its former connection. Such a budding proc-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7]

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214-215.
[7] Smith, 1903, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 209.
[9] Steward, 1938, pp. 343-344.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 383.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 383.

174 591 614 tain, but it probably took place during the mid-nineteenth century. Matrilocality was the only mode of residence that even the oldest Mundurucú could remember, and they had no traditional memory of previous patrilocality. Also, Tocantins reported that, in 1875, quarrels between men were resolved by the departure of one of the parties from the village,[18] suggesting the absence of a local lineage and the high male mobility characteristic of Mundurucú matrilocality.

174 439 178 591 614 The reasons for the shift in post-marital residence rule are far less certain, and no final conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of available data. Certain known changes in productive relations, however, yield inference to the possible processes at work. It will be remembered that before their deep involvement in rubber production, the Mundurucú traded extensively in farinha, or manioc flour. This must have caused a substantial increase in the amount of land under cultivation and a great expansion of production of bitter manioc.[19] The roles of the male and female did not undergo any important shift. Men cleared the forest land for gardens, as they do today, and the women cared for the crops, harvested them, and manufactured the farinha. Women thus became of greater economic importance, because of the increase in gross amount

[18] Tocantins, 1877, p. 111.

[19] The extent of this early trade in manioc flour may be inferred from Martius's account (1867, p. 265 n.): "This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the settlements on the Tapajós prepare 6000 paxiks [3.12 liters each] of manioc flour annually, those of the Maués 1500 and those of the Canumá 800, which for the most part is exported to Santarem and neighboring locales. They readily give abundantly therefrom to the priests as a gift. In the year 1819 the Mundurucús of the Canumá collected and brought to market 600 arrobas [32 pounds each] of guaranem cloves and an equal amount of sarsaparilla. Through such a disposition to homely diligence, the speedy settlement of all the Mundurucús among the whites is to be expected."

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of work performed and the added importance of the co- 174
operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This 178
process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks 59
and a degree of organization among the women of a house- 189
hold. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of 614
the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preestablished ties of mutual accommodation and cooperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[*]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú 105
clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of 174
the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized 614
that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Val- 105
ley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the 174
whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured 562
articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female 614

[*] Eggan (1950, p. 121) states that the Hopi remained matrilineal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

105 labor, in general, and the female work organization, in
174 particular, that extended families increasingly sought to
502 keep their daughters, even at the price of relinquishing the
614 sons. The result was a shift, probably gradual, to a matri-
local mode of residence.

This shift modified the nature of Mundurucú society,
105 and its further consequences will be developed in the
174 course of this chapter. The most immediate and obvious
614 change, however, was the destruction of the residential
basis of clanship through the dispersal upon marriage of
the men, who are the transmitters of membership. This can
be illustrated by the census of one village, which shows
that eleven clans are represented among nineteen men. In
a matrilocal and matrilineal system, men are also dis-
persed, but since descent is through females a co-resident
lineage having a core of clanswomen can be maintained.
This is not possible among the Mundurucú, for the patri-
lineal descent system places a daughter in a different clan
and the opposite moiety from those of her mother. Thus,
although the women are nucleated into clusters of blood
relatives, the clan membership of these units is also eclec-
tic.

The result of this fragmentation has been the severe
614 weakening of the clan as a functional social entity with
corporate prerogatives. In the hypothesized localized form,
the clan was a co-resident unit having important economic
and political characteristics. Its members were in every-
day interaction with each other, and bonds of clanship
were continuously manifested and exercised. Moreover, the
clan, through its possession of sacred musical instruments,
had ritual significance that is perpetuated into the present
only as empty form. Other than the continued nominal
ownership of the trumpets, clans, as social entities, have
few prerogatives. They bury the dead of certain clans of

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the opposite moiety within the framework of the ibaiwati-
tit relationship, and the clan crests, consisting of geomet-
ric designs, of the inhabitants of each men's house are
painted on the upright posts of the structure. Fellow clans-
men sleep in adjacent hammocks in the men's house and
are adjoined by members of the same phratry, if any reside
in the village.

Beyond these few remaining manifestations of clanship
there remains only its expression in interpersonal behavior.
The clan affiliation of every Mundurucú is known to every
other through the naming system. The name of each Mun-
durucú consists of his clan name with a given name suf-
fixed. Boys are given the name of their great-grandfather
in the direct paternal line. If there are several brothers,
some are assigned the names of the great-grandfather's
brothers, both real and classificatory. Girls are given the
names of the father's mother's mother. Thus, given names
are transmitted in certain clans, or, at least, within the
moiety. The possession of a name is one criterion of mem-
bership in Mundurucú society. The product of a union be-
tween a white man and a Mundurucú woman is for this
reason, more than for his mixed ancestry, looked upon as
marginal to the society. Similarly, illegitimacy, while
looked upon as a misfortune, does not socially disable the
child as long as the father is known. If, on the other hand,
the mother does not know who the child's father is, it can
receive no name. Such children are not mistreated, but
they are generally called by the derogatory nickname, tun
(excrement).

Clanship thus continues to bestow a social identity on
its members and to establish their inclusion as "people,"
or Mundurucú. In this sense, it is an important mechanism
in the maintenance of social boundaries between the Mun-
durucú and their Brazilian neighbors. Fellow clansmen are

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Mundurucú is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of
[619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Mundurucú tribal integration in times past.

611 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary
622 significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the eldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also,
611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain
756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important in-
768 heritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Mundurucú. A young man in search of a mate

often wanders from village to village, hanging his ham- 584
mock in the men's houses and acquainting himself with available girls. If one meets his fancy, he generally enters into a casual liaison with her and then asks her father and mother for permission to marry. If they consider him to be a serious person and a good worker, permission is usually granted. The young man does not always represent himself but frequently returns home to ask his father to speak in his behalf. Marriages are occasionally contracted for the children by the parents; this practice is less common than it was in the past, as the decreased importance of the extended family has made marriage increasingly an individual affair rather than a bond between kin groups.

No special observances of either a ceremonial or an co- 585
nomic nature precede the marriage. If the young man was a resident of another village, he comes to the bride's village bearing his hammock, arms and personal possessions and installs himself in the men's house. If he is from the same village as the bride, which is less frequently the case, he makes no change at all in his living arrangements. The groom merely brings fish and game to his bride, and not to the house of his mother. The provision of the wife with food is the central symbolic act in marriage. Both cos- 586
mology and real life abound with cases in which the young man who is determined to leave his wife, openly and deliberately refuses to give her his day's kill, this effectively constitutes divorce.

Mundurucú marriages become consolidated by time and 587
children. Couples who have been married several years commonly show great devotion to each other. But the union tends to be brittle in its early period. The membership of the husband and wife in the men's house and the dwelling house, respectively, and the patterns of collectivism in consumption give the couple a degree of economic in-

dependence from each other that is not conductive to marital stability. The husband may leave with little difficulty, and frequently does. The wife's lack of mobility makes it more difficult for her to break the marriage on her own initiative, but if the groom incurs the displeasure of the father-in-law, he is often told to leave. The divorced man either returns to his native village or wanders in search of another wife.

That the stability of Mundurucú marriages depends primarily upon the growth of affective bonds between the mates and a common interest in their children gives us a certain insight into the workings of the social system. There has recently been some discussion on the relation of marital stability to mode of descent and types of social unit, as revealed by comparative analysis of some selected African societies.* These have shown that marriage tends to be more enduring in patrilineal than in matrilineal groups and that this tendency is even more pronounced when the bride is incorporated into the membership of her husband's kin group. The Mundurucú are interesting just because they do not conform typologically to the African examples. Despite formal patrilineality, marriage is matrilocal and the man is thrust into affiliation with a cohesive unit of related kinswomen. His wife's primary loyalties are to her household; the husband's remain with the relatives of his natal household. The husband initially has no deep commitment to the wife's household and is under no strong inducement to remain if he experiences difficulties with his wife or her kin. Thus far, the Mundurucú approximate the Hopi, for example, with the important exception that the latter are matrilineal also. In matrilineal-matrilocal societies of the Hopi type, every man maintains continuing rights and duties within his matrilineage, and these ties

* Cf. Gluckman, 1950; Schneider, 1953; Fallers, 1957.

operate to the detriment of integration within the wife's household. Among the Mundurucú, however, there is no matrilineage (or patrilineage), and a man is bound to his natal household primarily by affect. As his own group of brothers becomes dispersed in matrilocal residence and his parents die, such emotional ties become correspondingly attenuated. From the point of view of social structure, the process by which he is integrated into his new matrix, however loosely, is reinforced by the gradual attrition of bonds of the old; and as part of the same process, his marriage becomes more stable. We see then that Mundurucú matrilocality contributes to the brittleness of marriage in its early phase, but the lack of corporate, bounded lineages leads in time to the strengthening of the conjugal tie. Later sections will explicate more completely the position of the married couple and the nuclear family within the larger framework of social life.

Adultery is common and a frequent source of strife between mates, but generally results in divorce only when the wife is promiscuous. The men regard their own adulterous escapades as highly amusing incidents, but take a far less lenient view when cuckolded. An offended husband may beat his wife or harangue her, but no direct physical action is taken against the guilty male. The woman whose husband is unfaithful has little recourse except to chastise him verbally and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself."

Adultery causes few open conflicts among the Mundurucú, but it is a chronic source of ill feeling. To a certain extent, latent hostility probably contributes to adultery. One of the more amusing episodes of our field trip was the plight of the trader-appointed, and thoroughly hated, chief Bihot, of the village of Cabituté. Bihot had two wives, one in Cabituté and the other in Cabruá. The

578 spouse who lived in Cabututú was his first wife, and she
897 would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabututú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.[17]

595 Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the uxural type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is
582 with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is
646 rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of
595 any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

[17] Murphy, 1958.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

good taste and decency, although the seriousness of the delict depends on distance of relationship in the paternal line. Thus, incest within the nuclear family is considered absolutely unthinkable by the Mundurucú, but they frown in decreasing degree upon sexual relations within clan, phratry, and moiety. There is no defined punishment, however, for incest with any category of relative; the Mundurucú say only that people would be "ashamed" to commit such a breach.

In a society in which all people are believed to be related, moiety exogamy implies that any union with a person of the same generation and of the opposite group will be with a cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. Marriage with first degree cross-cousins is said by the Mundurucú to have been a highly preferred union at some time in the past, and it is still regarded as a most suitable match. I found only three cross-cousin marriages during the course of my field work, however, and it no longer occurs frequently. The levirate and sororate are, of course, permissible within the moiety system and occasionally occur, but persons are not and, within the memory of informants, were not formerly under any compulsion to enter such a marriage. Murphy's report of the levirate* suggests that it may have been more prevalent during the period when patrilocality was still the residence rule. The levirate is a simple recognition of the right of the man's kin group, as a whole, to the woman. It may be hypothesized that the fractionation of the sibling group after the change to matrilocality dispersed the unit that formerly exercised corporate rights over the girl and made the levirate unworkable. And, since levirate marriage are frequently polygynous, matrilocality imposed the same inhibitions as discussed above.

* Murphy, 1957, p. 266.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Mundurucú kinship terminology indicates the custom of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter.[28] This avuncular form of union was frequently reported by early chroniclers in South America,[29] and is said by Oberg to exist among the contemporary Kamayurá of the upper Xingú River.[30] Martius specifically reported it to be practiced by the Mundurucú when the sister's daughter had no other prospective husband.[31] Avuncular marriage is nowhere in evidence among the contemporary Mundurucú, however, and its practice, past or present, is vigorously denied. Informants regarded such a union as incestuous, despite the obvious fact that a sister's daughter is always of the opposite moiety from that of her uncle.

Since there is no reason to doubt the mutually corroborating distributional, documentary, and kinship-terminological evidence for sister's daughter marriage, we must assume that it has not only disappeared but has lapsed under such circumstances as to be absolutely proscribed. James Watson has noted a similar disappearance and taboo of sister's daughter marriage among the Cayuá Indians of southern Mato Grosso.[32] Although his evidence for its former practice is rather tenuous, he assumes it to have existed and to have fallen into abeyance due to the breakdown of the patrilineal extended family organization, and the union's consequent loss of function as a means of cementing relations between such units. Also, he assumes that marriages with the sister's daughter were commonly second unions, and the contemporary absence of polygyny would militate against the practice. Such rea-

[28] See pp. 83-84.

[29] Kinzbach (1938) presents the most complete discussion of this practice and contends that it was a common means of avoiding bride service.

[30] Oberg, 1953, p. 44.

[31] Martius, 1867, p. 365.

[32] Watson, 1952, pp. 118-121.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

seeing may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom of avunculate marriage, or to various types of preferential union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucú situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates. 174 582 604 711

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often an incest taboo between co-residents, whatever their genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in residence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal. 174 582 604 735

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social relations among the uwumuh Mundurucú. Every person in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured. 601 602

[24] Cf. Titiev, 1943, p. 518.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 423.
[26] White, 1949, p. 33.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Vocative

601 *adjut* father's father; mother's father
ewah father's mother
adjung mother's mother; father's sister
bai father; father's brother
ai i mother; mother's sister
wempó mother's brother; father-in-law; older brother; older cross and parallel male cousins
o kit sister's son; son-in-law; younger brother; younger cross and parallel cousins
da ó sister; cross and parallel female cousins; daughter; brother's and sister's daughter; son's and daughter's daughter
u mim brother-in-law (of same age); age mate of opposite moiety
bekit son; brother's son
mipó son; brother's son
tapó daughter's and son's son

Referential

adjut djut father's father; mother's father
ewah wah father's mother
adjung djung mother's mother; father's sister
ew bai father
bai bai father, father's brother
u ii mother
ai i mother, mother's sister
o djewit mother's brother; father's sister's son
wempó pó older brother; older mother's sister's son; older father's brother's son
o kit pit younger brother
o kit kit younger mother's sister's son; younger father's brother's son

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

we bit sister; father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters 601
da ó ó father's sister's daughter
we ñ mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
o pit son; brother's son
o ra bit daughter; brother's daughter
ralerapebit grandchildren (all categories)

The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, bears certain points of resemblance to the Tupi-Guarani type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão.* It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both of whom are subsumed under the term *adjong*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, can be the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this view comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *we ñ*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To classify

* Wagley and Galvão, 1948.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

further the brother's wife as *we ñ* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The application of the term *we ñ* to the mother's brother's children and not to those of the father's sister indicates that cross-cousin marriage was matrilateral. This possible preference is consistent with Homan's and Schneider's thesis that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is congruent with patrilineal systems.* Contemporary informants claim, however, that either cousin is now a suitable mate.

Following the terminological system, the equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of union with the sister's daughter. Thus, the analysis of nomenclature presents strong evidence for the past practice of avunculate marriage; the disparity between the kinship terms and current practice is probably an instance of the conservation of terminology relative to the social relations they categorize.

The method of analysis employed above seems to be in violation of Murdock's dictum that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society."* It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avunculate marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate alone, but by all three practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework. In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock, himself, states the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following: "Since

* Homans and Schneider, 1955, p. 21.
* Murdock, 1949, p. 123.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."*

That the patrilinearity of Mundurucú society has been of some significance in structuring the terminological system may be inferred from the fact that the identical marriage practices have been found in South America in societies lacking unilineal descent groups and having ordinary bifurcate merging kinship systems.* Thus, the classification of the mother's brother's and sister's children as we *ñ* follows in part from their membership in the moiety opposite to that of Ego. Similarly, the application of the reciprocal term *o djirit* to the sons of the father's sister and the mother's mother recognizes their moiety affiliation and, also, the fact that both are sons of women classified as *adjang*. The latter term, it will be noted, is applied to all older women of Ego's own moiety.

Extension of kin terms is complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety are addressed as "grandfather" (*adjat*) or "father" (*bat*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation are either "elder" (*uaxpé*) or "younger (*o kôt*) brother." On the descending generations there are only "son" (*bokôt*) and "grandson" (*ayaé*). Females of one's own moiety are called "aunt" (*adjang*), if older. All other females of the same moiety are addressed as "daughter" (*da ñ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú have "grandfathers" (*adjat*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*ayaé*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety are addressed as

* Ibid., p. 120.
* Cf. Oberg, 1953, pp. 44, 56; Gillin, 1936, pp. 95-96.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

60/ "older" (*wemyõ*) and "younger (*o kõt*) brothers," with the
61/ exception of age mates, who are called (*u mun*). Females of the opposite moiety are called "grandmother" (*mmah*), "mother" (*ai i*), and "daughter" (*da ã*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

5

the local group

The village is the locus of economic and social life among the Mundurucú of the savannahs. Remoteness from larger streams makes these communities rather isolated in today's economic and social setting, but their positions on open, grass-covered hills fitted them ideally for purposes of defense in earlier times. The men still prefer savannah life because insects are lacking and the country is considered beautiful. But of greater importance, it is strongly felt that the proper place for a "true" Mundurucú village is in this locale. As will be shown in the next chapter, the conditions of migration have imposed overwhelming economic and social obstacles to the transplanting of traditional Mundurucú communities to the banks of the Cururú River and other larger streams, but these inhibiting factors have been supported by the deep conviction

[p. 97]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that the only proper place for "people" is in the savannah. Residence beyond this heartland is tantamount to becoming a pariwat, or "outlander."

THE VILLAGE

Each village contains two to five dwelling houses and the men's house, or *ekaí*. The former have rectangular ground-plans of about 20 by 40 feet in dimension and are internally uncompartmented. The walls are made of the bark of the *tauari* tree and extend to approximately two feet from the roof. The intervening space is either left vacant or loosely covered with palm fronds to allow ventilation. The roofs are steeply pitched and made of thatch placed over a pole framework. This architecture represents a departure from the traditional type. Until recent times, houses had roughly elliptical ground plans; structures of 50 to 100 feet in length are said to have been common in the more populous past.

The houses are arranged in a circle around a central plaza that is now underbrush and weed-infested. The men's house is always located on the west side of the village perimeter, and faces east into the plaza. It is totally unlike the dwellings in design and construction. Made in the form of an open-sided lean-to, it consists only of a roof that rises from the ground on the west side to a height of about 15 feet, and is supported by posts at the middle and both sides at four points along its length. Men's houses of twenty to thirty years ago were said to measure some 100 feet in length, but that of the contemporary village of Cabruá is only 50 feet long and 30 wide.

Modern Cabruá is typical of the savannah communities, except for certain situational factors of population and immediate environment. It is accessible from the Tapajós River by either the Cabitutú or Tropas rivers; the former

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

is usually used, because it is navigable to a point only five 361
hours from the village. From the Cabitutú River port of 487
Cabruá which consists of a house and clearing on the river bank, the path to the village winds through a belt of gallery forest of several miles depth. After crossing a few minor streams that flow into the Cabitutú, the path emerges into an open savannah and gently climbs for about three miles until the crest of the height of land between the Cabruá and Cabitutú rivers is reached. Cabruá is at this point surrounded by a belt of underbrush and low trees that have grown from cast-off seeds and have been fertilized by human waste.

Three hundred yards away at the base of the hill on 312
which the village is built is a small stream and a strip of bordering gallery forest only two hundred yards wide. The stream rises from springs a few miles away and its waters are clear, pure, and cool. People draw their water here, wash clothes, and bathe—the Mundurucú are personally [515]
very clean and perform their ablutions at least twice daily.

The village is in open country, but large expanses of 361
deep, virgin forest are nearby. Paths radiate outward in 487
all directions from the village, leading to the stream, the port, other villages, and to the forest. The forest itself is criss-crossed with trails used for hunting; others lead to the gardens. The latter are generally no more than 45 minutes walk from the village. This is considered a rather long [482]
trip, because the women must carry their harvest in burden baskets back to the village. Land is not unlimited in 311
the environs of Cabruá; stretches of forest are subject to minor inundation in the rainy season, and large areas are sandy and horticulturally worthless savannah. The village, 361
then, must be moved at long intervals. Since contemporary Cabruá has only 67 inhabitants, there is no great pressure [161]
on land. Houses age and fall into disrepair rapidly, how-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the [311] more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking [166] ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

166 The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered 361 greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this [688] was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

622 The household of the chief included 17 people, and the 592 largest house unit of the village had a population of 28. 621 The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE LOCAL GROUP

THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization of male and female social activity is separately treated. The Mundurucú exhibit the most complete development of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayurá men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Mundurucú, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

This unusually complete division presents points of difference with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated the Mundurucú men's house eksá to be the residence of village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unreliable extant source on Mundurucú culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the eksá, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the eksá are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 54.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 35.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 102.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

but it is equally possible that the former reporter was correct and that the present composition of the men's house represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceeding from Martius's data on other aspects of Mundurucú social structure, if the men's house was the residence of bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality would have kept the latter in the village. They would then have been faced with either permanent residence in the men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incorporation into the household economy and authority structure. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocality by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such easement is important, for, in contrast to the local endogamy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[1] the Mundurucú male commonly comes from another village and does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts prerogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans undoubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from another community. The young man caught in the process of change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate himself to permanent residence in a village in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female, the male plays the main role in the structure of authority and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

[1] *Cf.* Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion of clan and lineage has made the social adjustment of 562
the Mundurucú most delicate, as will be seen presently, 591
but the problem of the integration of the male into a 621
household group far from his native village would have
imposed a formidable obstacle to the change to matrilocality. It is possibly for this reason that a combination of patrilinearity and matrilocality is most rare. The Mundurucú men's house provided a means to accommodate such a change and to make matrilocality more acceptable to a people who reckon their closest kinsmen patrilineally. The man who marries a woman of another village becomes integrated into the men's house, where he finds a large group of men of the same moiety and perhaps some fellow clansmen and natives of his own village. His relations with his new household are, in the beginning, tenuous.

The means by which the men accommodate themselves 476
to matrilocality may be seen in operation today. The earlier 591
discussion on marriage indicated that the male has great 621
mobility; if his affinal relatives trouble him, he may gather [562]
up his belongings and leave. But the organization of village life relieves him of many such pressures. He is expected to bring game and fish to his wife, and this constitutes his main responsibility in the household economy. After he turns over the food, the wife keeps a share for the general household larder and, if there is enough, distributes the rest to the women of the other houses in the village; the food is cooked, and the women of each house bring a portion to the men's house, whereupon the males partake of a communal meal. The provision of his wife with the day's kill is thus primarily a symbolic act, except when there is only enough to feed his wife's household or his nuclear family. Each family head has a garden, but the man clears the garden with the aid of all other village men, and his wife is joined in weeding and the harvest by

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more
591 men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, al-
621 though this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, def-
[606] erence, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from
591 the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently re-
593 lax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And,
621 as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the focus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

945 In the ekwá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleep-
513 ing arrangements. On each side of the men's house and
61 down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

12:Murphy R-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their hammocks adjacent to those older men, but the boys and adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the ekxá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society. 345 513 61 [561]

The men's house is the single most important institution in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening meal, the occupants of the ekxá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls. 345 512 [264] [521]

The emphasis on cooperation between the men transcends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself 476 183

from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Cooperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men. Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

This emphasis on harmony and cooperation among the Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that cooperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But there are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the ekú only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in which the sacred trumpets (karúkó), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

539 778 [145]

bad walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karikó spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karikó consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

539 778 782

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

[145] [194] 534 562 773 778

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attenuated, and each karikó is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karikó has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

complied under the condition that they could occupy the men's house and play the trumpets there. The men acceded, and the women, their position supernaturally reinforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beipé* (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the *ekid* and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to the karókó is one of the social charters of male superordination. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karókó, although nobody can remember this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic indism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the kariko is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

THE LOCAL GROUP

562 mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male posi-
578 tion, and the modern seventeen woman commonly objects to
577 the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here,
[149] unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

The trumpets have lost most of their relations to chase
182 but remain functional in protecting the village from supe-
534 natural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual
778 roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a soli-
562 dary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the women in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling
342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

hammocks and the middle is left open. The communal hearth that serves the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms in the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants draw freely from it. 592

Only females and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwelling house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended family leads a most communal existence. 592 594

Matrilocality, it has been said, has resulted in highly diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's house. Despite the generational continuity of the females and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them also. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Mundurucú, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and clans of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal status. This conflict does not prevent the women from placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, named matrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes is reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de- 592 591 611 611 591

591/ velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineal-
611 ity, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591/ Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the
179 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

Although the Mundurucú extended family is much
596 smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way
592 to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the
[422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to
[224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any woman who happens to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Cooperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

434 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

476 The women of all village households frequently coop-
244 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of
252 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro-
462 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for cooperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals
422 or extended families.
574
476 That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their cooperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that cooperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible.

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete among the women, however. The household unit of fe-

12: Murphy R-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[521 578 592] males is extremely close knit and is probably the most co-
operative group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional
bond between the women of these groups that I know of
[1.2] one who committed suicide because of alienation from her
two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended fam-
ily, conflicts between individual women or households are
common. All women of the household generally join with
a member in her antipathy for another woman or house-
hold; this, of course, follows from the fact that the house-
mates are closely related to each other, which complem-
ents the allegiance arising from co-residence.

Hostility between the women generally takes the form
[521 578] of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of
most of the confidences that passed among the women,
[123] which constituted one of our most valuable sources of in-
formation. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house
[125] and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with
tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women.
Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself
was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart.
And we usually managed to learn by this means of the
well-repressed hostilities in the village, of fears and ac-
cusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between
the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network
brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn,
gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the ex-
change of female information and opinion was the shed
where farinha was made. The women usually chatted ani-
matedly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the
group, the heads of the others drew together and she was
thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of resi-
dence in the village, the same thing happened, as we had
no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst.
Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. These events provide the grist for conversation for weeks.

Relations between the women of the savannah communities are subjected to an extra, situational strain because of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages, marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern. But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured by the support given by the matrilocal extended family.

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber season, when village and extended family break up to exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy and from being even a co-resident group. And the thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers the nuclear family from any primary responsibility in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa-

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
[833] digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. How-
[855] ever, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended
[846] families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
608 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

[562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the 857
men's house, have very loose ties with their households. 868
Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine [591]
where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only [593]
by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as com- 562
pared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented 462
about any household economy, and the boys take little 867
part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since [596]
the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social struc- 857
tural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys 868
cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When 883
the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown [868]
sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old [582]
enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village [584]

883 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[884] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his pri-
[882] mary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[756] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in the powers and duties of the office. Older informants said that chiefs formerly inherited the office either from their father or older brother. Lineal continuity of the chieftaincy in a village was ensured by the general exemption of most of the chief's sons from the rule of matrilocality. The chief, although never authoritarian or possessed of coercive powers among the Mundurucú, was nonetheless an important figure in the community. His was the most prominent voice in any collective decisions affecting the village as a whole; he frequently led war parties, and he represented the village in commercial or other relations with the whites. His position was reinforced in a number of ways. He was generally selected from the available and possible heirs because he had distinguished himself as a warrior through taking trophy heads and was the repository of lore and songs. And the patrilocality of the chief's family allowed him to build a strong kin group composed of sons and sons-in-law. This exemption from the normal residence rule also legitimized the line due to the genealogical continuity of the family within the village. Thus, the chieftaincy symbolized the village as a continuing entity. Furthermore, his special relations with the whites and his role of intermediary, in which he sold the trade commodities gathered by the villagers and distributed the returns among them, did much to enhance his status.

The Mundurucú look upon their contemporary village chiefs with mixed feelings. The chief is often personally respected and liked by the people, but they simultaneously feel the office to be inconsequential and of little importance today. And they quite frequently look upon their particular leader as an illegal occupant of the position. Also, the role of chief is commonly a center of latent hostility and factionalism. This change has come about through the disappearance of the more integrative aspects

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 554 578 622 of the chieftaincy and the persistence and aggravation of certain disruptive features.

First, the Mundurucú chief no longer holds the all-important position of war leader. Second, he now trades on behalf of his village in theory only. In the nineteenth century the trading function of the chief tended to bolster his traditional powers and some became well-known figures in the Tapajós valley. As the rubber trade grew in importance, the control of the chiefs became increasingly important to those traders who monopolized the Indian commerce. Since this period corresponded with the declining days of warfare, some traders were able to install their own appointees as village chiefs where the rightful holder of the office was unsuitable to them. Besides, traders occasionally took Mundurucú to Belém, where they were introduced to government functionaries and awarded the title of *capitão*. These new luminaries were sent back to their villages and assigned the task of representing the trader. Thus, legitimate lines of succession were broken, and the new chiefs owed their positions to the trader. The villagers were well aware of this.

178 178 490 554 622 578

The general patrilocality of the chief's family, no matter by what means he was selected, continued; his extended family remained the largest such unit in the village and, more important, was the only significant group of close male, patrilineal relatives. The rest of the village men were of diverse affiliations and found organization within the context of men's-house activities. But they were faced with a powerful kin group in which political authority was vested. If points of difference arose, the men of the chief's group rallied to his support, but antagonisms were aroused among the other men. In former times, the important functions served by the chieftainship undoubtedly overrode the potential factionalism inherent in this situation, but, in

178 578 622

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the new setting, the position was stripped of legitimate succession and divested of the attributes that commanded greatest respect. The strength of the chief's group thus became a sore point in village life.

These problems are amply illustrated by the contemporary chieftaincies of the savannah villages of Cabruá and Cabitutú. Until two years before my investigation, an old Mundurucú whose Portuguese name is Caetano had been chief in the village of Cabitutú. He did not occupy the office by patrilineal succession, but was appointed by a trader who maintained exclusive dealings with the villagers. The residents of Cabitutú respected and accepted Caetano because of his age and the fact that he was not aggressive in promoting the interests of the trader. When the old chief of Cabruá, who possessed the office legitimately, died, the trader decided to shift Caetano from Cabitutú to Cabruá and to install Caetano's son in the vacancy created. The latter, a young man named Biboi, had been raised by the trader. In contrast to the usual unassertive, retiring, coöperative, and nonaggressive Mundurucú conduct, Biboi was loud and vociferous in his claim to be "the only one in Cabitutú who knows how to tell the people to work and who can deal with the trader." The villagers looked upon an older man, who was also a shaman, as the rightful possessor of the office and regarded Biboi as a usurper and tool of the trader. They were prepared to kill him, but refrained because of respect for his father, Caetano, and his family. To kill Biboi would have caused endless trouble, and the Mundurucú assiduously avoid such situations.

In the meantime, Caetano's tenure of the chieftaincy of Cabruá was somewhat uneasy. More than one-third of the men residing in the village did business with another trader than the one who had made the appointment, and

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 578 622

they felt that Caetano did not represent them. Furthermore, one of these men was the son of the former chief, and many villagers confided that he, and not Caetano, was the rightful leader. One of Caetano's sons, a stepson, and a son-in-law also lived in the village, however, and he had too much support for any effective opposition that would not develop into open conflict. That the position of the chief was not a source of open strife is due not only to the strength of the chief's family but to the contemporary weakness of the office. Large-scale joint activities, such as inter-village ceremonies and warfare, no longer exist, and situations that demand firm authority are rare. Coöperative economic endeavors among the men are freely entered into within the framework of the men's organization. Thus, Caetano seldom was compelled to issue orders and formulate policies that would affect the entire village. Also, as in Cabitutú, Caetano was respected because of his age and his cultivation of Mundurucú tradition.

Despite the relative placidity of politics in Cabruá, as contrasted to Cabitutú, there were several points of tension. Shortly after Caetano assumed the chieftaincy, the men of Cabruá accused his stepson of sorcery and planned to kill him. But the chief and his kinsmen intervened, and the man's life was spared. Relations remained strained between the two factions, although the everyday behavior of the principals showed no evidence of this.

The situation of Biboi in Cabitutú was precarious. During our stay, his father fell from a palm tree and seemed badly injured. Biboi immediately left Cabitutú to rush to Caetano's side. He was motivated partly by filial devotion, but he also knew that his life would be in jeopardy if the old man died as a result of the injuries. He explained to us that in this event, he would move to the Tapajós River. When asked why he blandly evaded his true motives and

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Biboi returned to Cabitutú.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

6

social solidarity and social fission

619 [621] Each Mundurucú village is an autonomous political unit, and there is no permanent multicommunity decision-making body. However, the Mundurucú feel themselves to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dji* [101] *nyö*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people," and the *pariwat*, a term which is applied to all non-Mundurucú. All the "people" consider themselves to be related, and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship system. All, however, are expected to show coöperation [189] and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá [648] Indians and the whites, the *pariwat* are enemies and, in former times, were the objects of warfare.

[p. 126]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSON

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villges usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and coöperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

602 trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule re-
628 sulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that
619 constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

571 Integration was furthered also by such groups as the
575 *Muchacha anyen* society, the men's ceremonial group
619 known as the *Biu ši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Darek ši anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and resi-
121 dence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart."[2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.
[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

this is a valid statement. But it conveys the impression that such integration is sufficient to social cohesion; actually interpenetrating modes of segmentation may make social adjustment a most delicate matter. 121

When considering the relation between structural integration and social solidarity, it may be well to keep in mind that life in society requires a degree of personal renunciation as a means of securing the corporate well-being. Conflicts in interest, between individuals or groups, are bound to follow in all human societies. The causes and intensity of conflict and the means by which it is resolved are, however, variables of the structure of the particular society. The open expression of hostility, we learn from the sociologist Georg Simmel,[3] may result in a readjustment of relations between groups that produces a measure of stability; the playing out of conflicts can thus promote the integration of a society through the correction of disbalances in power and by the cathartic release of aggression.[4] According to Meyer Fortes, battles between lineal groups in Tallensi society has just this effect.[5] But the Tallensi are significantly different from the Mundurucú. Both are patrilineal, but the former society has local groups based on patrilocal residence; conflict between kin groups is simultaneously conflict between local groups.

Conflict in Mundurucú society, on the other hand, cannot range along such simple segmental lines. The memberships of lineal groups and local groups do not coincide; in a conflict, people cannot align themselves with clan fellows, for this may well pit them against the members of 578 571 628

[3] Simmel, 1955.

[4] The latter corollary to Simmel's thesis has been more fully developed by Lewis Coser (1956).

[5] Fortes, 1945, pp. 240–244. See also Gluckman (1956) for a penetrating analysis of segmentary opposition and the part played by cross-cutting loyalties in the dampening of bend.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

571 578 628 the same men's house, or even the same household. Correspondingly, if a man is to side with his co-residents, he may find himself arrayed against his patrilineal kinsmen in another household or village. Mundurucú men have two primary sets of bonds, one based on co-residence and the other on patrilineal kinship. Since the persons affected in each set are generally not the same, the individual is placed in potential role conflict, if sides are to be chosen. To choose the tie of kinship may disrupt the village and household and their economies; to give primary loyalty to one's co-residents can destroy clanship.

There can be no balance of antagonisms in Mundurucú society; conflict can only destroy both social solidarity and social integration. Hostility is, for this reason, suppressed. Interyillage conflicts are unheard of, as are those between kin groups. And interpersonal grievances remain latent between individuals not only because of the disruptive effect of an open breach, but because the antagonists cannot expect uniform support from either kinsmen or co-residents. Covert factionalism may be rife among the Mundurucú, but open feud is impossible within their social system.

578 There are few means to express the aggression arising from the frustrations of normal social life. Real grievances, such as those arising from sexual rivalries or from the institution of chieftainship, do not result in direct retaliation against the objects of hostility. Aggression is instead buried and later displaced on surrogates. During the nineteenth century, the Mundurucú were able to use warfare as a displacement device and as a rallying point for social cohesion. The only acceptable means of purging latent hostility today is the projection of generalized antago-
[683] nisms to the shamans and their execution as sorcerers.

Although matrilocality is no longer as rigidly adhered

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation 578
noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships 156
is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men 571
of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; 578
it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the 182
level of village organization; coöperative endeavors 571
among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare [628]
and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism [619]
has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social 771

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

771 structure.[6] The religious life of the contemporary savannah
[162] dwellers has been largely reduced to the practices of shamanism and sorcery, and group ceremonial activities have for the most part disappeared with little prospect of revival. One or two half-hearted attempts have been made by older men to resurrect parts of the ritual cycle, but they have met with lack of enthusiasm on the part of the young and have failed largely through inability to organize properly. Today, the Mundurucú regard the decadence of their religion as part of their transition to the status of foreigner (pariwat), and have resigned themselves to this situation.

The focus of Mundurucú religion in the past was the relationship between society and the animal world. This was consistent with the cultural emphasis on hunting, in terms of importance to subsistence and as a highly valued
[773] masculine activity.[7] The mythology is concerned with the origins of species of animals, which significantly were
771 either human or had human form in mythological times,
776 and an important class of supernaturals is believed to exert protection over game. The latter spirits are of two kinds: there is a generic spirit "mother" of all game animals, and several of the more important species have their own particular spirit "mothers." If offense is given to these supernaturals through such means as killing an animal for its hide and leaving the carcass to rot, they take swift vengeance against the guilty party. This is usually done by supernaturally bringing injury upon the culprit. But the spirit "mothers" can also be benevolent and helpful to the community and can make game abundant, if humans observe proper relations with them.

[6] A full description of Mundurucú religion may be found in my monograph *Mundurucú Religion* (1958).

[7] It will be remembered that the Mundurucú believe that the males wrested the sacred trumpets from the control of the women because only men could supply the meat that must be offered to the instruments.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

Few techniques for pleasing these animal spirits are now practiced, but in former times there were many. Powerful shamans, of whom there are now said to be but few, used to travel magically to the "Land of the Game" to "feed" the animal spirits, and the two most important ceremonies also had this purpose. These two rites, called the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip* were held, as all Mundurucú ceremonials, during the rainy season, and were almost identical but for duration; the former was said to have occupied almost the whole rainy season, while the latter lasted ten days. In both, the game animals were honored and their spirit protectors summoned and offered a food particularly pleasing to them. Annual observance was not mandatory, but either the long or the short festival was usually held every year. Villages usually rotated the duty of staging the rite, and the residents of several communities were invited. A number of powerful shamans were a prerequisite to the ceremony and had to be recruited from many villages, for only they could ward off the attacks of evil spirits that were attracted by the ritual food offerings.

Other ceremonies were also held to celebrate the trophy heads taken during war. These rites lapsed, of course, with the end of headhunting in 1912. The game-animal ceremonies persisted into relatively recent times, however. The last Araiarai was held in the early 1930's, and the shorter Dajearuparip lasted until about 1945. The Mundurucú explain the lapse of the ceremonial cycle as caused by the contemporary lack of powerful shamans. There is some merit in this view, for sorcery executions, the migration to the Cururú River, and general loss of population have greatly lowered the number of shamans available in the savannah villages. Also, the Mundurucú look upon themselves as being in a degenerated state; they feel that their

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 women are no longer as desirable as in the good old days,
796 nor are men as brave and strong. Correspondingly, the
[756] shamans are thought to have lost much of their power and knowledge. Besides, there are significant social and economic reasons for the lapse of the ceremonies. The larger ceremony fell into abeyance after the migration to the Cururú River had gained full force, and the shorter form was terminated after the exodus had reduced the savannah population to its present 380. Significantly, the Dajearuparip ended in 1945, at the conclusion of the period of rising rubber prices in World War II and the concomitant growing preoccupation of the Mundurucú Indians with extraction of latex. Thus, there is not only an insufficient number of shamans at present, but there are not enough people left in the savannahs to stage a large-scale reunion.
[224] Furthermore, only the campineiros, a bare one-quarter of the total Mundurucú population, still depend on game as
[226] the principal source of protein; the others rely primarily on fishing, and the ceremonies have correspondingly less economic significance to them. Finally, to the degree that the old social system has weakened, so also has this positive, affirmative aspect of the religion. The rites were vital to tribal unity and male activity and were a function of them. The decay of intervillage coöperation in other spheres and the inevitability of eventual abandonment of residence on the savannahs make the Mundurucú apathetic to the continuity of the group-based and group-affirmative rituals—actually, those aspects of relations with the supernatural that Emile Durkheim defined as "religion."* The people still believe in the game-animal spirits and still give credence to the efficacy of the ceremonial means of propitiating them. But the failure to translate the
[869] beliefs into the realm of action has robbed them of im-

* Durkheim, 1947.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 shaman is said by the Mundurucú to be "angry at every-
[683] body," and he continues his practice until apprehended and executed.

The sorcerer is thus visualized as the bearer of latent and generalized aggression that is expressed by covert means, and it is possible to infer, from the beliefs surrounding the institution, the projection and expurgation of repressed hostility within the society at large. Witchcraft has particular tenacity because it serves to provide the practitioner of the art with a means of aggression release, and it provides the members of the community with a technique for displacing their own hostilities to his person and deriving further catharsis through his execution. Witchcraft also serves to explain the ills that inflict humanity, and provides a means of defense against them. The problems resolved by belief in sorcery and shamanism are almost universal in scope—disease, death, and social tensions—and are not so narrowly keyed to the variables of Mundurucú society and economy as were the defunct ceremonies. The problem of repressed antagonism is es-
[578] pecially acute among the Mundurucú, however, because of the injunction against the open display and playing out of hostility.

683 Ideally, the execution of a sorcerer is carried out with
754 the consensus of nearly all members of the community. Such agreement was probably more easily obtained in the past when political controls were firmer and less subject to dispute and the bonds of mutual interdependence among villagers stronger. Today, however, sorcery accusations frequently bring factionalism perilously near the surface. In one savannah community, the chief and one of his sons were slain as sorcerers, and in another only the intervention of the chief and his family saved his stepson from the same fate. That chiefs and their families are so com-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders, this may constitute a significant bloc within the community under current circumstances. 683 754

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the number of shamans. This not only includes people who were actually executed, but also those who escaped or who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay, but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced with the unhappy prospect of being the only available scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the services that village life traditionally afforded. 683 754 756

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. Fellow clan members are no longer united by 182 771 182 628 796

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to
628 the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a
796 far more isolated existence than they did in former times, and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

314 The economic and social adjustments made by the Mun-
439 durucú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be
648 described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration. The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly mentioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rubber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader in the hamlet of Sae Cinza, but occasionally make transactions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá maintains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of his sons and another man maintain a separate residence not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the Tropas, but some do business with the trader of São Martinho, on the Tapajós. The people of Cabruá live in three separate hamlets on the Tropas. At one, the most powerful shaman of the village lives with two younger men of his household, and another is occupied by another man of the same house and his son-in-law. These two men trade on behalf of their rubber-avenue co-residents, and the chief of Cabruá is not considered to be their representative in trade. The Cabitutú River has only one or two all-year residents, and these are Brazilian. A number of families of Brazilians and eight Mundurucú families maintain regular homes on the Tropas, however. The latter Mundurucú associate to a varying extent with the villagers during the rubber season and occasionally come to Cabruá to seek the services of a shaman or simply to visit, but they remain marginal to village life.

The Mundurucú of the savannah communities collect less rubber than those of the Cururú and far less than the the Brazilian tappers. The latter generally commence production as soon as the flood recedes in May or early June and collect until the rains and rising waters make their rubber avenues inaccessible in November or December. The efforts of the campineiros, however, are limited by their alternating residence between village and rubber-avenue dwelling. The residents of Cabruá have to clear land for gardens before they may depart, and this generally holds them until May. But only the more industrious Mundurucú leave at this time; many linger in the village until June or July, and in 1952 one man stayed until August. Rubber is collected until August, at which time the trees lose their leaves, and the yield drops off sharply for two to three weeks. Some Indians use this occasion to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in their garden sites and then return to the rubber avenue until

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in the village. The average collecting season of the savannah Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home. He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit his rubber avenue, the Mundurucú hunts or fishes. He is joined by the other men of the house if there are any; otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting techniques cannot be employed. This and the general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely do so because they do not have enough workers to clear forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting them. The resident families have a local supply of farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the village and transported to the rubber avenue; a difficult chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Cabruá. These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result 462 of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, 314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and [592] their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

314 571 476 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation [594] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode [487] of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the 423 economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no con- 423
cept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also,
a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and
absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it
may be worked by another after the former owner's per-
mission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it
passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or [428]
dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by
the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to com-
mercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only
type of natural resource subject to private ownership in
this society. This fact gains increasing social importance [182]
in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the
returns of rubber production. As this dependence in-
creases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by 657
the government for their use. The traders do not have any 648
right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in 439
the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an 472
independent producer, working on his own property as a
free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same sys-
tem of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that pre-
vails in the Amazon has been extended to the native popu-
lation, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian
cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that
he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat
more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, how-
ever.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client re- 439
lationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between 466
the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the 648
instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a
bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of
these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who
466 gives valued objects and who must be given something in
648 return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rationalized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 The client-patron relationship applies also to that be-
600 tween the Mundurucú and all white men of similar pres-
648 tige position. The trader is called *katiwat;* or also *compá,* a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre,* or co-father. The latter title was evidently learned from the white rubber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as godparent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mun-
123 durucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role. Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission, and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of smoked latex, in return for which they wished merchandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were willing to integrate us into the collective village economy and to designate us by kinship terms.

Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savan-
439 nahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed
648 intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader gen-
484 erally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals during the rubber-collection season and sporadically during the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Mundurucú clients are a source of continual aggravation to the traders, although they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the Indians. Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Mundurucú society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were divulged simply through the insistence of the questioner. Since few Mundurucú have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

439 484 574 648 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their excursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main business is with their own patron, they often make side trips to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

171 648 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent, and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 648 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 648 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú who work for the traders or live among the Brazilians. Some of these people maintain relations with the savannah dwellers and communicate to their residents knowledge of Brazilian culture. Other Mundurucú spent time among the Brazilians when young and later returned to the savannahs. They are few, but so are the remaining campineiros, and this is accordingly an important mode of influence. These sojourns among the whites take various forms. Some Indians are raised in the households of the traders, who claim that they do this only to "educate" and Christianize them. Actually the children perform household service without pay, but they are fed and treated well and are integrated into the household and family of the trader. They become well indoctrinated in Brazilian culture, as are other Mundurucú who have spent some years in the employ of the traders. Most such people do not return to the savannah villages, but the few who do go back for varying periods are significant in the introduction of Brazilian culture. But the structure within which this communication operates is set up by the patron-client relation —that is, cultural knowledge is transmitted through the agency of a social system that was established for the exchange of commodities. 177 648

COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

This section summarizes the factors that promote the cohesion of the savannah villages and the opposing factors that disturb social norms and cause losses in community membership. 182

The Mundurucú feel that their way of life can only be conducted successfully in the traditional village locales of the savannahs. To leave these communities is to become almost a foreigner. Considerable sentiment is thus attached to life in the savannah villages and many people, 182 185 621

32, Murphy E-3 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 185 621 especially the old, cling tenaciously to residence there. In times long past, the alternatives to village life were privation and death at the hands of enemy war parties; the village was the basic unit in economy and defense and was fundamental to the workings of the social organization.

182 621 [361] The pacification of the Tapajós River region, and the rubber trade, have presented the opportunity for an alternate mode of residence along the banks of larger streams. That it offers certain attractions is manifest from the fact that almost three-quarters of the surviving Mundurucú of the area have elected it. But the 360 people who still reside in the savannahs pursue a way of life which is distinctively Mundurucú. It is a changed culture, a changed social structure, but it is genetically rooted in the Mundurucú past. Life in these savannah villages obviously exerts a considerable hold over its members, for the communities have been persisting despite more than a century and a half of contact with Brazilian society and a constant population drain through emigration and epidemic disease. Some of the principal bases of this cohesion lie in the social means by which Mundurucú technology is implemented, for these provide fundamental ties of personal and familial interdependence.

182 476 621 [461] The keynote of this organization lies in coöperation in production, and collectivism in consumption. Men depend on coöperation in hunting to bring game to bay within short range of their bows and to concentrate their fire power. Women share the arduous chore of farinha making and increase their efficiency by a division of tasks. The efficiency gained is perhaps sacrificed to conviviality, but a dull and arduous job is nonetheless made more pleasant. The implements used in manioc processing are expensive and beyond the means of individuals, but the village buys

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid. 182 476

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence. 182 592 562 [602]

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe. 182 578 [621]

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers 182 574 754 683

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 as the single permissible occasion on which violence was
578 condoned. Kluckhohn's* view is well founded that the
754 sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him
683 and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

182 Conflicts between persons and groups are not always
578 connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men com-
[837] monly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the
[622] numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

182 Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their
591 villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive
596 weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished
[578] size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

* Kluckhohn, 1944.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives. 182 591 596

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During [illegible] rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the [illegible] social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved [illegible] continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to coöperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure. 182 602 614 [594] [596]

The most important force in the process of stripping the 182 439

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The
439 quest of the Mundurucú for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi-
[166] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens
[244] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

Individual nuclear families sometimes move immedi-
182 ately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of
166 course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the
361 desire for sociability and economic coöperation commonly
621 motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Mundurucú who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together.
182 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gar-
476 dening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their
621 resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

canoe and firearms. Fishing is easier with watercraft and solitary hunting more effective by firearms. Both may be bought by the individualized labor of rubber production, and both further free the individual of his dependence on a larger group.

The net effect of the social processes currently affecting the Mundurucú is to scatter the population into semi-isolated and economically independent units. When the now middle-aged and old people die, the process will probably accelerate and the savannah villages will pass out of existence. The families will presumably settle, as all now do in the dry season and several throughout the year, on the waters of the Cadirirí, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. Those on the former two rivers will no doubt be customers of the post of Sae Cinza and the residents of the latter will be clients of the patrons of Caroçal and São Martinho. Trips to the trader's store and increased use of canoes will allow the residents of each river to maintain frequent relations with each other, but the long distances between the streams will propably inhibit similar communication between their inhabitants. Beyond the membership of the hamlets in which small groups of nuclear families congregate, the only more inclusive form of economic interdependences will be that between patron and client. This relationship will probably grow in importance, and the Indians will become more firmly integrated into the loose communities, typical of the Amazon, composed of the trader and his customers.

These predictions are not entirely conjectural, for the projected way of life is essentially that of the Mundurucú who have already migrated to the Tapajós River and its tributaries. The nature of the migration and the following life by the river prohibits the reconstitution of savannah-type villages.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

7

the mundurucú of the cururú river

167 The Cururú River was permanently settled by the
164 Mundurucú in the 1920's and 1930's through much the
361 same processes that are observable today along the Cadirirí, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. The people who moved to the Cururú came largely from the southernmost savannah communities, and they settled on this particular stream because their dry-season residences and commercial bonds were there. When people move from the more northerly, contemporary savannah communities today, their choices of particular streams are dictated by the same reasons. There is no other cause for the differential migration that has split the northern and southern villages than proximity to certain rivers and corresponding ties to

[p. 154]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

particular patrons. Two or three decades ago, all savannah communities were much alike and, except for differing places of dry-season residence, the populations of all maintained frequent contact through intermarriage, visiting, and joint participation in ceremonies. The cultural and social differentiation of Cururú and savannah dweller is thus quite recent. 167 184 361 [628]

There are two major points of difference between the migration to the Cururú and that to the more northerly rivers. First, in the former large numbers of people moved in a comparatively short period. Secondly, the patrons on the Cururú River were not Brazilian rubber traders, but a group of German Catholic missionaries who were deliberately attempting to attract the population and modify their culture. The missionaries achieved little success during their first ten to fifteen years of activity and attracted large numbers of Indians only after the price of rubber rose. On the other hand, the astuteness of this example of applied anthropology should be given recognition, for the missionaries offered high rubber prices and low-cost merchandise, and thereby accelerated the migration process. 167 797

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRATION

The population move to the Cururú occurred in piecemeal fashion, for, as in the contemporary savannahs, nuclear families or segments of extended families shifted and not whole villages. Co-resident groups of Indians who commonly collected rubber and fished on the banks of the Cururú during the dry season were lured into setting up permanent residences there by the attraction of trade goods and the persuasion of the missionaries, who sought thereby to bring the Indians more directly under their influence. Other rubber-season residents perceived the economic advantages of all-year occupation of the Cururú, 167 361 178 [797]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

167 and they too abandoned the annual return to the savan-
361 nahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured
178 more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the
182 people of Cabruá today, to choose avenues near their close
361 kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with
621 their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails; other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farinha-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting, and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry summer. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water
501 transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe,
439

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard. 439 501

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river. 177 342 361

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old coöperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group. 182 476 571 178

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

As the migration continued and the villages grew in size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased use of firearms, bought through the now larger proceeds of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was, comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campineiros.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the savannahs were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of gardening work were

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

done by the men, women, and children, working in common. 178 182

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew 462 out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer [592] had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reëstablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status [562] in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and [177] other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun- 178 182 345

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 796

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

439 648 The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more 177
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- [122]
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [323]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear
and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress.
The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men
of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these
articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and
a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the
overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [658]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected,
the people are not deeply affected by the missionary
teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and re-
spected without any commitment or great interest on the
part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who
have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 797 the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in en-
177 couraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and
461 in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than
[562] the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and there-
[556] fore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and
[581] especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the
439 mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the
797 Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives up-
648 stream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater
[177] Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the In-
[437] dians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up 439
and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are 797
more frequent in September, October, and November 648
when rubber is still being collected and the river has be- [484]
gun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets [529]
provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands, [594]
and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

lages and easy transportation is lacking. But on the Cu- 439
rurú, even the man who has a separate dry-season resi- 461
dence has direct access to his village by canoe.

THE CURURÚ VILLAGE

The Mundurucú population of the Cururú River has for 162
several years maintained an average figure of 700. This in- 361
cludes 200 Indians with permanent residences at the mis-
sion and 70 to 80 who live at the Indian post. Part of these
latter two groups spread out every summer to collect rub- [221]
ber while the others work for the two agencies as garden-
ers, general workmen, fishermen, and crew members on
the launches. The post and mission Mundurucú settle-
ments are in no way autonomous villages, and all general
economic and political direction is provided by the Indian
agent and the priests.

The rest of the population is principally distributed in eleven settlements ranging in size from hamlets of two or three houses with populations of 20 to 25 people to the largest settlement, Missão Velha,[1] with eleven houses and 90 inhabitants. In addition there are many scattered dwellings along the banks which are the all-year residences of one or two nuclear families. In 1942 there were only about seven villages on the Cururú and practically no isolated dwellings, although the population then was substantially the same. The increase in number of villages and of families living in isolation is the result of a fission process in which segments of villages split away to form new communities. The Cururú River settlements are in this sense more unstable than the contemporary savannah communities. Thus, the average population of the five traditional savannah villages, excluding Parawaröktiká, which has no

[1] Old Mission. So named because it is near the site of the first mission, abandoned in 1921.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

162 men's house, and the newly formed Cauí, is 60. On the
361 other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

361 Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east,
[312] but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest.
[311] There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage
[136] of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one
[342] of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the
[177] Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal
[343] dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds
[177] adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctively Brazilian trait.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well- 361
weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use [343] the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the [487] port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a 592
shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear [594] family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse [602] does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined [476] forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average [476] household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little coöperation between the houses.

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipití for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly 252
items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are consid- 422
ered to be the property of the chief, since they were pur- 415
chased through his and his extended family's labor. The [622]
large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cu- 623
rurú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. 182
Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position pri- 622
marily to recognition by the mission, but who is also ac- 554
corded some deference because of his age and his status [797]
as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão [476]
Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

622 554 182 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [758] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

all Mundurucú still believe firmly in the supernatural causation of illness. Thus, the drugs of the white man are considered efficacious in the repair of the damage caused by the sorcerer's evil objects, but this in no way circumvents the necessity for the shaman to extract them. A corollary of the continued belief in native explanations of disease is the persistence of accusations of sorcery and the occasional killing of witches.

The only shaman in recent practice in Missão Velha was executed as a sorcerer in 1950. It is now necessary to call a shaman from another village or to bring the sick person to him. The lack of an actively practicing shaman has not prevented another case of sorcery from arising in the village, for the accused in this instance was a shaman by descent. The case will be described in some detail, for it illustrates how political factionalism, sorcery, and general disaffection have combined as fission elements in the loosely integrated Cururú River villages.

Several months before we stayed in Missão Velha, a great deal of illness caused the chief's son-in-law and sons to seek the services of Pedro, the most renowned of all Mundurucú shamans and a resident of the mission. Pedro, without the knowledge of the priests, of course, went to Missão Velha and performed the necessary acts to destroy all evil objects in the vicinity of the village. He then informed the others that the man responsible was one Antonio, a resident of Missão Velha whose father was a shaman, although he himself never practiced. The chief wanted no trouble and planned for a time to move away from the supposedly malignant Antonio, but the younger men of his family were determined to kill the sorcerer. Certain other men of the village, however, were not fully convinced of Antonio's guilt and opposed his condemnation. Their doubts were not a reflection of skepticism in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159
578
754
756

supernatural belief, but arose from hostility to the chief's group, Antonio's most persistent persecutors. The fact that they would also doubt the accuracy and integrity of the most powerful shaman in the tribe is indicative of the intensity of this animosity. Some of the men opposed to the execution felt, on the other hand, that Antonio was in all probability guilty, but expressed revulsion at the idea of more bloodshed and would have rather preferred to let him depart in peace. In any event, no unanimous community action could be taken.

The split in the village was exactly along the lines of the two village political factions. Favoring the execution of Antonio were the chief, his two sons, his two sons-in-law, and the brother and brother-in-law of one son-in-law. The opposition consisted of the brother-in-law and former co-resident of a shaman killed at Missão Velha two years earlier, the brother-in-law and house mate of the accused Antonio, and a household whose men were related affinally to the chief's group. The position of the latter house in the dispute is of particular interest, for it included the brother-in-law, brother, and nephew of that son-in-law of the chief who was the moving spirit of the other faction. The people of this household had originally moved to Missão Velha to be near the latter kinsman.

The dilemma was finally resolved when the frightened Antonio decided to move completely out of the Mundurucú country to the relative safety of the Tapajós River. Those who defended him, however, were completely alienated from the village, and all had made plans to move. The man whose brother-in-law was killed two years ago was ready to settle permanently near his rubber avenue, the brother-in-law of the accused contemplated his departure, and the members of the third household wanted to move farther upstream. We left Missão Velha before the shifts

occurred. If all the planned moves took place, however, 159
the net loss to the village would be 36 out of 90 people, the 578
residents of three of the ten occupied houses. As a footnote 754
to this episode, Antonio fled shortly after our departure, 756
but he made the fatal error of settling in a Mundurucú
hamlet on the lower Cururú River. His reputation was, of
course, widely known, and he was slain by his new fellow- [683]
villagers.

To our knowledge the dispute never flared into an open display of aggression. On a few occasions the accused man was seen to talk to one of the men who wished to kill him and, more rarely, there was mutual visiting. Hostility between Mundurucú is generally more open on the Cururú than in the savannahs, but violence is still suppressed. Here, too, the only escape valve consists in killing suspected sorcerers; otherwise, one may move away from the object of hostility. The latter is easily done in the socioeconomic framework of the Cururú settlements, for interpersonal and interfamilial dependence is low, and individuals have correspondingly greater mobility than on the savannahs.

Although no personal violence attends these disputes, the facts of conflict and withdrawal are socially disruptive beyond their effects on village membership. In the above-described conflict, two brothers were ranged in opposite factions, because one had chosen to follow the stand in defense of the accused taken by the oldest member of his household. And the position of the latter placed him in conflict with one of his wife's brothers, who favored killing Antonio. An even more interesting split occurred in a household whose inhabitants were absent from the village during my research. The oldest man and head of the house wished to avoid strife by taking no action against the condemned man, but his son, who resided with the father, was

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 754 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a neighbor and his family will visit briefly. [574] Visiting is almost always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 578 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative 182
isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the 578
Cururú and are found near its mouth on the Tapajós. Not all fission arises from factional splits such as that described. Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the move from one village to another or to permanent resi- [166]
dence in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal conflicts.

These disputes are frequently over women, who are 162
scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah 184
villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow 578
but continuous emigration of the more mobile young 182
males, which results in hostility and competition between the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself. At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long concealed in small villages. Extramarital sex relations are [837]
common in the savannahs also, but there are enough unmarried girls to make female adultery less frequent and competition over women less intense. Correspondingly, there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs caused by sex.

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and 182
sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land 578
near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fis- 311
sion. When one's village house gets old it is often more 166
convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

166 It does not require a particularly strong motive to in-
182 duce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weak-
602 ening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same
[835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively
[594] smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship
[551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-
621

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion in their short histories. The main reasons for their creation were the perpetuation of kinship ties and the desire for companionship and coöperation; all these bases of solidarity are now deteriorating. Finally, the Mundurucú social system is incompatible with heavy preoccupation with the rubber industry. The nature of this trade and the ecological conditions of rubber exploitation tend to produce an atomized and scattered society. The economic and, to a lesser extent, social integration of such a trade-oriented economy is provided by the market. The Mundurucú of the Cururú River are being drawn increasingly within the orbit of the Amazonian credit system. The traditional bases of integration are now gone, and social change can have no other direction.

182
621
177
182
439

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

8

the changing social system

This study has analyzed how Mundurucú society operates to wrest a livelihood from its environment and the connected problem of personal and group relationships. In its focus on Mundurucú social structure and the processes by which this system becomes realized in action to form a coherent way of life, it has been a functional study. But unlike most functional studies, it has been plotted on the coördinate of social time in addition to that of social space. The Mundurucú social system has undergone major transformations, and it is impossible to understand fully what it *is* until some understanding is achieved of what it *was*, at least in its key institutions. And it is further necessary to consider the dynamics of the change, because the processes are still continuing. The student who would consider his data only from the point of view of the contribution of

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the elements of a society to its stability would miss the major problem area. Many social institutions and modes of action did little to maintain a smooth flow in the Mundurucú system of social relationships, and some tended to disrupt and destroy the fabric of the society. The working hypothesis used by social anthropologists that social systems tend to establish a new equilibrium when disturbed has great methodological merit but is of limited utility in the present case, because Mundurucú society is hurrying to its own demise. 121 182

If the social system has ceased to function smoothly, one might ask how this study can be called a functional analysis; and how Mundurucú society can be said to be systematized if there are great incongruities between its parts. These questions may be answered by stressing that the Mundurucú still maintain a social life, despite its manifold changes and internal strains. The presented data suggest that human societies are less bothered by inconsistencies than the social scientist, who abstracts and constructs his systems from a mass of observed behavior. Moreover, Mundurucú society was at no time fraught with absolute contradictions, and there remain important accommodations and adjustments between some of the central activities that make up the totality of their social life.

A major source of change resided in the fact that continuing and patterned relations have been established with another society, that of Amazon Brazil. The adaptation of institutions and modes of behavior to the new system of relationships with the whites called for corresponding adjustments in Mundurucú society itself. Beyond this, the Mundurucú were brought into contact with a larger world through the medium of the market, and the Indians became sensitized to its demands. These demands of the market changed in type of commodity sought and in 177 182

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 amount, and the native social structure was directly af-
182 fected.

That Mundurucú society was not isolated and was not
121 stable, were advantages to a functional analysis rather
182 than disturbing factors. Through observation of change in a component part of a system, it was possible to examine and determine with some degree of verifiability the ramifications and strength of relationship between the changing part and other parts. Functional links of interdependency did indeed exist, and change had repercussions through at least part of the system. As A. R. Radcliffe-Brown phrased it: "It is a corollary of the hypothesis of the systemic connection of features of social life that changes in some features are likely to produce changes in other features."[1] Thus, the functionalist method, when used in the dimension of history, has led to the study of social causality. It further illustrated that the direction of change was profoundly influenced by the structure of Mundurucú society; in this way the social system acted as a field of plural determinants, and social change derived therefrom its order and regularity.

174 At the time when the tribe erupted so violently into his-
182 tory the Mundurucú were patrilineal and patrilocal and
61 appear to have been undergoing expansion in population and territory. Their social structure was well adapted to such growth, because the equivalence of kin and territorial unit permitted a segmentation process whereby small kin-local groups split off from larger ones. The offspring units, composed of residential nuclei of patrilineally related males and their wives, were miniatures of the parent groups, and they maintained a relation with the parent units through the over-all structure of lineage, subclan,

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 7.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[2] He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant coöperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[2] Murdock, 1949, pp. 216–218.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

structure of authority must have followed closely along lines of patrilineal kinship in patrilocal times. Under the new conditions, the man was not only assigned to permanent proximity to the father-in-law and his house, but was left with no unit in which he could exercise a political role. The Hopi man, for example, may move to his wife's household upon marriage, but he rarely moves out of the village; and he maintains an important position in his own lineage. But, on the other hand, the rule of matrilocality in a patrilineal society leaves a man without a lineage in which he may hold membership or play a political role. That the man had no important rights and duties in his natal household undoubtedly contributed to the persistence of intervillage marriages despite his consequent departure for a new locality. But this raised other problems, for life in a new village placed the man under different leadership and away from a solidary group of kinsmen. The situation was partly resolved by allowing the men to continue residence in the men's house beyond the normal period of bride service. Thus, young married men remained independent of the households of their wives during the early years of marriage and became more fully integrated into them after they had been married for several years. By this time, age and seniority allowed them to become significant figures in the extended family; they were no longer potentially at the mercy of the father-in-law. Matrilocality did not bring the man into another patrilineage under the new circumstances, because the father-in-law was also an outsider. The man's ultimate increased participation in the life of the household was correspondingly eased.

That Mundurucú society gave all members free access to natural resources and had a preëxistent men's-house organization are important to an understanding of the change in residence rules. The two factors were struc-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence
591 may well have caused the Mundurucú to adapt to in-
611 creased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Mundurucú certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.[3] Mundurucú "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs; and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied coöperating, interact-
[614] ing groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior.

The impact of the change was felt throughout the social
182 structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors be-
794 came a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with these supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

[3] It has been suggested that I use the term *duolocality* to describe Mundurucú residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals. 182 794

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mundurucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups. 182 591 602 [582]

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the nonequivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the 182 578 591

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 weak corporate character of descent and local groups. The
578 dispersal of male patrilineal kinsmen also attenuates and
591 weakens ties of relationship, and the men's house results in a rather marginal membership in the extended family. There is potential disruption through conflict of roles, but the loyalties imposed by the roles are somewhat weakened, and the danger to social integration accordingly mitigated.

The incongruity of descent and residence makes for a
182 most unstable social system, and one may well ask how it persisted from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In part, of course, it may be answered that persistence has not been perfect. The clans are becoming vestigial, and unilocal residence is now weakening. Moreover, increasing numbers of people are leaving the traditional savannah villages. But the fact remains that the Mundurucú still exist as a social entity after a period of contact that witnessed the virtual extinction or absorption of nearly all tribes of the region.

174 It might be argued that the weakness and instability of
182 the patrilineal and matrilocal social structure was, paradoxically, a source of its strength during the contact period. The accumulated aggressions generated, and repressed, in the social system were released in the continued pursuit of the traditional institution of warfare. Lacking any strong modes of internal segmentation, social integration was obtained by the opposition of the entire tribe against the outside world. This outward direction of antagonism functioned to demarcate rigidly the boundaries of the social system, and to provide a framework of common endeavor. The cross-cutting ties of residence and descent were the basis of a highly developed sense of tribalism among the Mundurucú males and facilitated the recruitment of war parties from a number of villages. This martial disposition and effectiveness of the Mundurucú

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

made the tribe useful to the whites. It was important to the Brazilians to maintain the friendship and virtual autonomy of the Mundurucú; the group was accordingly spared some of the severe contact traumata experienced by other Indian tribes of the rain forest. 174 182 [177]

The social system resulting from the first set of changes in Mundurucú social structure of which we have record persists (with some further modifications) in the present-day savannah villages. From one point of view, it might be said that these early alterations had one over-all function: they fulfilled the new social need of accommodation to Brazilian society. Peaceable relations were established through mercenary service and trade in manioc flour, and these were the means through which the Mundurucú acquired trade items. But the fact of a system of interrelations between Brazilians and Mundurucú meant that the social system of the latter had become vulnerable to changes in the former. Thus, when the direction of the Amazonian economy turned to rubber extraction, the Mundurucú were accordingly affected. 174 177 182

The rubber boom was roughly concurrent with the general pacification of the middle Amazon region. The Mundurucú were needed then as workers, and not as warriors. For the most part they turned to rubber tapping to get merchandise. The total lapse of military activity undercut some of the bases of Mundurucú social solidarity and exposed the institution of leadership to the strife inherent in the political organization. Witchcraft and the execution of sorcerers continued—there are no data to indicate either an increase or decrease of the practices—but in a new social setting. The formerly prevailing consensus in executing sorcerers, which was a reflection of social solidarity, is now difficult to obtain, and the custom today disrupts cohesion. [754] [683]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CHANGING SOCIAL SYSTEM

177 The problems of leadership and sorcery are not the only
182 causes of contemporary breaking up of traditional Mun-
648 durucú society. Forces external to the society merit con-
439 sideration. It was stated that the rubber industry caused no immediate ecological disruption, but this is true only as long as the Indian remains a marginal producer. His absorption into Amazonian economy and his obligations to the patron eventually increase to such an extent that the Indian cannot participate effectively in the native social system. His role as a member of a village and of an extended family becomes incompatible with the obligations of clientship because the latter demands a period of rubber production that overlaps the village horticultural cycle. When access to and dependence on trade goods grow, dependence on the individualized labor and personal holdings of the rubber avenue grow also. This, too, is incongruent with the coöperative labor and collective economy of the native social system. As the participation in the two social systems becomes increasingly incompatible, the fears and factionalism of village life cause the Mundurucú to move more completely into the patron-client relationship. The dilemma of role conflict and group tensions is resolved by withdrawal from village life and by the restructuring of their interpersonal relations in the looser framework of Amazonian society.

The Mundurucú are forced into their new mode of existence by several factors. Some of these are elements of the native heritage, such as the conflicting modes of residence and descent, chieftaincy, and sorcery. Others, as for example, trade relations and rubber production, originate from the outside. Social systems are not self-contained structures that respond only to their own needs; they are related to other social systems through networks of structured relationships. For this reason Mundurucú society can

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

be understood only with reference to the well-defined social roles of the enemy and the trader, to name the two most important. The relations of the Mundurucú with their enemies were sudden and violent. Communication and, therefore, diffusion of the forms of culture were minimal due to the mode of interaction, but this by no means vitiates the importance of the hostile outer social world for an understanding of inner social processes. 177 182 648 439

The trader, on the other hand, is met under peaceful and mutually desired circumstances, and relations with him have different effects. In contrast to the enemy, he communicates knowledge of a different culture to the Mundurucú; his role in this regard was formerly mediated through the chiefs with whom he dealt but is now more potent, for he has face-to-face relations with a much broader segment of the population. This, however, has not been the most important concomitant of the trader role. It is rather to the trader as the purchaser of commodities and the purveyor of goods that attention must be turned, for it is through these activities that Mundurucú society has been most deeply changed and the populace become dependent upon outer sources for felt necessities. Economic autonomy, once lost, is rarely regained. As Mundurucú wants grow, their bond to the trader tightens at the expense of similar ties to kinsmen and co-residents. When the economic life of the individual Indian is confined to the traditional relation of patronage-clientship, he is effectively a caboclo. The trader, like the enemy, is regarded by the Mundurucú as given in the nature of things and beyond the control of the members of the society. Thus, while individual traders are often mistrusted and despised, the institutionalized obligations to the patron and the role itself are never questioned. But, in the final analysis, the patron is the surrogate of the Western economy, and his

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study, for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock[4] is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–202.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

determined comparatively: cross-cultural studies of social and cultural change may well use the factors of ecological adaptation and types of relationship between social systems as constants. This is a different common denominator than the genetic one suggested by Fred Eggan as a means toward controlled comparison,[5] but it has been used by Steward and myself in a comparative analysis of the rubber-tapping Mundurucú and the Indian trappers of Canada.[6] In the latter study, we attempted to demonstrate that the two populations experienced similar relationships with mercantilist, extraction economies, which entailed similar ecological adaptations. Both groups underwent disturbances of traditional patterns of postmarital residence; and both eventually underwent transitions in which the population became reorganized into loose aggregations in which larger bonds of economic dependency were transferred to patrons.

Finally the relevance of the present work for the study of "acculturation" must be considered, for I have given little attention to the borrowing of the symbolic forms of Western culture by the Mundurucú. The term "acculturation" has had a varied history and much ink has been spilled over its definition. It is generally defined as comprising those changes that take place as a consequence of culture contact. Its application in the past, however, has usually referred to the absorption of the content of European culture by a primitive group. Acculturation studies have been characterized by a concern with the phenomenon of diffusion, although on a large scale, and with the processes through which the content of other cultures is accepted and incorporated. Although such studies are interesting and valuable, I have not chosen acculturation as

[5] Eggan, 1954.
[6] Murphy and Steward, 1956.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

114 the central problem of this work. It might be asked
177 whether the classical culture-historical emphasis of accul-
121 turation studies would have elucidated or confused some of the central issues of Mundurucú social change. Could the development of matrilocality have been understood in these terms? Or could the fact that family organization among the Mundurucú of the Cururú River is converging with that prevalent among the Brazilian population of the region be clarified by noting their intercourse with celibate [797] German priests? It is true that the priests have encouraged the independence of the nuclear family, but how does this also explain a similar process of fragmentation among the Indians without close contact with the missionaries? Also, it cannot be denied that the adoption of Brazilian forms of dancing and tonsure, of dresses and guitars, are significant because they constitute breaks in the symbolic barriers between the Mundurucú and the whites and, in effect, bespeak alienation from the past. But were not these barriers already shattered and was not the major part of the population already alienated from their heritage by other factors?

The necessities of existence and the ways in which peo-
121 ple and peoples interrelate should be the central problems for the student of culture change—as they are for the persons caught in the process. These, and not man's propensity to imitate, cause the fundamental alterations of a way of life. The question is perhaps too often phrased as "how *have* cultures changed" rather than "how *do* they change." The former leads to description, the latter to theory.

A recent report by a Social Science Research Council seminar on acculturation has expanded the outmoded definition of acculturation as simple transmission of culture between groups in contact to include almost anything that happens when "conjunctive" relations are established be-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tween groups.[7] Since this comprehends everything, it might be asked how this differs from simple "culture change." It would appear that the difficulties of the seminar on acculturation derive primarily from the fact that they have no general theory of social and cultural change nor do they distinguish the two processes. It is for this reason that "acculturation" has been looked upon as a special set of processes despite the fact that examples of groups that have no "conjunctive relations" with other groups are hard to find. It is manifest in the statement of the Social Science Research Council seminar [8] that: "The change that is induced by contact therefore does not represent a shift from a static to an active state but rather *a shift from one sort of change to another.*" Granting the sudden and dramatic effects of the Gatling gun and the Indian reservation, this assumption defeats theory. If we are ever to formulate general laws of social and cultural change, we must rid ourselves of the notion of situational uniqueness. The latter may have operational utility for the traditional historian, but certainly has none for the generalizing social scientist.

[7] Social Science Research Council, 1954.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 948 (italics mine).

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

bibliography

113 AGASSIZ, LOUIS
1869. *A Journey in Brazil*. Boston.

AYRES DE CASALS, MANOEL
1845. *Corografia Brazilica*. Rio de Janeiro.

BATES, HENRY WALTER
1863. *The Naturalist on the River Amazons*. London.

BETTENDORF, JOÃO F.
1910. *Cronica da Missão dos Padres da Companhia de Jesus no Estado de Maranhão*. Rio de Janeiro.

CHANDLESS, W.
1862. "Notes on the Rivers Arinos, Juruena, and Tapajós," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. London, XXXII, 268–280.
1870. "Notes on the Rivers Maués-Assu, Abacaxis, and Canumá, Amazons," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*. London, XL, 419–432.

COLBACCHINI, ANTONIO, and CESAR ALBISETTI
1942. *Os Bororos Orientais*. São Paulo.

COSER, LEWIS A.
1956. *The Functions of Social Conflict*. Glencoe, Ill.

COUDREAU, HENRI
1897. *Voyage au Tapajoz*. Paris.

DURKHEIM, E.
1947. *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*. Glencoe, Ill.

ECGAN, FRED
1937. (ed.) *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes*. Chicago.
1950. *Social Organization of the Western Pueblos*. Chicago.
1954. "Social Anthropology and the Method of Controlled Comparison," *American Anthropologist*, LVI, 743–763.

[p. 194]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

BIBLIOGRAPHY

FALLERS, L. A.

1957. "Some Determinants of Marriage Stability in Busoga: a Reformulation of Gluckman's Hypothesis," *Africa*. London, XXVII, 106–121. 113

FARABEE, WILLIAM C.

1917. "The Amazon Expedition. The Tapajós." *Museum Journal*, University of Pennsylvania, VIII, 126–144.

FORTES, MEYER

1945. *The Dynamics of Clanship Among the Tallensi*. London.

GILLIN, JOHN

1936. "The Barama River Caribs of British Guiana," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Harvard University, Vol. XIV, no. 2.

GLUCKMAN, MAX

1950. "Kinship and Marriage Among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal," in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage* (A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and C. D. Forde, eds.), pp. 166–206. London.

1956. *Custom and Conflict in Africa*. London.

HARTT, CHARLES F.

1885. "Contribuições para a etnologia do Valle do Amazonas," *Archivos do Museu Nacional*. Rio de Janeiro, VI, 1–174.

HERNDON, WILLIAM L. and L. GIBBON

1854. *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*. Vol. II, Washington.

HOMANS, GEORGE C., and DAVID M. SCHNEIDER

1955. *Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes*. Glencoe, Ill.

KIRCHOFF, PAUL

1932. "Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen und Verwandtenheirat," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. Braunschweig*, LXIV, 41–71.

KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE

1944. "Navaho Witchcraft," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology*, Harvard University, Vol. XXII, no. 2.

KROEBER, A. L.

1917. "Zuñi Kin and Clan," *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. XVIII, pt. 2. New York.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 KRUSE, ALBERT
1934. "Mundurucu Moieties," *Primitive Man*, VII (4), 51–57.

LOWIE, ROBERT H.
1948. *Social Organization*. New York.

MALINOWSKI, B.
1930. "Culture," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. IV.

MARTIUS, KARL F. P. VON
1867. *Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachenkunde Südamerikas, zumal Brasiliens*. Vol. I, Leipzig.

MURDOCK, GEORGE P.
1949. *Social Structure*. New York.

MURPHY, ROBERT F.
1956. "Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society," *American Anthropologist*, LVIII, 414–434.
1958. *Mundurucú Religion*. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Berkeley, Calif. Vol. XLIX, no. 1.
1957. "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion," *American Anthropologist*, LIX, 1018–1035.

MURPHY, ROBERT F., and JULIAN H. STEWARD
1956. "Tappers and Trappers: Parallel Process in Acculturation," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, IV, 335–355.

NIMUENDAJÚ, CURT
1938. "Rapport entre les Munduruků et les Tupi," *Anthropos*. Fribourg, XXXIII, 975–976.

OBERG, KALERVO
1953. *Indian Tribes of Northern Mato Grosso, Brazil*. Smithsonian Institution, Institute of Social Anthropology, Publication no. 15, Washington.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R.
1952. *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*. Glencoe, Ill.

SCHNEIDER, DAVID M.
1953. "A Note on Bridewealth and the Stability of Marriage," *Man*. London, LIII, 55–57.

SERRA, RICARDO F. DE ALMEIDA
1869. "Navegação do Rio Tapajóz para o Pará," *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, IX, 1–16.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

BIBLIOGRAPHY

SIMMEL, GEORG
1955. *Conflict* (translated by Kurt Wolff). Glencoe, Illinois. 113

SMITH, WILLIAM ROBERTSON
1903. *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*. London.

SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH COUNCIL
1954. "Acculturation: An Exploratory Formulation," *American Anthropologist*, LVI, 973–1002.

SPIX, JOHANN B. VON, and KARL F. P. VON MARTIUS
1831. *Reise in Brasilien*, Vol. III, Munich.

STEINEN, KARL VON DEN
1894. *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*. Berlin.

STEWARD, JULIAN H.
1936. "The Economic and Social Basis of Primitive Bands," in *Essays in Honor of A. L. Kroeber*. Berkeley, Calif.

TITIEV, MISCHA
1943. "The Influence of Common Residence on the Unilateral Classification of Kindred," *American Anthropologist*, XLV, 511–530.

TOCANTINS, ANTONIO M. G.
1877. "Estudos sobre a tribu 'Munduruku,'" *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro, XL (2), 73–161.

WAGLEY, CHARLES
1953. *Amazon Town*. New York.

WAGLEY, CHARLES, and EDUARDO GALVÃO
1946. "O Parentesco Tupi-Guarani," *Boletin de Museu Nacional*, n.s., Antropologia, no. 6. Rio de Janeiro.

WATSON, JAMES B.
1952. *Cayuá Culture Change: A Study in Acculturation and Methodology*. Memoir 73, American Anthropological Association.

WHITE, LESLIE
1948. "The Definition and Prohibition of Incest," *American Anthropologist*, L, 416–435.

[p. 198 is blank]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

index

000

Acculturation, definition, 192–193
Adultery, 87
Animals, association with religion, 132–133

Burial, 72–73

Ceremonies: burial, 72–73; Ceremony of the Game, 73; sacred trumpets, 106–108; ritual cycle attempted revival, 132; game-animal rites, 133; trophy head rites, 133; lapse of, 134, 137; Christian as substitute for native rites, 163
Chieftaincy: political position, 120–122; inheritance of, 84, 121; appointment to, 123; on the Cururú, 169–170
Children, role of, 118–119
Clan system. *See* Descent
Classification, by language, 7
Contact with whites: history of, 48; interrelations with Brazilians, 138; patron-client relationship, 143–144
Coser, Lewis A., 129

Descent: exogamic unilineal groups, 71; Fr. Kruse clan system outline, 72; descent and residence, 72; clan tubö, 73; patrilineal mode, 74–75; clan, phratry, and subclan structure, 76–79; clan fragmentation, 82; patrilineal effect on women's group, 11; contradiction between residence and descent, 151; incongruity of descent and residence modes, 186
Divorce, 85
Durkheim, Emile, 134

Eggan, Fred, 81, 128, 191

[p. 199]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

INDEX

Fallers, L. A., 86
Farinha, preparation of, 114
Fish poisoning: 57–59; intervillage expeditions, 127
Food: animal species used, 53; fish, 55–59; preservation of, 59; wild vegetable species, 59–60; domestic vegetable species, 60–61; tapioca, making of, 65; collectivism in processing, 103–105, 111–115; rubber avenue subsistence, 141, 157–158
Fortes, Meyer, 129

Galvão, Eduardo, 93
Gardens: preparation of; by group, 63; by family, 63–64
Gillin, John, 95
Gluckman, Max, 86, 129

Habitation, type of, 17
Homans, George C., 94
Hostility, intravillage clanship vs. kinship, 129–131

Kinship: basis of organization, 9; terminology, 92–93
Kluckhohn, Clyde, 150
Kroeber, A. L., 128
Kruse, Albert, 7, 71, 72, 74 (clan system outline, 72)

Labor: division of, 66–67; collectivism in processing, 103–105; during dry-season, 142; in Cururú settlements, 157–159
Language classification, 7
Lowie, Robert H., 72

Malinowski, B., 91
Marriage: 84; wife selection, 84–85; stability factors in, 85–86; with opposite moiety, 88; avuncular, 90, 93
Matrilocality. *See* Residence
Mense, Fr. Hugo, 45
Men's House: absence of, 31–32, 47; in Cabruá, 52; construction of, 96; sleeping arrangements in, 104–105; ceremonial groups in, 128; absence of in Cururú villages, 160

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

INDEX

Moiety. *See* Descent
Murdock, George P., 79, 94, 102, 182, 190

Names, system of, 83
Nimuendajú, Curt, 7

Oberg, Kalervo, 90, 95
Origin of tribe, 9

Patrilineality. *See* Descent
Political organization: 120, village as autonomous unit, 126; on the Cururú, 169
Population: present, by villages, 51; shift of, 155–160; on the Cururú, 165–166
Property ownership: real, 62–63, 69; personal, 69; rubber avenue, 142–143

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R., 180
Rape, as punishment, 108–109
Religion: 9, 131–138; current status, 131–132; previous, 132; socioeconomic relationship, 137; attitude of missionaries, 160; view of Christianity, 161–163; shamanism on the Cururú, 170–171
Residence: mode of, 9, 52; matrilocality, 74; shift from patrilocality, 79–80; role of farinha manufacture in, 81; matrilocality affecting ties of women, 111; of nuclear family, 113; rubber-avenue dwellings, 140; contradiction between residence and descent, 151; "cause" of matrilocality, 181–182; incongruity of descent and residence modes, 186
Ribeiro, Darcy, 68, footnote 1
Rubber production: 17–20; relationship with patron, 18–21; location of rubber avenues, 21–22; collapse of boom, 44; season of, 139; Brazilian's, 139–140; on the Cururú, 160–164; as factor in social system collapse, 188

Schneider, David M., 86, 94

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

INDEX

Shamanism: inheritance of powers, 84, 135; and labor participation, 106; political standing of, 120; importance in rites, 133; shaman's role, 135–137; and sorcery, 135–138; on the Cururú, 170–171
Simmel, Georg, 129
Social organization: 9, 53; in garden preparation, 63, 104; sexual division of labor, 66–67; sexual division of social activity, 101–102; men's house a factor in, 105; Mundurucú-Brazilian interrelations, 138; solidarity within communities, 148–150; growth of nuclear family independence, 150–153, 164, 176; change in Cururú villages, 157; woman's role in change of, 159; summary of, 180–181; rubber industry as disruptive factor to, 188
Sorcerers: general description, 136; and shamanism, 135–138; execution of, 136, 187
Steward, Julian, 79, 191
Subsistence: sources of wealth, 49; activities, 52; hunting, 53–55; fishing, 55–59

Titiev, Mischa, 79, 91
Trade: early forms, 32; development of, 38–39; early products of, 40; with missions, 41, 45; present effect on chiefs, 125; relations with Brazilians, 138–147; patron-client relationship, 143–144, 153
Trumpets, sacred: for men only, 106–107; origin of, 107–108; role of, 110; remaining function of, 184
Tubó, 73

Village organization: and structure, 98; of rubber avenues, 157

Wagley, Charles, 18, 93
Warfare: as mercenaries, 36–37, 49; as cohesive social factor, 43, 149; end of, 44, 149–150; intervillage, 127; as aggression release, 186
Watson, James B., 90
White, Leslie, 91
Witchcraft. *See* Sorcerers, Shamanism

1h: Murphy E-5 (1956-1953) 1961 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

kroeber anthropological society

Plains Indian Political Structure, by Robin F. Wells 1

The Mathematics of American Consistsity, by Richard Noah. 17

Chronology: A Comparative Study of Oracles, by Ann J. Gibson 19

Archaeological Evidence of Shamanism in California and Nevada, by A. B. Elsasser . . 38

Some Misconceptions of Multilinear Evolution, by William C. Smith. 49

Deviancy and Social Control I: What Makes Eden Run, by Robert F. Murphy 55

spring 1961

berkeley, california

[Title Page]

13: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1961 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL I: WHAT MAKES BIBOI RUN

Robert F. Murphy

I

Biboi, the young chief of the Mundurucú[1] village of Cabitutú, visited the village of Cabrua with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the ten hour round-trip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Biboi was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Cabitutu, he kept a young and pretty wife in the house of his father, the chief of Cabrua. Whenever he visited his wife, his "followers" in Cabitutu busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Cabrua, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Biboi, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time we lived in Cabrua, Biboi gravitated between the two communities--to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of his fellow Mundurucu.

157 622 [578] [837]

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Biboi run. But the key questions of why the men of Cabitutu plotted against him and why those of Cabrua pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Mundurucu society and culture and of Biboi's position within it. For Biboi was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reestablish the normal flow of social interaction. Anthropologically, this is a study in deviancy and social control. Humanistically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

578 837 183 626

II

Biboi's personality was most deviant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Mundurucu men and their chiefs. I know nothing of the socialization of Biboi, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who traded in the village headed by Biboi's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Mundurucu, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Biboi, he addressed me in backwoods Portuguese and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Biboi, son of Caetano [the chief of Cabrua] and chief of Cabitutu." This contrasted markedly to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Mundurucu addressed me, and

183 157 114 157

114 each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months
157 with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset me considerably. Biboi turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Mundurucu activity or in their relationships with the outside world.
554 He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of
535 material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate him from his barefoot Indian fellows--shortly after one of his visits, my wife discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so brash.
157 They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Biboi would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we pointed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Biboi had other most unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal his hostility and contempt when someone inimical to him was near. But underneath this façade, Biboi was a frightened and anxious man. He would often
158 confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be interpreted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were indeed talking about him, and Biboi had every reason to be anxious. Not only his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

157 Biboi's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucú
183 expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should behave. Mundurucu society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are conceived
[61] to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilineal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal
[61] clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an
578 extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and
181 individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a population of only 1,300, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the Mundurucu type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only produces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[2] Given the structure of Mundurucu society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, unaggressive, serene, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity
183 before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Biboi presented a threat to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and acquisitive—all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the coinage of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Biboi's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. He thus violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows. 554 577 177

Biboi not only misconstrued the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Biboi's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Biboi had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role commitments. Hostilities and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully repressed--a requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in disguising aggression and in presenting the bland face of neutrality, but Biboi's own socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any cuckold, he had some cause to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian cuckold but not for a Mundurucú victim. 183 578

IV

Biboi's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabitutú. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftaincy must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader wants increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely counter the patrilineal rule of inheritance of 622 157 554 439 622

439 the chieftaincy, it is common practice to select one or two possible heirs and
622 rear them in his household; this is what happened to Biboi. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favor of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, as he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his wishes, even at the expense of the Mundurucú villagers.[3]

The contemporary Mundurucú chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both ends have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by maximal adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and minimal acquiescence to the demands of the traders. Biboi's father, Caetano, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Caetano would communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubber; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He also sincerely sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

622 Caetano embodied many characteristics of the traditional chief. An older man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and cajoled, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Caetano knew Mundurucú traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

622 Biboi's position was very different from that of his father, for he was
177 the prototype of the Indian boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he would recognize only Biboi in dealings with Cabitutú. The residents grudgingly assented, but they regarded him as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was,
[156] in reality, a renowned shaman who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office.

622 Biboi's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To complicate mat-
554 ters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Cabitutú. Matrilocality, I have said, is the normal mode of residence among the Mundurucú, but the sons of
[591] chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of conscious motivation, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters to them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilocality of the chief's family is twofold. By keeping the sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the discontinuity that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilineally related kin, a small and solidary patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Much as this may reënforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise unilateral authority, for the rest of the

village men are ever-watchful and jealous of the chiefly family and would be quick to resist, however passively, what they considered to be high-handedness. Biboi, however, did not have the surrounding group of relatives that may have given even minimal support to his claim to leadership. Rather, he depended upon the trader and his father and relatives in Cabruá to buttress his position. 622 554

Given his delicate status, Biboi proceeded to worsen it through a misinterpretation of the chieftaincy. He had listened to his father's nostalgic tales of the role of the chief in times past, and one might say that he had some knowledge, in a purely cognitive sense, of the traditional culture. It is highly dubious, however, that Biboi had internalized sufficient culture to make him an effective actor within the system of social relationships. Biboi knew that "in the old days, chiefs were powerful men who directed their people and bought goods for them." This view of the past may or may not have been true, but it surely did not apply to the present. Biboi, nonetheless, announced at large that he was eminently qualified to be chief, as only he knew how to deal with the trader and only he had the force to tell the people how, when and where to work. I was a special recipient of this information, for Biboi found it most important to gain stature in the eyes of a prestigeful outsider. But Biboi also told all the others of his importance, and the people of Cabitutú stated that he indeed relayed the demands of the trader in forceful terms. His "followers" saw him solely as an agent of the trader in their village, and they were certain that his only function was to promote their exploitation and defraudment. Their analysis was correct, but I doubt that Biboi thought his role to be at all asocial. There is no evidence to substantiate this, for only he could tell me whether he was aware of the machinations of the trader, and he did not. But I believe that Biboi saw the trader as a father figure, many of whose values he had internalized and subscribed to as legitimate. And he also saw himself to be in the position of a strong and traditional leader. [577] [578]

Biboi had learned something else about the chiefs of times past, and this was the fact that many were polygynous. Polygyny was possible only for chiefs, for the matrilocality that applied to most of the population made it most difficult to have plural wives unless they were sisters. Even for a chief, however, polygyny was a difficult and stormy relationship, and it was evidently never of very great frequency.

Biboi did not have the implicit and unconscious ability to understand the fine points of Mundurucú social structure that a man raised in a village would have, and he made some of his most serious blunders in marriage. Soon after assuming the chieftaincy of Cabitutú, he married a woman of the village, a widow several years older than himself who, through the situational variability of post-marital residence, had a strong nucleus of kin in the village. Though I have no data upon which to make a firmer statement, it is quite probable that he married the woman--frankly a crone--in order to enlist the sympathies of her relatives. But Biboi was a young, handsome and virile man, and he subsequently sought a wife more to his liking. He located a pretty girl of about sixteen years in the village of Decodyem and brought her home to Cabitutú. This enraged the first wife, who berated Biboi, assaulted the girl and complained to her brothers. The latter expressed their disapproval of the polygynous union to Biboi, and the rest of the village supported them. Biboi's general behavior and his exercise of his "chieftaincy" had already outraged them, and this [585] 595 578

595 offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond
578 their endurance. Biboi refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father.
[622] He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

183 This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurucú culture and
577 social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring
578 must inevitably close on Biboi. He had offended all the Mundurucú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Biboi returned to Cabitutú to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties
[754 in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of Cabitutú, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would
681] seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover, Biboi did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Biboi's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

554 In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Biboi
684 thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl; whatever rectitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some exceptions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Biboi's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Biboi, for the Cabruá men, too, disliked Biboi with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered unbearably deviant. But physical sanctions against Biboi would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruá attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Biboi's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Biboi soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those

who had cuckolded him. The village reacted to his charges ambivalently. They were highly amused at his discomfiture and humiliation, but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of deportment, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village soon became ranged on two sides. Biboi's family supported him, but the majority of the population were ranked solidly against him. Thus, the threat of conflict had spread from Cabitutú to Cabruá. And Biboi ran back and forth between Cabitutú, where they plotted against his life, and Cabruá, where they took more covert measures against him through his wife. 554 684 [578]

The balance of power and of moral correctness lay with Biboi's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made most difficult by virtue of the fact that Biboi had almost ceased to be a social person--the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the curtain fell on our little drama, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was seen most clearly when, shortly before our departure, Castano fell from a palm tree and lay seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Cabitutú would kill him as soon as they were assured of his father's death, Biboi came immediately to Cabruá and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Biboi approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tapajós River." I asked him why, and, in fine Biboi style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Biboi knew that his life as a Mundurucu was finished. 554 157

ENDNOTES

(1) Mundurucú Indians are a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1952-53 with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council. 109 114

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Mundurucú social structure and the positive evaluation of male solidarity has already been published in an article entitled "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion" (American Anthropologist 59:1018-35, 1957). 554

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Headhunter's Heritage (Berkeley, 1960). 114

14: Frikel E-5 (1957) 1959 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The Agriculture of the Mundurucu Indians
/Agricultura dos Indios Mundurukú//

By Protásio Frikel

Boletim do Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi,
New Series, Anthropology, No. 4,
Goeldi Museum, Belém, Pará, Brazil,
July, 1959

Translated from the Portuguese by Ariane Brunel

Human Relations Area Files
1963

/Title Page/

/1/

114 The Agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians *

*Most of the data that follow were gathered in 1957, in the course of a two-month stay among the Indians of the Franciscan mission of Cururú and vicinity. My principal in-
115 formants were the Mundurukú Tomé, Cirilo, and Antônia. But I am also indebted to the mission fathers for much valuable data, for which I am grateful.

Protásio Frikel

Goeldi Museum

000 I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture
II. Garden methods
III. Social factors
IV. Native terminology

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture

241 175 What we know of Mundurukú agriculture is little, and most of it is based on the reports of nineteenth-century travelers. Already in those days the Mundurukú were pictured as a people who possessed a certain level of primitive agriculture. Those /travelers/ speak of [131] the Mundurukú as living on the margins of the Tapajós River and as already being in the first stage of acculturation to the environment of the time. They deal with the subject of "agriculture" as if it were 241 an ancient culture trait among these Indians. This may indeed be 174 the truth, for we cannot assert the contrary, /2/ although certain

/2 cont./

*241 mythological and legendary traditions of the Mundurukú lead us to
174 believe that they were not always a people given to the cultivation of plants. This, however, /applies to/ a remote past, which is no longer verifiable nowadays. In historic times, ever since they came
*241 into contact with civilized people and came to be known, they have
175 been observed to cultivate gardens and to make manioc flour. It is
[269] true that the Mundurukú gained greater fame as warriors, for when-
[721] ever the opportunity arose they did not hesitate to attack even cities such as Santarém (1780) and Gurupá (1784). (1)

1. Horton, 1948: 272-273.

As colonial rule was strengthened, however, and warring activities decreased, these Indians seem to have tended increasingly toward a more stable way of life and a more extensive and more diversified agriculture. I believe that available texts must be interpreted in this light. Even though they are not all in agreement, the traveling writers provide glimpses of a development in the cultivation methods of these Indians.

*241 Martius, speaking in a general way of the Tupi tribes of the
[361] upper Tapajós, including the Mundurukú, regards them, precisely because of this incipient agriculture, as seminomadic. He says: "They practice a primitive agriculture and, therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (2) Monteiro Baena

2. "Sie treiben einen nothduerftigen Landbau, sind daher im strengeren Sinne keine Nomaden; doch bleiben ihre Niederlassungen nicht unveraenderlich an derselben Stelle." Martius, 1867: 201.

[175] testifies that at first, in the years following the pacification of the Mundurukú, their propensity for agriculture was not very great or very strong. Referring to the "Mundrucús" forcefully brought to and

/2 cont./

*24.1 resettled on the Maué-assu River /Maués-Guassú?/ and in the former mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he [195] says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantita- [649] tive development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens [161] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de- [248] pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton [251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and [439] large palm leaves ..., they have been selling to the boatmen of the Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen

/3 cont./

*241

> etwas Baumwolle und viel Mandioca-Wurzel, deren Mehl, in Koerbe und breite Blaetter von Palmen ... verpackt, sie an die Schiffer im Tapajôz zu verhandeln pflegen, seitdem sie in friedlichen Verkehr getreten sind...."

114
174

(I should like to insert here the following question: Did Martius have knowledge of traditions regarding a preagricultural era of the Mundurukú? It would seem so, for he writes in the above-quoted passage: "... the somewhat dense population can no longer depend exclusively on hunting and fishing"; this might indicate knowledge of a previous stage of the Mundurukú as hunters and gatherers but not as agriculturalists.)

*241 Still more or less in the same period, we have the testimony of Bates who speaks of the Mundurukú as agriculturalists and good workmen in various parts of his book, though he does so rather offhandedly; he notes the fertility of the land and the relatively small effort required of the Indian to bring forth the necessities /4/ of life; he tells of the large gardens of the Mundurukú which he saw on the Cuparí River and of how the women make flour; he says that the Mundurukú carry out a certain amount of flour trading with the traders of the Tapajós, and finally he states that aside from bitter-manioc roots they raise sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane. (5)

[239]
[244]
[249]

5. Bates, 1944, passim.

114 There are practically no twentieth-century sources on the Mundurukú. The Franciscan mission has not yet published its materials on these Indians, and the work of Robert Murphy, who also studied this tribe in 1952-53, aside from a few articles, has not reached us. Thus, our knowledge is based almost exclusively on the meager data of the above-mentioned authors. Only Gonçalves

/4 cont./

114 Tocantins appears to have provided some additional materials on Mundurukú agriculture. But his work is not available to me at the moment.

*241 [22] The Handbook of South American Indians summarizes the subject in these few lines: "The Mundurukú subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugar cane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in Mundurucu economy." (6)

6. Horton, 1948: 273.

*241 121 [171] And this is all, more or less, that is known of these Indians' agriculture. The present article, therefore, attempts to amplify this knowledge, although the author is well aware that in many respects, and especially regarding garden methods, the Mundurukú system does not differ materially from that of other tribes in the region, or in the Amazon basin in general. /5/ Practical experience in the matter teaches us that agriculture among the Indians of the Amazon forest allows for slight variations, but not for basic differences.

II. Garden methods

If we regard the agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians as a culture complex, we can easily single out two distinct elements. One is the purely material, manual, or technical element, which will be discussed here. The other is made up of various social factors which render agriculture not a lifeless task or factor, lacking all influence, not an isolated complex within the tribe, but something vitally integrated into tribal life, something upon which the well-being of the community and of the family now depend. In this sense, [182] agriculture itself becomes a social element in native life. (7)

/5 cont./

*241
192

7. Let us explain further the Indian's notion or idea of the concept "garden" (ko). To him, "garden" is, basically, a garden of bitter manioc, or in a broader sense, tubercles such as sweet manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, caladium, etc. This narrow concept probably arose in the time when tubercles, especially bitter manioc, were the only cultivated plants. Nowadays, of course, the Mundurukú have at their disposal a much greater variety of cultivable plants which they grow in their bitter-manioc gardens. Speaking of these products, they usually amplify on the "garden" concept with terms which, to our minds, would seem unnecessary, such as: "the pumpkins which I grow in my bitter-manioc garden," etc. If they have prepared gardens of products which are not tubercles, such as for example maize alone, they will clarify the matter beforehand by speaking of a "maize garden," etc. But "garden" means, to them, a bitter-manioc garden. As for the dual term for garden used by men and women, we shall speak of this when we come to social factors.

*241 [189] The entire process of native agricultural work, especially the application and execution of what we could call "garden methods," is based on fixed, traditional norms, which in turn are determined by the conditions imposed by nature as to climate, seasons, terrain, etc., and also by the logical sequence of agricultural tasks.

/8/
*241 which may easily be fitted into the following outline of the technical development of a garden plot:

1. Choosing the site and the quality of the soil.
2. Determing the size and shape of the new plot.
3. Clearing the undergrowth.
4. Felling the trees.
5. Burning the felled vegetation.
6. Piling up and burning the remaining brush.
7. Digging and planting.
8. First and second weeding of the plot.
9. "Tearing up" the plot (pulling up the manioc roots, gathering the harvest).
10. Replanting the garden.

Let us now take up these tasks, one by one.

242 [181] 1. Choosing the site and the soil. The Indian is, by nature, a practical person. When he is thinking of preparing a plot, he naturally looks for conditions that will most facilitate his task and ensure the safe growth of his garden. For this purpose, he chooses the land most favorable to horticulture, for all sites are not adequate to planting. Preferably, he sets up his plot on slightly sloping ground or on a mild incline, so that rain water and freshets will drain immediately. He takes flat ground only when it is somewhat sandy, permitting rain water to trickle down to the subsoil rather than remain stagnant in the field. This is also the reason why gardens are not set up in humid lowlands: the roots, the tubercles would rot. Aside from this, [125] he also makes sure that there are no ant nests or vermin on the chosen site. Ants would cut down all the manioc, ruining the garden completely.

Even when he finds a site in good circumstances, the Indian is faced with the question of what he can plant in this soil. As a rule, he has a good knowledge of soils and their qualities, and from the experience of generations he knows, almost intuitively, what he can expect from them. In other words, he understands /7/ empirically what he can plant there and what the result will be under normal circumstances. The size of the plot derives, at least in part, from

/1 cont./

242 this estimate. Through repeated tests he finds out the type of the soil and draws the necessary conclusions. As a rule, he proceeds as follows: with the machete, he digs a hole and examines the soil.
[243] By crumbling it between his fingers, he finds out its quality by touch. He distinguishes three types: sandy, clayey, and black, allowing for certain variants and intermediary types, according to the composition and percentage of clay or sand. He makes these soil tests at various depths and in various places when he suspects that only a thin layer is involved, or to find out how far /the layer/ extends. The type of garden also depends on the type of the soil; in other terms: depending on what he wishes to plant, he has to choose a /specific/ type of soil. For this reason, in his hunting forays through the forest, the Indian pays attention to the ground through which he passes in order to find out where he will find appropriate soil when he needs it. The following rule applies as a general norm:

242 134

sandy soil:	good only for bitter manioc; inadequate for other plants.
clayey soil:	good especially for bitter manioc, tubercles in general, and also for banana plantations; other plants do not grow well in this soil.
black soil:	good for everything. For this reason, black soil is always sought out and preferred. This is the tobacco ground par excellence.

[245]

[249]

*241 2. Size and shape of the plot. As was already partly explained, the size of the plot depends on the quality of the soil. If /the Indian/
[242] finds the chosen soil somewhat weak, he figures out beforehand that the harvest will be less satisfactory, and makes the plot somewhat larger. From the practice he has acquired since youth, he empirically figures out the area that will be needed. To do this he does not use measurements, as our peasants do ("braças," "varas," and such).
[204] I attempted in various ways to find out how the Mundurukú figures out the size of the plot he is about to prepare. The answers were always the same: "... just by looking, you already know ..." /8/ or "... just by looking...." If the family has grown through the years,

/8 cont./

*241 or if other relatives have come to live in the house, then the plot is
[804] made larger. The calculation is thus basically intuitive, even though it is based on practical experience gathered through generations.

*241 Nowadays, the Indian usually plants a little more than he needs
177 for his own use, to obtain a surplus (along with the surplus of rubber
[437] he has gathered) and improve his lot by using it in the purchase of clothes, nets, machetes, etc. The garden, therefore, helps him to maintain his economic balance at his present stage of acculturation.

[242] Another factor which also depends in part on the terrain is the shape of the plot. Here, however, other elements are already in evidence, especially the influence of neo-Brazilian acculturation. Whenever possible, the Mundurukú prefer the traditional shape, which is rounded or elliptic-oval. Thus did the ancestors make their plots, and thus they are made to this day in the villages of the interior. Still in 1957, this garden shape could easily be distinguished when flying over the villages of the Kabitutu and Pararokti. But this is no longer an iron rule. "It depends on the terrain," they told me. But I believe that the influence of the peasants is stronger than that of the terrain. Thus we find gardens of various shapes, elongated, rectangular, and even square. The latter predominate especially in
[361] the Cururú and Tapajós region, and thus in areas where the Mundurukú no longer live in village communities but in isolated dwellings. The
[182] dismembering of the community and the emancipation of the Mundurukú family from the village system are reflected here as they are in many other aspects of the culture.

*241 3. Clearing—tyut tatabm. To clear is to cut down the undergrowth with the machete, removing from the site of the future garden shrubs, young trees, and brush. This is done to prepare for the next task, which is the felling of the trees. In this way, the woodcutters have greater freedom of action. After the trees are felled, it would be impossible to clear the ground of undergrowth. As a rule, the clearing is done in three days' work, and some time is allowed to elapse for the brushwood to dry.

/9/

*241 319 4. Felling—yup chign or yup chichign. The felling of the trees is almost an art in itself, for doing it in good style requires knowledge and ability, a steady eye and calculation, especially as to how the trees will fall or how they must be cut in order to fall in the most desirable way. There is a certain method involved in felling trees: a larger tree is chosen (whenever possible, in one of the corners, or at least on one of the higher sides of the ground), and an imaginary line is drawn enclosing a strip /of ground/ that broadens out in the shape of a wedge. Within this strip, all trunks are chopped about halfway through, until they begin to snap. But the larger tree is chopped last, all the way through, and felled. It falls on the neighboring, half-cut trees, dragging them down in its fall, and through them all the other trunks within the chosen and prepared wedge. An entire strip of forest thus goes down at one fell swoop with a big noise, opening an enormous clearing, sometimes 100 meters long or more. Then, whatever timber may have been left standing is felled, and so are the remaining corners, "to straighten out the shape," rounding off or squaring off the plot. But "only these are cut down one by one."

[221] The felling of trees is usually carried out in April and May. The time of felling is determined by that of clearing, which precedes it by about two to four weeks. As a rule, the Mundurukú takes three days' work to do the felling on an average plot.

*241 372 5. The burning—imapign. The vegetation felled to clear the new plot is kept "resting" for two months or more, in order to dry thoroughly. The Mundurukú usually burn their clearings around the month of August. They grant the sun sufficient time to dry even the larger trunks. This relatively long spell /is granted/ so that the vegetation may burn as thoroughly as possible. The burning then becomes a light and easy task. Whatever trunks may still chance to remain after the burning are left right there, and are frequently utilized as a source of firewood for the village or house. As a rule, the plots of the Mundurukú are quite thoroughly burned.

/10/ To set the fire, they choose a breezy day when the wind is not too strong. Thus the breeze feeds the flames but does not allow

/10.cont./

*241 372 them to work too quickly, or else they would merely burn the small branches and foliage and leave the trunks intact. The trees would be charred rather than burned.

To set the brush on fire, the Mundurukú use torches made of dry straw or of certain resinous woods. With them, they set fire to various parts of the clearing. If there are other gardens or even houses nearby, and danger that the fire may reach them, they often burn first a narrow strip of brush lying below the wind, so that later [816] on the great fire in the clearing will meet a firebreak and will not go on to the neighboring forest or house. As a rule, they also prefer to burn the clearings before they set fire to the grasslands, as is their [801] custom. According to them, the burning of huge expanses of grasslands would attract rainfalls that would interfere with the burning of the clearings.

6. The remaining brush. Taipa is "the brush"; "to pile up the brush" — taipa chign or taipa chichign; "to burn the brush" — taipa mapign or simply imapign, "to burn."

While the thin branches and trunks burn within hours or within a day, the larger trunks take longer, burning down slowly. Then comes the turn of the remaining brush. Foliage, branches, and pieces of timber which have not burned up completely are gathered together and piled up on top of the thicker, still smoldering trunks, the better to destroy them. Then fire is set once more to this pyre, in order to reduce the remaining timber to ashes and clear the ground for planting.

Like all garden tasks, the burning, the piling up of the brush, and the burning of the pyre require practice and ability. Otherwise the Indian will get a poorly burned field.

*24 [921] 7. Digging and planting. Next comes the time of planting, in the month of September or October, depending on the first rains. Men and women go to the new plot to plant together. Planting is a dual task consisting of two distinct acts: digging or opening up the ground, and planting, /11/ that is to say, slipping the bitter-manioc [462] shoots into the ground. The first task is the man's, the second the woman's.

/11 cont./

*241 442 [242] The man digs or opens a hole in the ground (ikudn). He does this with a "digging stick," which consists of a strong rod, about 2 meters long, pointed at the lower end. The man pushes this rod hard into the ground, at an angle of 30 to 45 degrees, and then straightens it to a vertical position. This opens a small pit into which the woman who accompanies him puts two or at most three shoots of bitter manioc (8) (masok taisabn or masok ip maum). Removing the tip

[131] [244]

8. Maniva /bitter manioc/ is the name of the plant and the generic name of this vegetable (Manihot utilissima), while the roots, in the form of large tubercles, are called "mandioca." The bitter-manioc stalks, after the harvest, are saved for the next planting, when they are cut into pieces of 20 centimeters at most. These pieces, or "manioc shoots," are planted in the manner indicated above, for manioc does not propagate itself through seeds.

of the stick from the pit, she steps on /the pit/ to close it up and to pack the soil, but in such a way that the upper ends of the manioc shoots stick out in order to grow branches and leaves. Under the influence of civilization, nowadays the Mundurukú are already using [177] spades and even iron digging tools. The distance between the manioc pits is approximately 1 meter on the average.

*241 There is no doubt that the Mundurukú carry out their horticultural work within a certain system, not only as regards the steps involved in clearing the plot but also in the planting itself. There is a sequence to the planting steps. In the time that elapses between the final burning and the planting, as a rule they sow watermelon, which thrives amazingly in the recently burned ground. Only then

*241 /11 cont./
does the turn of the tubercles come. In general outline, the planting sequence (although it is not always strictly observed) is as follows:

a) Optional cultivation of watermelon (and pumpkins as well?)
b) Planting or set cultivation of:
   1. bitter manioc
   2. yams
   3. sugar cane
   4. pineapple

/12/ /Figure 1 appears here./

   5. timbo vine
   6. rice
   7. maize
   8. beans, pumpkins, etc.

Other plants such as sweet manioc, caladium, pepper, etc., are fitted into the corners of the plot, or on the sides, depending on the possibilities and circumstances. Anyhow, it should be noted that tubercles, especially bitter-manioc roots and yams, are in the center of the garden, while other cultivated plants which are not tubercles are placed around it. Yams and manioc roots are planted in alternate spots, checkerboard fashion. Sweet manioc, sweet /13/ /Figure 2 appears here/ potatoes, and caladium, on the other hand, are planted together and are not ordinarily mixed with other cultivated plants. Tomé, one of my informants, drew me the sketch outline of a garden. The numbers on it refer to those mentioned above in the planting sequence.

In connection with this agricultural system, it is also well to mention cultivated plants in general. A distinction must be made between plants which are cultivated in the garden proper, and other
[245] plants, especially fruit-bearing ones, /which are cultivated/ outside it, in fallow plots, around the houses, at canoe landings, or at other much frequented or easily accessible spots. The first category includes /14/ agricultural plants proper; the second involves some incipient fruit growing, even though on a very rudimentary level. It should also be mentioned that for nearly all the plants they cultivate, the Mundurukú are familiar with several varieties which they differentiate easily. A list of these varieties, with respective native and scientific names, is given in the last part of this work.

/12 cont./

*241

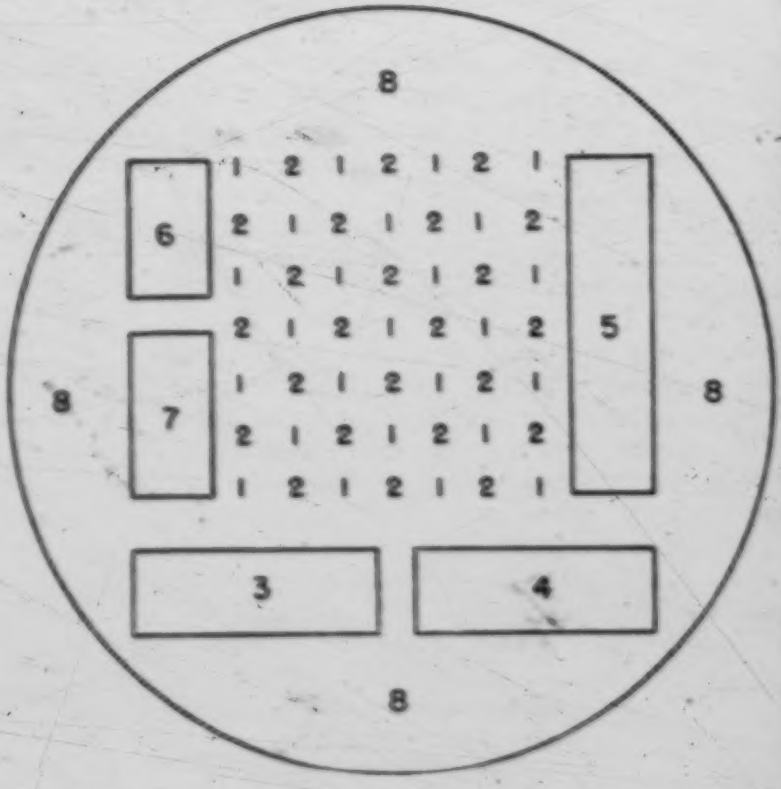


Figure 1. Plan of a Mundurukú garden

*241

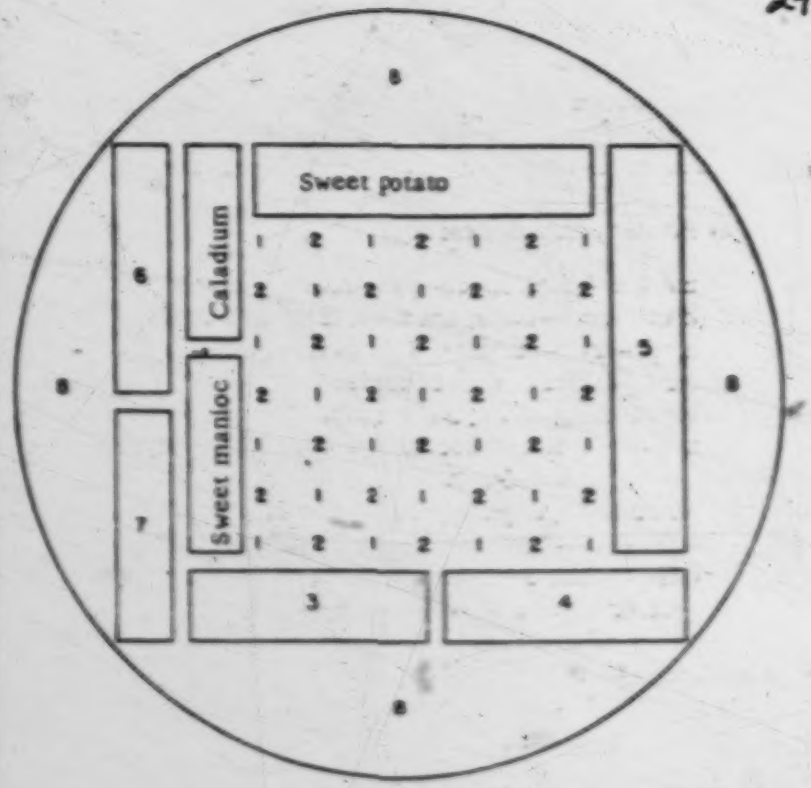


Figure 2. Plan of a Munduruku garden (expanded)

/14 cont./

*241
192
262

a) Plants cultivated in the gardens:
bitter manioc—masok, six varieties
manicuera—maso, manikue, two varieties
sweet manioc—makachi, two varieties
yams—awai, 11 varieties
sweet potato—wechick, four varieties
caladium—various names (poririt, kurudyudyut), two varieties
pumpkin—yurumu, yurumu a, various kinds
watermelon—borãchia, borãsia, three varieties
sugar cane—kanya
pineapple—ipara, five varieties
maize—mora, two varieties
rice—arúida
beans—feijáu, wetoi, three varieties
peanut—wenambone
tobacco—he, e
curauá pineapple—ipara he

Also:
pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties
banana—aku, 11 varieties
cotton—buru, two varieties
urucú—tyuku, tyoku a
papaya—asãu a, two varieties

b) Plants cultivated outside the gardens:
gourd—ua e, wa e
jamaré gourd—uai a, wai a
/15/ arrowhead—opipa
coffee—kape, kape ip, various types
cacao—wadye, three varieties
genipa—warem ap, warem ap a
inga—chiriri
lemon—brimão, brimáu
orange—yarai, yarai ip
mango—mãga, mãka, various types
cashew—murese, muroso, three varieties

/15 cont./

*241 Also:

192 pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties
262 banana—aku, 11 varieties
cotton—buru, two varieties
urucú—tyuku, tyuku a
papaya—asãu a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Mundurukú also have a certain number of vegetables which back-
[302] woodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor.
[757] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet
[789] are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 From this list, it becomes clear that the Mundurukú must have
177 had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Mundurukú are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (9)

[171] 9. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation

/16 cont./

*241 177 [171] of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Mundurukú.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the [361] Mundurukú, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Through this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Mundurukú and were, for the most part, adopted [797] by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquistions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grass-262 177 lands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour exemplifies this process. In the old days, the Mundurukú were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not [252] know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which sometimes they even roasted on stone (slabs)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Mundurukú of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Mundurukú of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial pur- [139] poses. Martius, Bates, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Mundurukú of the Tapajós carried on with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems 241 177 obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the more usage of a plant

/17 cont./

*241 which they were already cultivating, the introduction of new plants
177 /must have been/ all the more /uneven/. Here, the process may have been even slower.

262 Of even more recent acquisition, especially through the influence
137 of the Franciscan mission founded in 1911 on the Cururu River, are
177 products such as rice, beans, and various other plants which are
797 cultivated chiefly by the religious sisters, but which have been adopted by the Indians on a very modest scale. During the last decades, the following fruit trees have reached them: the mango tree, the orange tree, the lemon tree, the coffee shrub, and a certain type of cacao tree. They were already familiar with other products such as maize, pumpkins, etc., but cultivated them on a very small scale.

*241 8. Weeding or cleaning. We have described the planting. A few facts remain to be given concerning the garden tasks after planting. It is obvious that, once the planting itself has been done, the plot still requires a certain amount of care. Not right away, but after several weeks or months. /sic/ This is the weeding. Between the planting and the harvest, two weedings of the garden are usually carried out, the entire plot being cleaned. They speak of the first and second cleaning, or of the first and second weeding. This is done almost exclusively with the machete. There is no specific time set aside for this, because it depends to a large extent on the weather (rains) and on the need. The first weeding is called tip ogn, the second karit ogn.

244 9. The harvest. The Indians generally use the regional term, "tearing up the plot," or "pulling up the bitter-manioc roots"— masok ta ogn. Within a year, the garden has matured and may be torn up. The manioc roots are pulled up by hand. The entire plot is not harvested at one time, but according to need. In order to pull up the manioc roots, a certain amount of strength and ability is required. Often, when the tubercles hold firm to overly hard ground,
[412] the Indian digs with the machete around the roots in order to loosen the soil and pull out the manioc root /18/ with greater ease. This same technique of using the machete as an auxiliary tool in the extraction of manioc roots is also used in gathering other tubercles, such as yams, sweet potatoes, etc.

/18 cont./

241 10. Replanting—yabi kudn or wrabm yup maum. Once the garden has been torn up, that is, when the harvest is completed, the plot is abandoned and lies fallow. When the soil is very good, a replanting is attempted. The ground is again weeded and cleaned, and if the need exists, the refuse of the field—branches or small shrubs—are burned. The new planting is done. This replanting process is also used in urgent cases, when the Indian is unable because of illness or some other circumstance to prepare a new plot. When a replanting is done with the sole purpose of taking advantage of the soil, a new plot is almost invariably cleared, although it is small and sometimes adjacent, merely enlarging the old one. The [342] Indian knows perfectly well that the yield of a replanting is much smaller than that of a new garden. Because of this, he must supply the portion which the replanted ground will fail to produce. Fre- [345] quently, the fallow or newly torn-up field is used merely to plant banana trees, if the soil is appropriate.

Nowadays, gardens are indispenable to the Mundurukú's existence. He is still a hunter, a fisherman, and a gatherer of wild fruit. But without the gardens, he could not survive. He himself would regard as absurd the thought of subsisting merely on hunting and gathering. He knows how to utilize his gardens and the plants he cultivates, extracting from them a series of by-products which contribute to his subsistence. (10)

241
171

10. It is rather interesting to compare the nativeagricultural methods with those of the peasants on the lower Amazon. Wagley, in his study of "Uma comunidade amazônica /An Amazonian Community/" (1957: 100 pp.), describes, in more general terms, the same procedure of garden clearing, planting, and cultivation, in short, of horticulture, among

/18 cont./

*241
171

the peasant population of "Itá." Let us note here /19/ merely some key terms: choice of the site and use of fallow plots (:101), clearing and felling (:103), burning and planting (:104), chief cultivated plants (:102), secondary cultures (:104), replanting (:104). This comparison, in fact, corroborates the statement by the same author that in the lower Amazon "the basic agricultural methods have changed little since aboriginal times" (:101). The Tenetehara, a Tupi tribe of Maranhão (Wagley and Galvão), 1949), also use agricultural methods and processes which are in many respects actually identical to those observed among the Mundurukú.

III. Social factors

*241 Since agriculture is one of the bases of Mundurukú subsistence, it is not surprising that it should also be reflected in the social life of the tribe. Certain social factors /19/ are determined or influenced by the garden-agriculture complex. I shall allude chiefly to the threefold relationship of:

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor.
2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance;
3. Garden and tribal group: intraterritorial migrations.

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor between the sexes

422
462

Among the Indians, there is ordinarily a rule or agreement whereby each person is the owner of what he acquires, makes, or produces.

/19 cont./

422 Thus, certain rights of exclusivity are established beforehand for
462 the individual. This is expressed in the principle of the sexual division of labor. For example, the raw materials and the products
[285] of basket making are exclusively the property of the man; clay and
[323] pottery articles, of the woman. Traditionally, basket weaving is done only by men, pottery making only by women. In all sectors of tribal life, the tasks devolving to each sex are determined by these traditional principles. Thence derives the concept of private property.

462 Throughout the material culture of the Mundurukú, as well,
[189] the two work cycles—of men and of women—are clearly evident. This "muscle-bound" division only concerns us here as regards agriculture. The subject, however, is almost a borderline case, where these two work cycles meet. In agriculture there are tasks
*241 performed exclusively by men, especially in the initial phase of
462 the preparation of the plot; and there are tasks performed exclusively by women, especially from the time /20/ of planting onward; but there are also joint tasks, in which both sexes participate, such as in the planting of bitter manioc. There the man opens up the pit with the digging stick and the woman places the branch or shoot of manioc in the open hole and closes it by stepping on it.

The tasks at each garden stage are thus determined by the system of "muscle-bound" cycles. An outline provides the following pictures:

TASKS

of the man	of the woman
1. Choosing the site and the soil	- -
2. Determining the size and shape	- -
3. Clearing the undergrowth	- -
4. Felling the trees	- -
5. Burning the felled vegetation	- -
6. Piling up the remaining brush	- -

/20 cont./

*241
462

of the man	of the woman
7. Burning the remaining brush	- -
8. Planting: opening the pit	Planting: burying the manioc shoots
9. - -	Weeding the garden
10. - -	Doing the second weeding of the garden
11. - -	Harvesting: pulling up the manioc roots, tearing up the plot.

This basic outline applies to normal cases. If there is pressing need or urgency, the man may help, at times, in weeding, cleaning, and even harvesting tasks. But in themselves, these are tasks peculiar to the woman, and they devolve by right to the woman in accordance with the working cycle.

This division of labor presents yet another facet. It does not exist merely as regards the preparation and usage of the garden, but also as regards the very species of cultivated plants. There, too, there is a certain exclusivity, to wit: the man alone plants and cultivates watermelon, pumpkins, peanuts, papaya, and beans.

In the case of most cultivated plants or seeds, however, there is a joint task involved in the manner already mentioned: the /21/ man opens up the pit and the woman puts in the shoots or seeds of bitter manioc, yam, sugar cane, maize, rice, pineapple, banana tree, etc., etc.

*241
192
462

The terminology applying to the concept "garden" is also dependent upon this division of labor into two cycles according to sex. There are two words for "garden": the man says kat, the woman ko. These two terms are not, properly speaking, a dual designation of the garden, but they refer to the garden while it is under the care of one of the sexes. These are relative terms. Thus, kat, the term used by the men, covers the preparation of the plot until planting time—the clearing job performed by the men. Ko, the women's word for "garden," covers the woman's labors in the plot from the

*241 192 462 /21 cont./ time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does this but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

*241 621 It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Mundurukú who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those [178] [591] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Mundurukú Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Mundurukú who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc. rivers.

*241 476 621 /22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or less the primitive or traditional form of the Mundurukú agricultural system - a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance. Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Mundurukú/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

/22 cont./ This cooperative labor

*241 exists in fact up to a point in the villages, and must be understood
421 within the framework of the division of labor and its juridical basis,
[621] which apply first and foremost to the right to private or individual
[976] property. As regards garden matters, we are dealing with the joint task of two social elements, male and female, and their respective cycles of labor. Men and women, however, even after they marry and form a family, do not lose, through marriage, their individual property rights to their part of the garden, for the Indian is basically
[181] an individualist and does not recognize communal property rights. To compensate for this, they have recourse to a concept which we might call "right of indemnification" and which refers to the communal usufruct of the plot by the man, the wife, and, of course, the children for whom they are responsible.

*241 It is well to explain this matter of plot ownership in greater
423 detail.

I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between the owner of the plot, and the owner of the labors performed on his plot and of the results obtained.

The land, in the forest and even within the area occupied by the tribe, has no owner. Anyone may clear a plot wherever he wishes. But once the site has been chosen, it becomes a property for the entire period while it is producing; it is then the man's property. After it has been abandoned, however, it becomes once more anybody's and everybody's land, unmanured land. /23/ (12) There only

[171]

12. Among the Tenetehara, also a tribe of the Tupi group, a similar phenomenon is observed. Garden lands, that is to say, lands on which people have expanded labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But as soon as he has

/23 cont./

*241
423
[171]

> harvested all his crops and abandoned the land to the secondary growth which begins to cover it. It may be used by anyone." /Cited in English/ (Wagley and Galvão, 1949: 50).

exists, therefore, a temporary property right, while /the plot/ is being used: a right that might more aptly be termed of usage or usufruct.

This concept is complemented by the other facet of the matter, involving the labors /expanded on/ and the products of the plot. Included here is the aggregate of the men's and women's tasks (in accordance with the cycles of labor); and the family, which in itself forms a small community, asserts its rights.

*241
421
462
594

The concept of this right to seemingly communal property derives from the division of labor between men and women. By individual right, each is the master and owner of what he produces, makes, etc. The man prepares the field, the clearing (kat), and is the owner of it. Strictly speaking, therefore, the woman plants on alien property (i.e., the man's or husband's) and pays him for the usufruct of this right, later on, with the produce of her planting. In other words: as indemnification for his preparation of the plot, the man or husband may share in the produce of her planting. On the other hand, the woman is the owner of the planting, and the man or husband cannot, according to the right of private property, enjoy the fruits of someone else's planting, even if it be his own wife's. He does, however, acquire a certain right to the planting, not of property but of usufruct, because his clearing labor made its existence possible. The woman thus has the obligation to allow her husband [illegible] of her allotment, within the framework of the division of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with reciprocal rights (or, inversely, duties) which are normalized and counterbalanced by the right of "indemnification." Indeed, in terms of the division of labor, this right of indemnification is absolutely necessary. What would the man do with the plot since he cannot plant, this being the woman's

/23 cont./

*241 421 462 594 right? She, /in turn/, without the man's previous labor, could only plant /24/ in small quantities, and furthermore, for lack of proper soil preparation, the cultivated plants would not grow properly. In both cases, the results would be meager and the family's subsistence, in this sphere, would be endangered. Hence the need for this right of mutual indemnification.

*241 476 [428] Every man, or every family, sets up his own garden and owns it by exclusive right. The owner, however, requests the assistance of his relatives or of the men of the group in which he lives, to help him in his tasks (clearing, felling, etc.), while the woman, in turn, later (but not always) requests the help of women for the typically feminine tasks within the above-mentioned system of the division of labor. (13) The community assists the individual, or rather, the

*241 476 491

13. Although we are dealing here with the agriculture of the present-day Mundurukú, let us note two pieces of information, gathered separately and in widely separated places, namely, one by myself among the acculturated Mundurukú of the Cururú River, and the other by the missionary Brother Angélico in a village of the interior, in Dekudyem. According to these data, the agricultural system of the ancient Mundurukú was slightly different as regards mutual assistance and ownership of the gardens. They say that originally, the entire group prepared a large plot for all members of the community and that individual rights to the gardens were based, precisely, on mutual

[rtl]

/24 cont./

*241
476
421

assistance, on compensation for the labor rendered to the community. Aside from this statement about a collective garden, the informants also mentioned private family gardens, where they chiefly (but not exclusively) cultivated supplementary, accessory foods, such as bananas, pepper, etc. The data gathered, however, give no clear evidence as to whether this collective garden served for the communal, daily use of the group, or whether it merely existed as a reserve in case of need, in the assistance of the old and incapacitated, in the sustenance of guests, or as a ceremonial garden to contribute to important festivities. Regarding a type of garden among the Tenetehara, used communally but owned privately, see Wagley-Galvão (1948: 139).

[771]

*241
476

members help each other; and each must assist the others, when their turn comes to prepare their plot. Thus there exists, with reference to this collective work, an elaborate system of revenue and compensation on an egalitarian basis. Days of labor are received, and later this assistance is repaid in kind with days of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with a [illegible] system of mutual assistance. Naturally, the owner of the new plot finds his chief support among /25/ his own kin: adult children, brothers, brothers-in-law, sons-in-law, etc. This mutual assistance, however, is not obtained spontaneously, but through personal invitations proferred individually rather than collectively. The manner of doing this is

[800]

/25 cont./

241 476 very simple: the assistance is requested and the day and other circumstances are set. There are no invitation dances or things of that sort. It is important for the owner of the plot to set the days of assistance, because he has to provide the menu for that day: meat, fish, tapioca cakes, drink. The continuity or interruption of garden labor depends on the acquisition of this food. When the men are many and the owner of the plot cannot get sufficient food, the work is done in shifts. The site is cleared for a day or two, and then the work is interrupted to hunt or to fish. The felling is done later in the same manner, "as the food comes," as they say. The breaks, or, inversely, the days of work, thus depend on the existing victuals or supplies. (14)

476 171

14. The custom of inviting neighbors and relatives to communal tasks and of setting the respective days also exists, in this same sense of mutual assistance, among the peasants of the lower Amazon. In the area of Santarém, Alenquer, Óbidos, etc., this is called puxirum, "to set a puxirum," "to go to a puxirum," etc. Undoubtedly, this custom has deep roots and originated in ancient times, when the lower Amazon still belonged to the Indians and their villages. In other areas, the puxirum is called ajuri (Negro River) or else mutirão (in the south of the country). Wagley (1949: 149) also reports this cooperative venture as putirão or "invitation." See also Caldeira, 1956.

241 476 This explains also why men and women, in turn, prefer to work in groups: because they work at the invitation of the owner of the

/25 cont./

*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard- [594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the [423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sys- [201] tem of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal [342] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, [423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties [476] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*241 177 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

*241 202 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

/26 cont./

*241 602 421 are closely united, or when, owing to some reverse, one of the family members cannot prepare his own garden but can help in the preparation of that of his father, brother, son, etc. then, sometimes, a communal plot is prepared. This refers, however, to the concept of "garden" in its absolute sense: a garden of bitter manioc, of tubercles. For they always continue to plant their own bananas, pepper, etc., separately, for their own private use, each family for itself. This type of "communal garden" is found also (or exclusively?) /27/ outside the old community, among the acculturated Mundurukú. I observed such a case, between father and son, in the mission itself, where everyone has his own home. Both parties have equal right to the use of the garden. This type of "communal garden" is quite similar to that known among the peasants as a "company garden." The difference between the two types might perhaps be defined as follows: the "communal garden" serves directly for the use and sustenance of the families involved; the "company garden" exists on a contract basis, and its foundations and goals are usually commercial.

423 428 Once there is property, there arises the problem of inheritance. Each garden has its owner, with all ownership rights. In case of death, the plot passes into the hands of the eldest son, who is, however, nothing more than the "administrator" of this inheritance with a share in the usufruct. The heir is the family, represented by the eldest son in the sense that he must look after the plot, which the family shares along with him. When there is no family, the brothers inherit the plot. If there are no brothers, the other relatives do. In any case, the garden is not allowed to go to waste, and its produce is always utilized.

3. Garden and group: intraterritorial migrations

*241 361 At first sight, the Mundurukú gardens often seem to lie far from the house or village. And, in fact, this is frequently the case. But this is nearly always the result of long years of permanence in one and the same spot. As time goes by, the soil around the houses becomes weak and exhausted. (15) [134] It is for this reason that the Indian

[See category 116, p. 32 for explanation of this footnote--analyst]

/27 cont./

*24/
36/

15. The complete lack of fertilization methods among the Indians of the Amazon forest is well known. It is only when fallow plots are burned that the depleted soil derives some fertilizing elements from the ashes.

has to seek new sites farther out and set up his gardens ever farther away, so that, after a certain period of time, the Indian group actually lives far from its source of subsistence, until the Indians themselves find transportation of the crops to their homes difficult. Then comes the time to move the village to another /28/ more favorable location. On such occasions, the original (and no doubt the most fitting) form of this reciprocal relation of garden and village becomes apparent.

When a move takes place and a new village is built, the latter [33] lies in the center of the new garden plot of the tuxaua, or chief of the group. The traditional shape of the garden plot is rounded, as already mentioned. In the center of it, the plaza of the new village is cleared, also in rounded shape. Within it, the houses are laid-out [345] in a square: the men's house or shed (bokra), open in front to the [346] east, with the house of the ancestral spirits (kadake) alongside it; the oval houses for women and children (bak-a) to the right and left; and the square is closed with another bak-a on the east side, if need be.

/Figure 3 appears here./

[35] The nucleus thus formed becomes a new center of the tribal group, of the clan or sib. The garden plot and the village thus form a unit, with the village standing within the first plot. In the years that /29/ follow, the garden plots expand outward. And if the soil is not suitable, the garden is moved farther out, ever farther, until, after a number of years, the need is felt to transfer the village and start all over again. Thus originate the cycles of intraterritorial group migration.

*241
361
[12]
[21]
[66]

/39 cont./

From this relationship of garden and village, and also, of garden and community, there results the relatively slight local stability of the tribal groups, which, however, does not reach the stage of nomadism, and perhaps not even that of seminomadism in the strict sense of the term. In fact, there is a certain amount of group migration resulting from the agrarian situation, since it is the soil that forces the Indian to keep moving on. But these migrations are a slow process which is not strikingly noticeable because the moves from one location

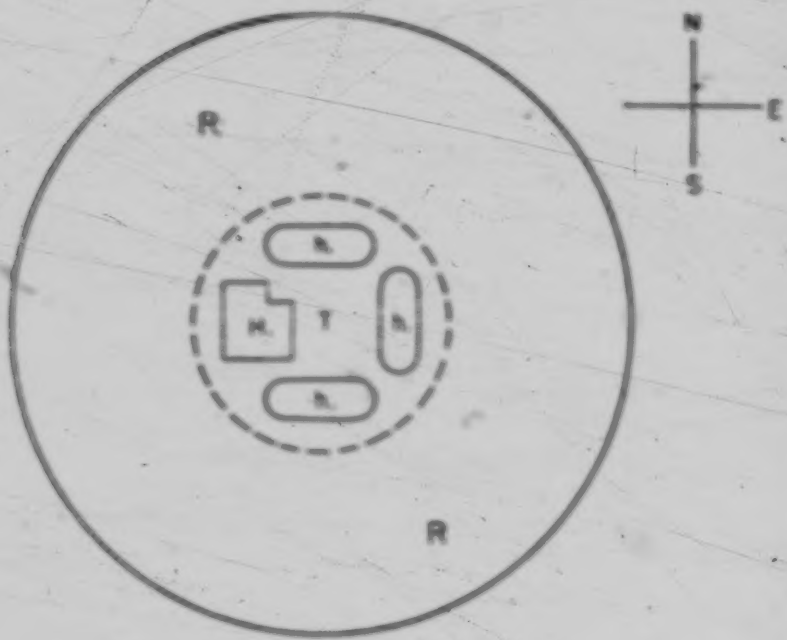


Figure 3. Plan of a Mundurukú village
T: plaza; H: hakua; h: hak-a; R: Garden plots.

/29 cont./

241 to another only occur at long intervals, within decades, and because
361 they occur within a certain well-defined area which is precisely the
166 habitat of the tribe. When these moves overshoot the boundaries of the pertinent territory, the causes must usually be sought in other spheres: in wars, pressure by other tribes, or, as is noted among the present-day Mundurukú, in the influences of trade and of rubber gathering. But, in their original and usual sense, these "internal" migrations, that is, these displacements and movements of groups within the area peculiar to the tribe, are based solely on the agrarian conditions mentioned above. Martius had already said of the Tupí of the upper Tapajós, as quoted earlier: "They practice a primitive agriculture, and therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (16) He had, thus, already noted these moves

16. Martius, 1857: 201.

[182] and had recognized the fact that agriculture was responsible for the greater or lesser stability of the Indian within his territory. In fact, the same thing may be said in a concrete way of the Mundurukú. They are not nomads, precisely because of their agriculture. But neither are they entirely stable within their habitat for the same reason—agriculture—which, owing to soil exhaustion, forces them into repeated moves which, in the last analysis, result in slow internal migrations which I have termed intra-territorial /sic/.

/30/

241 IV. Native terminology referring to garden plots and cultivated plants
104

1) Referring to the garden. (17)

17. The phonetics have been adapted to Portuguese whenever possible. Note the following, however:

*241 /30 cont./
104

w — as in English.
ü — as in German, but shorter.
c — as the German umlauted "o," but shorter.
r — always dental.
s — always strong.
z — always weak.
Final consonants (as: k - p - t) are not plosive.
The tonic accent, unless otherwise noted, is always on the last syllable.

*241
192
[412]

a) Tools:

spade	puruze
iron digging tool	chit
digging stick	ip mararaizarab ip

b) Garden and garden tasks:

garden (while under the man's care):	
he says:	kat
garden (while under the woman's care):	
she says:	ko
to clear the undergrowth	tyup tatahm
to fall (the trees)	yup chign; yup chichign
to burn	imapign
brush	taipa
to pile up the brush	taipa chign; taipa chichign
to burn the brush	taipa mapign
to plant (bitter manioc)	(mazok) taitahm; (mazok) ip mayum
to weed, first cleaning	nip ogn
to weed, second cleaning	karit ogn
to pull up the manioc roots	mazok ta ogn
to replant	warahm ypu mayum; yab; kuon

/31/

*241 192 [248]

2) Referring to cultivated plants.

cotton (Gossypium)	buru
• large variety /long staple?/	buru chichi
• small variety /short staple?/	buru anan
pineapple (Ananas sativus)	ipara
• large, sour variety	ipara chichi
• field variety	ipara dyõ dyõ
• thornless, sweet variety	ipara biraprap
• small variety	ipara anan
• small, yellow variety	ipara rem
rice (Oryza)	arũra
banana (Musa sapientum)	aku
• São Tomé variety	aku rahẽ chichi; (aku rohẽ)
• caiena or caiana variety	aku ãnya
• inajá variety	aku an an pa
• purple variety	aku pakpak
• white variety	aku rirrit
banana "white variety	aku ronot; aku rign rign
• "water" or chovona variety	aku irapan; aku chik pa
• (Musa paradisiaca):	
pacova variety	aku chichi
• large pacova variety	aku ok pirur chichi
• • • •	aku ok pirur an
• • • •	aku hi ha boredn pa
sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas)	wechik
potato yellow variety	wechik pakpak
sweet potato purplish variety	wechik tutui
• • white •	wechik rirrit
• • (spotted inside)	wechik pirẽ paranab
cacao (Theobroma cacao)	wadye
• domesticated, planted	wadye
• wild (sometimes planted)	wadye buruburu—pa
/32/ • • •	wadye akarap pa
coffee (Coffea)	kape (P)

*241
192

/22 cont./

cashew (Anacardium sp.)	muree; muroo
• white variety	muree ririt ta
• red •	muree pakpak hat ta
• field •	muree krau
sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum)	kanya
yam (Dioscorea)	awai; puira
• half-purple, half-white-inside variety	awai kurep (ta)
• darkish variety	awai pugupugu (ta)
• • •	awai ruirui
• black, small variety (/raiza/ mixed with manicuera)	awai tutu
• ("looks like a human hand") variety	awai panatyat
• "large ball" variety	awai puira chik a a
• long, slender, white variety	awai puira bwchidn (puira bewedn; puira ririt)
• red-inner-coat variety	awai puira ara be pak
• large variety, carí-anu	awai puira
• red variety	awai puira pakpak
• round, red-and-white variety	awai-ta
gourd (Crescentia)	ua e; wa e
curaná pineapple (Bromeliaceae)	ipura be
bean (Phaseolus sp.):	
large	feijão; wetui
small	wetui anan
common (small with elongated bean)	badyuß
genipa (Genipa americana)	warem ap (a)
pumpkin (Cucurbita)	yurumu (a)
inga (Inga)	chiriri
jamaní gourd (Cucurbita; Lagenaria /22/ vulgaris)	uai a; wai a
orange (Citrus)	yerai ip
lemon (Citrus)	brimão, brimão, brimão /loc./

/33 cont. /

*241 192

sweet manioc (Manihot sp.—palmata?)	makachi
" " white variety	makachi taritat
" " yellow variety	makachi potpot
papaya (Carica papaya)	asĩu a
" purple	asĩu rom rom (asĩu rem rem)
mango (Mangifera indica)	mĩga, mĩka
manicuera (Manihot sp.?)	maso; manikue
" purple-leaf variety	maso
" white-leaf "	maso yubritat
bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima)	masok
" yellow variety	masok pekpek
" purplish-leaf variety	masok tchukumai
" large-leaf variety	masok yairupoyen
" purple-leaf variety (paraíso)	masok paraisu
" white variety	masok tarya ĩim ĩim at
" small-leaf variety	masok anan
watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), red flesh	barĩchi, burĩti-a
" white-flesh variety	barĩchi a biu chep nyen a a
" small variety	barĩchi an an a
" purple-flesh variety	barĩchi rem rem a
maize (Zea mays)	mura, mora
" hard grain	mora tyatya (ta)
/34/ soft grain	mora tya am am (ta); mora hat
peanut (Arachis hypogaea)	wenambose
pepper (Capsicum)	achi (a)
" green pepper variety	achi chichi (a)
" odoriferous variety	achirew
" red-pepper variety	chi kaĩ (a)
" round variety	achi kurekanyen (a)
[276] tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum)	hey e
caladium (Aracea sp.), bush variety, planted	peruti
" dragonwood variety	kurubyubyut
timbo vine (Paullinia? Serjania?)	uĩ oè, uĩ oè papa
urucú (Bixa orellana)	tyuku (a)

221

[For a discussion of the cycle of activities involved in gardening, see category 116, pp. 6-21.]

14: Frikel SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
241

[For a comprehensive examination of Mundurucu agriculture, see category 116, pp. 1-38.]

14: Frikel SQ13 Mundurucu

[Title Page]

CONSELHO NACIONAL DE PESQUISAS

INSTITUTO NACIONAL DE PESQUISAS DA AMAZÔNIA

BOLETIM DO MUSEU PARAENSE EMILIO GOELDI

NOVA SÉRIE

BELÉM — PARÁ — BRASIL

ANTROPOLOGIA N.º 4 JULHO DE 1959

AGRICULTURA DOS INDIOS MUNDURUKU *

Protásio Frikel
Museu Goeldi

I. CONHECIMENTOS ATUAIS SÔBRE A AGRICULTURA DOS MUNDURUKU
II. A "TECNICA DA ROÇA"
III. FATORES SOCIAIS
IV. TERMINOLOGIA INDIGENA

I. CONHECIMENTOS ATUAIS SÔBRE A AGRICULTURA DOS MUNDURUKU

O que sabemos sôbre a agricultura dos Mundurukú, é pouco, e baseia-se, em sua maior parte, nas relações dos viajantes do século passado. Já naquêle tempo, os Mundurukú, eram apresentados como um povo possuindo um certo grão de agricultura primitiva. Esses falam dos Mundurukú, como habitantes das margens do rio Tapajós e já sem primeiro estágio de aculturação no ambiente dessa época. Tratam do assunto "agricultura" como se fôsse um elemento cultural antigo entre êstes índios. E talvez tenha sido mesmo assim, pois não poderemos afirmar o contrário.

(*) A maior parte das notas que seguem, foram colhidas em 1957, durante uma estada de dois meses entre os índios do Médio Paranaíbas do Cururú e dos Kabitutapes. Meus informantes principais foram os Mundurukú Tomé, Chefe e Antônio. Mas também aos Padres do Médio devo valiosa quantidade de notas, pelo que lhes dou graças.

Brazil
No.10
F21
a

[R.1]

embora certas tradições mito-heróicas dos Mundurukú deixem transparecer que nem sempre êles foram um povo habituado ao cultivo de plantas. Isto, porém, em passado remoto, não mais controlável por nós de hoje. Em tempos históricos, desde que entraram em contacto com os civilizados e se tornaram conhecidos, vêmo-los cultivar roças e fazer farinha. É certo que os Mundurukú foram mais famosos como guerreiros, pois dada a sesmaria, não hesitaram em atacar até cidades como Santarém (1780) e Gurupá (1784). (1)

Mas na medida que o domínio colonial se firmou, e diminuíram as atividades guerreiras, parece ter aumentado a tendência dêsses índios para uma vida mais estável e para uma agricultura mais extensa e diversa. Nêsse sentido, creio, devem ser entendidos os textos que encontramos. Embora não de todo acordes, os escritores viajantes deixam entrever um desenvolvimento nas técnicas de cultivo dêsses índios.

Martius, falando de um modo geral das tribos Tupí do alto Tapajós, incluindo os Mundurukú, considera-os, justamente por causa dêstes princípios da agricultura, como sendo semi-educados. Diz êle: "Dedicam-se a uma primitiva agricultura e, por isso, em sentido próprio, não são nômades; as suas moradas todavia, não foram invariáveis no mesmo lugar" (2). Monteiro Baena testemunha que, inicialmente, nos anos depois da pacificação dos Mundurukú, a sua tendência para a agricultura não foi muito grande com inimos. Referindo-se aos "Mundrucús" descídos e aldeiados no rio Maué-açu e na posterior Missão de Vila Nova da Rainha, em 1800 e 1803, respectivamente, conta que êles... "exhibiam pouca inclinação a fabricarem roças de farinha" (3).

Martius, posteriormente, dando notícias mais extensas sôbre os Mundurukú, não fala de cultivo qualitativo, refere-se apenas à produção quantitativa das roças, isto é: indica o grande volume de farinha produzida pelos Mundurukú do Tapajós, mas

1) — Martius, 1940:275-275.

2) — "Die meisten einen semi-civilisirtigen Landbau, sind daher bei einigem Maas hoher Vermutung; doch bleiben ihre Niederlassungen nicht immer unbeweglich an derselben Stelle". Martius, 1867:281.

3) — Monteiro Baena, 1843:281

desconhece ou pelo menos não menciona as variedades das plantas cultivadas por êles, embora sem dúvida tenham cultivado mais do que o algodão e a mandioca citados. Atribui êle êste desenvolvimento quantitativo ao poder ou à fôrça guerreira da tribo que, por meio dela, protegia as suas lavouras contra ataques, roubos ou devastações frequentemente realizadas por outras tribos, especialmente os Mura. Martius diz assim: "Nas artes da agricultura, os Mundurucú sòmente parecem estar desenvolvidos em comparação aos outros, enquanto o poder da numerosa e belicosa tribo (....) dá mais segurança às plantações e porque a população, um tanto densa, não pode mais ficar dependendo inteiramente de caça e pesca. Plantam um pouco de algodão e muita mandioca, cuja farinha, empacotada em cestos e folhas largas de palmeiras....., costumam vender aos navegantes do Tapajós, desde que entraram em contáto pacífico." (4)

(Gostaria de intercalar aqui a pergunta: conhecia Martius tradições a respeito de uma era pré-agrícola dos Mundurukú? Parece, pois escreve no texto acima citado: "... a população, um tanto densa não pode mais ficar dependendo inteiramente da caça e da pesca."; o que pode dar a conhecer um estado anterior dos Mundurukú como caçadores e coletores mas não ceramitores.)

Ainda da mesma época, mais ou menos, temos o testemunho de Bates que em vários lugares do seu livro, embora muito à margem, fala dos Mundurukú como agricultores e bons trabalhadores; aponta a fertilidade da terra e o relativamente pouco esfôrço que o índio tem de empregar para produzir o necessário

(4) — Martius, 1867:399 "In den Kenntnissen des Landbaues scheinen die Mundurukú nur unerwelt Andere vorzugsweise, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes, welche Pflanzungen unter Schutzhaft verhält, und die etwas gedrängtere Bevölkerung nicht mehr Raum von Jagd und Fischerei übrigens zum Leben. Sie bauen etwas Baumwolle und viel Mandioca-Wurzel, deren Mehl, in Körbe und breite Blätter von Palmen ... verpackt, an an die Schiffer im Tapajós in verkehrlich pflegen, seitdem sie in friedlichen Verkehr gerieten sind...".

FRIKEL — AGRICULTURA DOS INDIOS MUNDURUKU

para a vida; conta de grandes roças dos Mundurukú que vin no Cuparí e como as mulheres fabricam farinha; relata que os Mundurukú mantêm um certo comércio de farinha com os regatões do Tapajós e menciona, afinal, que além de mandioca plantam macachera, batata dôce e cana. (3)

De século atual quase não temos textos sôbre os Mundurukú. A Missão Franciscana ainda não publicou sua documentação sôbre êstes índios e o trabalho de R. Murphy que também pelos anos de 1952-1953, estudou essa tribo, com exceção de alguns ensaios, ainda não nos chegou às mãos. Assim, os nossos conhecimentos baseiam-se, pràticamente, sôbre as escassas notícias dos autores acima citados. Só Gonçalves Tocantins parece ter dado mais algumas referências a respeito da agricultura dos Mundurukú. Mas a sua obra, no momento, não está ao meu alcance.

O *Handbook of South American Indians* resume o assunto nestas poucas linhas: "Os Mundurukú vivem em parte da lavoura, em parte da caça, pesca e coleta. A lista de Tocantins (1877) a respeito das plantas cultivadas por êles, inclue duas espécies de mandioca, batata dôce, amarar, cana, várias plantas, feijão e algumas espécies de bananas. Outros autores mencionam algodão, tabaco e guaipaço. Tocantins enumera perto de trinta plantas não-cultivadas, mas utilizadas na economia Mundurukú" (4).

E a isso limita-se, mais ou menos, o que se sabe sôbre a agricultura dêsses índios. O presente artigo, portanto, quer ser tentativa de uma compilação dêsses conhecimentos, embora o saber bem sabe que em muitos pontos e especialmente quanto à técnica de fazer as plantações, o sistema Mundurukú não difere grandemente do dos outros tribos da região, ou da Amazônia em

(3) — Baena, 1904, in passim.

(4) — Steinen, 1948:370 — "The Mundurucu subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various papaws and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and guaipa. Tocantins lists about some 30 uncultivated plants utilized in Mundurucu economy".

geral. A experiência prática no assunto ensina que a agricultura entre os índios das selvas da Amazônia permite ligeiras variantes, mas não diferenças essenciais.

II. A "TECNICA DA ROÇA"

Considerando a agricultura entre os índios Mundurukú como um complexo da sua cultura, notam-se sem dificuldades, dois elementos distintos. O primeiro é o elemento puramente material, manual ou técnico, do qual falaremos nesta parte. O segundo é constituído por vários fatores sociais que determinam a agricultura não como trabalho ou fator morto, sem influência, ou como um complexo isolado dentro da tribo, e sim, como algo que faz parte integrante da vida tribal, algo do qual depende, hoje em dia, o bem-estar da comunidade e da família. Nêste sentido, a própria agricultura torna-se um fator social da vida indígena. (7)

Todo o processo dos trabalhos agrícolas indígenas, notadamente a aplicação e execução do que poderíamos chamar de "técnica da roça", está baseado em normas fixas, tradicionais, as quais, por sua vez, são determinadas pelos dados impostos pela natureza como clima, época, acidentes do terreno, etc., e também pelo seguimento lógico dos próprios serviços agrícolas

7) — Seja dito antes a noção ou o sêntido que o índio, fala do conceito "roça" (ka). Para êle "roça" é, essencialmente, a plantação de mandioca, ou em sentido mais geral, de tubérculos, como a macaxeira, o cará, o batata doce, o tajá, etc. Êste conceito quase restrito, decorre provàvelmente, dos tempos quando os tubérculos, e principalmente a mandioca, eram as únicas plantas cultivadas. Hoje, naturalmente, o Mundurukú dispõe de muito maior número de vegetais cultiváveis que plantam na mesma roça da mandioca. Falando dêstes produtos, êle mesmo ou mais das vêzes, amplia o conceito de "roça" por expressões que, em nosso contexto antecedes, acrescem demonstrativos, (como por exemplo: "a pateira que tenho na minha roça de mandioca", etc. Tendo feito plantações de produtos que não são tubérculos, por exemplo: só de milho, fôlha, de amendoim, amplia o conceito, falando em "roça de milho" ou plantação de milho, etc. Mas "roça", como tôrmo absoluto e em sentido próprio, para êle, automàticamente, é a roça de mandioca. Mais a dupla designação da roça por parte do homem e da mulher falaremos ao tratar dos fatores sociais.

que muito bem cabem dentro do seguinte esquema de desenvolvimento técnico de uma roça:

1. Escolher o terreno e a qualidade da terra.
2. Determinar o tamanho e a forma do novo roçado.
3. Brocar o terreno.
4. Derrubar a mata.
5. Queimar a derruba.
6. Encoivarar e queimar a coivara.
7. Cavar e plantar.
8. Primeira e segunda limpeza do roçado.
9. "Desmanchar" o roçado (arrancar a mandioca, colher a safra).
10. Replantar a roça.

Vejamos agora estes trabalhos, ponto por ponto.

1. Escolha do Terreno e da Terra — O índio é, por natureza, um homem prático. Pensando em fazer roça, naturalmente, olha para as circunstâncias que mais lhe podem facilitar o trabalho ou garantir-lhe um seguro crescimento da plantação. Por isso escolhe as terras que mais lhe favorecem a lavoura, pois nem todos os lugares são adequados para a roça. De preferência faz sua plantação em terreno levemente inclinado ou em ladeira suave para que a água das chuvas e das enxurradas possa escoar logo. Terras planas aceita somente quando o terreno é um tanto arenoso, permitindo que a água das chuvas vase para o subsolo e não fique estagnada na roça. Esta última razão é ao mesmo tempo o motivo, porque não faz roças em baixadas úmidas: as raízes, os tubérculos apodreceriam. Além disso, olha ainda se não existem sauvebros ou insetos danninhos no terreno escolhido. As formigas cortam todo o manival, estragando por completa a roça.

Mesmo achando um terreno em boas condições, levanta-se para o índio a questão: o que poderá plantar nesse sítio. Em geral, possue um bom conhecimento das terras, das suas qualidades e pela experiência de gerações, sabe, quase infalivelmente, o que dela pode esperar. Com outras palavras, ele compreen-

de empìricamente, o que ali pode plantar e qual será o resultado, em condições normais. Pois desta apreciação depende, ao menos em parte, o tamanho de sua roça. Por repetidas provas vê o tipo da terra e daí tira as conclusões necessárias. Em geral, procede desta forma: Cava com o terçado um buraco e examina a terra. Desmanchando-a entre os dedos, conhece pelo tato, a qualidade. Distingue três tipos: arenosa, barrenta e preta, admitindo certas oscilações ou tipos intermediários conforme a composição ou percentagem de barro ou areia. Tira estas provas de terra em várias profundidades e extensões quando desconfia que sòmente se trata de uma camada fina ou para verificar até onde se prolonga. Da qualidade da terra depende também o tipo da plantação, ou em outro sentido: dependendo do que êle quer plantar, deve escolher um tipo de terra. Por isso, em suas excursões de caça pela mata, o índio presta atenção ao terreno por onde passa para saber onde achar terra apropriada quando dela precisar. Como norma geral vale a seguinte regra:

terra arenosa: — bôa sòmente para a maniva; para outras plantações é inadequada;

terra barrenta: — bôa especialmente para maniva, tubérculos em geral e também para bananeiras; outras plantas não se desenvolvem muito bem nêste sólo;

terra preta: — bôa para tudo. Por isso sempre se procuram terras pretas e a elas se dá preferência. É terra especial para tabacos.

2. Tamanho e Forma da Plantação — Da qualidade da terra depende, como já em parte foi aludido, também o tamanho da roça. Achando êle a terra escolhida um tanto fraca, calculando que a safra será menos satisfatória, de antemão, faz a roça um tanto maior. Pela prática que adquiriu desde a juventude, calcula empìricamente a área necessária. Não usa para isso de medidas, à semelhança de nossos caboclos ("braças", "varas", ou coisa semelhante). Fiz várias tentativas para saber como o Mundurukú calcula o tamanho da roça a fazer. As respostas eram sempre as mesmas "...olhando, a gente já sabe..."

ou "...a gente, só vendo..." Se a família, com os anos, cresce ou se outros parentes vêm morar na mesma casa, então faz o roçado maior. O cálculo, é, portanto, essencialmente intuitivo, embora se baseie sôbre experiências práticas, colhidas durante gerações.

Hoje em dia, o índio geralmente planta um pouco mais do que precisa para seu uso, a fim de obter um saldo para melhorar sua situação (juntamente com o saldo da borracha por êle cortada), empregando-o na compra de roupas, rêdes, terçados, etc... A roça, portanto, lhe ajuda manter, nas atuais circunstâncias de aculturação, o seu equilíbrio econômico.

Outra cousa que também, depende em parte dos acidentes do terreno, é a forma da roça. Mas aí já se manifestam outros elementos, especialmente, influências de aculturação néo-brasileira. O Mundurukú, podendo, dá preferência à forma tradicional que é a arredondada ou elíptica-ovalada. Assim os ancestrais faziam os roçados e assim são feitos até hoje, nas malocas dos campos. Ainda em 1957, podia-se distinguir muito bem essa forma de roça, sobrevoando de avião as malocas de Kabitutu e Pararokti. Mas, isto já não é regra de todo certa. "Vai conforme o terreno", me disseram. Maior que a influência do terreno, é, creio eu, a dos caboclos. E assim vêm-se plantações de formas variadas, alongadas, retangulares e até quadradas. Estas últimas predominam especialmente na zona do Cururú e do Tapajós, em zonas, portanto, onde o Mundurukú já não vive mais nas comunidades das malocas, e sim, em moradias isoladas. O desmembramento da comunidade e a emancipação da família Mundurukú do sistema de maloca reflete-se aqui como também em muitos outros aspectos de sua cultura.

3. Brocar — *tyut tatobm* — Brocar é a ação de cortar o mato miudo com o terçado, limpando o terreno da futura roça dos arbustos, árvores jovens e mato. Isto se faz em preparação ao serviço a seguir que é a derruba das árvores. Assim, os cortadores de paus têm mais liberdade de ação. Depois da queda dos troncos seria impossível limpar o terreno do mato baixo. Em geral faz-se a broca em três dias de trabalho e deixa-se passar um certo tempo, para o mato cortado secar.

4. A Derrubada — yup chign ou yup chichign — Derrubar a mata é quase uma arte em si. Pois, para fazer uma derrubada em estilo, precisa-se de conhecimento e habilidade, de um olhar e cálculo certos, especialmente como as árvores vão cair ou como devem ser cortadas para cairem da maneira mais desejada. Há uma certa técnica na derrubada da mata: Escolhe-se (quando possível, num dos cantos ou, pelo menos, num dos lados mais altos do terreno), uma árvore maior e tira-se por uma linha imaginária, uma faixa que se vai alargando em forma de cunha. Cortam-se, dentro desta área, todos os troncos pela metade de seu diâmetro, mais ou menos, até o pau dar o primeiro estalido. Mas só por fim se corta aquela árvore maior e esta, inteiramente, derrubando-a. Ela cai em cima das árvores vizinhas já meio cortadas, arrastando-as na queda, e por meio delas, todos os outros troncos daquela faixa escolhida e preparada. Com grande barulho cai assim logo uma tira de mata inteira, abrindo uma enorme clareira, num cumprimento de, às vezes 100 metros ou mais. Depois derrubam-se os paus que, por acaso, ainda ficaram em pé, como também os cantos que ficaram, "para acertar a linha" arredondando ou esquadriando o roçado. Mas "são só êstes que se cortam um por um".

A derrubada da mata se faz, geralmente, de abril para maio. Da determinação da época da derrubada depende a da broca que a precede por umas 2 a 4 semanas. Em média, os Mundurukú fazem a derruba de uma roça comum em três dias de trabalho.

5. A Queimada — imapign — A mata derrubada para o novo roçado fica "descansando" durante dois meses ou mais, para secar bem. Os Mundurukú queimam seus roçados geralmente, pelo mês de agosto. Dão bastante tempo ao sol para secar até os troncos maiores. Este espaço, relativamente longo, é para que o roçado queime o mais completamente possível. A coivara ,então, se torna um trabalho fácil e ligeiro. Troncos que, por acaso, ainda restarem, depois da coivara, ficam ali mesmo e são utilizados, frequentemente, como fonte de lenha para a maloca ou casa. Via de regra, os Mundurukú têm roçados bem queimados.

Para tocar fogo, escolhem um dia de brisa em que o vento não esteja demasiadamente forte. Pois assim, a brisa ajudará o fogo, mas não o deixa passar rápido demais, ou só queimariam os galhos miúdos e folhagens, mas os troncos permaneceriam intáctos. O roçado ficaria sòmente chamuscado, mas não queimado.

Para incendiar a derruba, os Mundurukú servem-se de tochas, feitas de palhas sêcas ou de certos pàus resinosos. Com elas distribuem o fogo em vários pontos do roçado. Se houver outras plantações ou até casas por perto, com perigo de passar fogo para lá, muitas vezes queimam primeiro uma estreita faixa de roçado que fica abaixo do vento, para que mais tarde, o fogo grande da roça encontre um aceiro e não passe para a mata ou casa vizinhas. Também preferem, em geral, queimar os roçados antes de tocar fogo nos campos, como é costume entre êles. Como afirmam, queimando os campos gerais em enormes extensões, atrairiam chuvas que prejudicariam a queimada das roças.

6. A Coivara — *Taipo* é a coivara; encoivarar — *taipo chiga* ou *taipo chichiga*; queimar a coivara — *taipo mapiga* ou simplesmente *mapiga*, queimar.

Enquanto os galhos e troncos finos queimam dentro de horas ou de um dia, os troncos maiores levam mais tempo, ardendo lentamente. Chega a vez da coivara. Juntam-se e empilham-se ramagens, galhos e pedaços de troncos que não foram ainda queimados inteiramente, em cima dos troncos mais grossos, ainda fumegantes, para melhor destruí-los. Depois ateia-se fogo, novamente nesta coivara ,para reduzir à cinza as madeiras restantes, e desembaraçar o terreno para a plantação.

Como todo serviço de roça, a queimada, a coivara e a queimada da coivara, exigem prática e habilidade. Em caso contrário o índio obterá um roçado mal queimado.

7. Cavar e Plantar — Em seguida, vem a época da plantação, nos meses de setembro ou outubro, conforme as primeiras chuvas. Homem e mulher vão juntos à nova roça, para plantar em comum. Plantar é um serviço conjugado e compõe-se de duas ações diferentes: cavar ou abrir a terra, e plantar

ou seja, enfiar os talos de maniva na terra. A primeira é serviço do homem; a segunda da mulher.

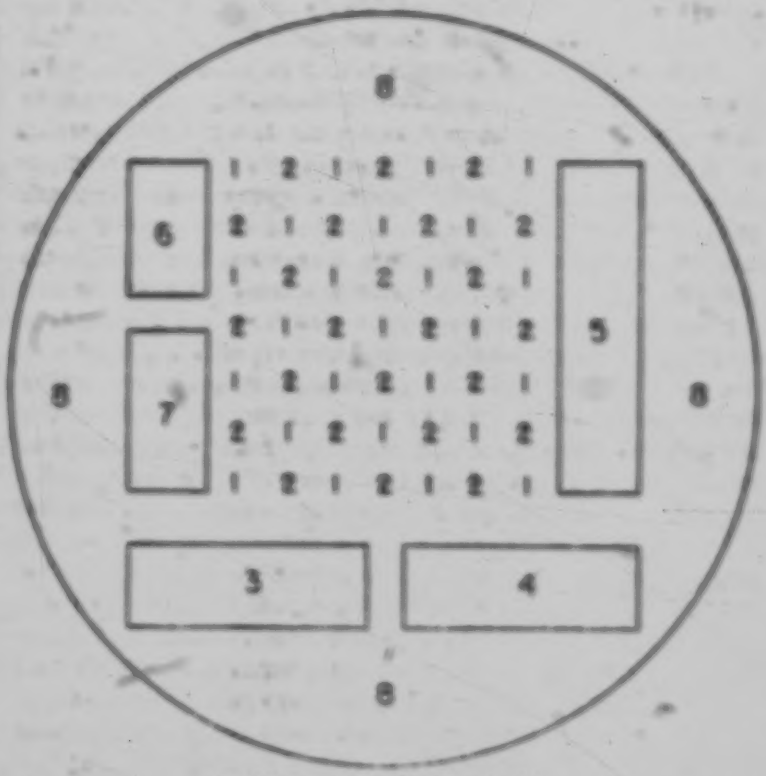
O homem cava ou abre um buraco na terra (*ãsade*). Faz isto mediante um "pau de cavar", que consiste numa vara forte, de mais ou menos 2 metros de comprimento e que está apontada na parte inferior. O homem empurra esta vara com força, no chão, num ângulo de 30 a 45 graus, e endireitando-a para uma posição vertical, abre assim uma pequena cova, na qual a mulher que o acompanha, coloca dois, no máximo três talos de maniva (6) (*musuk tasaihen* ou *musuk ip musum*). Tirando da cova a ponta da vara, ela pisa em cima para fechá-la e para apertar a terra, mas de maneira que as pontas superiores dos talos de maniva ficam fora para o desenvolvimento de galhos e de folhas. Pela influência da civilização, hoje em dia, os Mundurukú já usam enxadas e até ferros de cova. A distância das várias covas de maniva, é, aproximadamente, de um metro em média.

Não resta dúvida que os Mundurukú executam os trabalhos de sua lavoura dentro de um certo sistema, não só quanto as etapas na abertura da sua roça, como também no próprio plantio. Existe um seguimento na ordem de plantar a roça. No tempo entre a coivara e a época de plantar, geralmente já semeiam melancia que se desenvolve extraordinàriamente bem nessa terra recém-queimada. Só depois vão os tubérculos. Num esquema geral a ordem da plantação (embora nem sempre estritamente observada) é a seguinte:

a) Cultura eventual de melancia (também jerimum ?)
b) Plantação ou cultura definida de:

1. maniva
2. cará
3. cana
4. ananaz, abacaxi

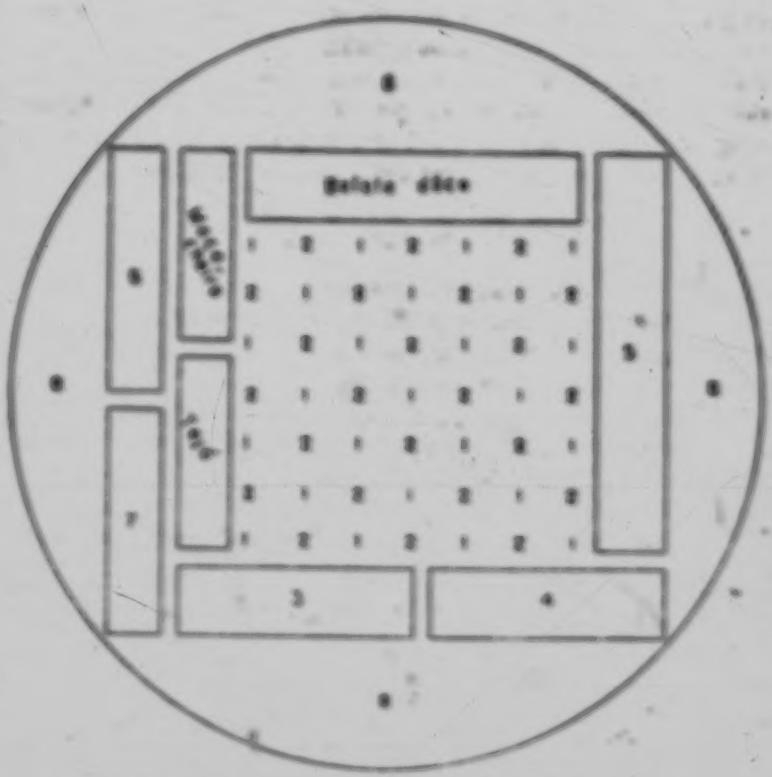
6) — Maniva chama-se a planta e é o nome genérico dêste vegetal (*Manihot utilissima*), enquanto as raízes, em forma de grandes tubérculos, são denominadas "mandioca". As hastes da maniva, depois de seca, são guardadas para o novo plantio, ocasião em que são cortadas em pedaços de 20 cms, no máximo. Estes pedaços ou "talos de maniva" plantam-se na forma indicada, pois a maniva não se propaga por sementes.



1 — Esquema da roça Mundurukú

5. tinhé
6. arroz
7. milho
8. feijão, fava, jerimum, etc.

Outras plantas como a macaxeira, o tajá, a pimenta, etc., ajeitam-se nos cantos da roça ou ao lado, conforme as possibilidades e circunstâncias. Em todo caso é de notar que os tubérculos, especialmente a mandioca e o cará, ocupam o centro da plantação, enquanto as outras plantas cultivadas, que não são tubérculos, contornam a roça. Cará e mandioca são plantadas alternadamente como que num quadro de xadrez. Macaxeira, ba-



II — Esquema da roça Mundurukú (simplificada)

tata dôce e tajá, plantam-se, ao contrário, juntos, não muito misturados com outras plantas de cultivo. Tomé, um dos meus informantes, desenhou-me um croquis esquematizado de uma roça. Os números aí registrados, referem-se aos já acima mencionados, no seguimento da plantação.

Em conexão com êste sistema de agricultura convém também mencionar as plantas de cultivo em geral. Deve-se fazer, então, uma distinção entre plantas que se cultivam na roça estritamente dita, e outras, especialmente fruteiras, fora da roça, em capoeiras, ao redor da casa, nos portos de canôa ou outros lugares de frequência ou acesso fácil. No primeiro caso trata-se

de plantas de agricultura propriamente dita; no segundo, de um começo de pomicultura embora muito rudimentar ainda. Seja dito também que de quase todas as plantas de cultivo, os Mundurukú conhecem variedades que sabem muito bem distinguir e cuja anotação com os respectivos nomes indígenas e científicos, se encontram na última parte deste pequeno trabalho.

a) Plantas cultivadas em roças:

mandioca — mawk; seis qualidades
macaxeira — mano; manikw, duas qualidades
macaxeira — makachi, duas qualidades
cará — awai, cinco qualidades
batata doce — wechik, 4 qualidades
tajá — de vários nomes (paririt, kurudyudyut), duas qualidades
jerimum — yuruma; yuruma a, vários tipos
melancia — burichin, burkain, três qualidades
cana — kanya
abacaxi, ananas — ipara, cinco qualidades
milho — mura, duas qualidades
arroz — arikin
fava, feijão — feijão, wetoi, três qualidades
mendubi — wenaphona
tabaco — ke; o
curauá — ipara ke

Também:

pimenta — achi; achi a, quatro qualidades
banana — aku, cinco qualidades
algodão — bura, duas qualidades
urucú — tyuku; tyuku a
mamão — ashi a, duas qualidades

b) Plantas cultivadas fora da roça:

tucúmã, ua ej, ua é
jauarí — uai u; Wai a

fruta — epipa
café — kape; kape ip, várias qualidades
cacau — wadye, três qualidades
guaipapo — waram ap; waram ap a
tagá — chirirí
limão — krimão, krimão
laranja — yurú; yurú ip
manga — mága; máka, várias qualidades
cajú — mauram, mauram, três qualidades

Também:

pimenta — acté, acté a, quatro qualidades
banana — akra, cinco qualidades
algodão — burú, duas qualidades
urucú — tyuku; tyuku a
mamão — aubo a, duas qualidades

Há, portanto, um pequeno grupo de plantas que se encontram tanto nas roças como fora delas: pimenta, banana, algodão, urucú e mamão.

Para algumas espécies de plantas, separa-se, frequentemente, um lote de terra ou faz-se um pequeno roçado à parte, assim por exemplo para o tabaco e o curauá.

Além destas plantas úteis para a subsistência, os Mundurukú têm ainda uma certa quantidade de vegetais que os caboclos chamam de "cheiro" e que usam na ocasião dos banhos, para dar ao corpo e, especialmente, ao cabelo um cheiro mais agradável. Umas poucas ervas também são cultivadas para fins medicinais. E outras, ainda, são utilizadas na prática de certas superstições e feitiços. Embora sabendo que êstes assuntos não têm ligação direta com a agricultura, faço esta ligeira menção, porque se trata também de "plantas de cultivo".

Dêste rói vê-se que os Mundurukú devem ter tido bastante contácto com os civilizados e outras tribus para adquirir tal quantidade de plantas úteis. Como antigo "stock" de plantas cultivadas pelos indígenas nas florestas do Vale Amazônico, devem ser consideradas, em primeiro plano, os tubérculos. Outrossim

parece que o uso de algumas destas plantas tipicamente indígenas como p. ex. o do curauá ou da macaxeira, não é muito antigo. Pois uma série de tribos com o tipo de uma agricultura bem semelhante à dos Mundurukú, não conhece ainda o plantio de macaxeira nem de curauá. (9)

A primeira grande influência por parte da civilização deve-se, sem dúvida, durante o século XIX, depois da pacificação dos Mundurukú, quando êles se fixaram nas margens do Tapajós. Através dêste contácto, quase tôdas as plantas cultivadas no Baixo Amazonas chegaram ao conhecimento dos Mundurukú, e foram, em sua maior parte, aceitas por êles. Também a antiga Missão de Barabal deve ter tido alguma influência para êste desenvolvimento. A penetração das novas aquisições agrícolas, como também a sua variada manutenção e utilização, foi rápida na sua expansão ao longo do Tapajós, mas muito lenta e vagarosa na sua expansão para os centros interiores e, especialmente para os campos gerais dos Mundurukús. O conhecimento e uso da farinha exemplificam êste processo. Antigamente, os Mundurukú desconheciam a farinha e fabricavam somente beijú. Hoje, também nas malocas dos campos, todos trabalham em farinha. Mas, como disse, a farinha é uma aquisição relativamente recente. Meu informante Tomé, relatou-me o seguinte: "Minha avó me contou, um dia, que nos tempos de sua mentira, nas malocas (dos campos), ainda não sabiam fazer farinha. Faziam só beijú, que às vezes, até torravam em cima de (chapas de) pedra." Isto há 80 anos passados, no máximo. Os Mundurukú do Tapajós, porém, muito mais expostos ao contácto do civilizado do que os Mundurukú dos campos centrais, naquela época já conheciam muito bem a farinha e fabricavam-na até para o comércio. Martius, Bates e outros, como já indicamos no início dêste trabalho, falam justamente da tão grande produção de farinha e do comércio de farinha que os Mundurukú do Tapajós mantiveram com os regatões de Santarém e do baixo rio. Parece óbvio, pois, que a penetração de elementos agrícolas no Tapajós se deu num rit-

9) — Assim p. ex. a maior parte das tribus kariê das Guianas Brasileiras não conhece o plantio da macaxeira, embora, em muitos pontos, o sistema de sua agricultura seja bastante semelhante ao dos Mundurukú.

me bastante desigual e que no caso citado, nas malocas dos campos só muito mais tarde chegou-se ao uso do fabrico da farinha do que nas malocas do Rio Tapajós. Se isto se deu com o simples aproveitamento de uma planta já cultivada por êles, quanto mais a introdução de novas plantas. Aí, o processo talvez tenha sido mais lento ainda.

De aquisição recente, especialmente por influência da Missão Franciscana, fundada em 1911, no Rio Cururú, são produtos como o arroz, a fava e várias outras hortaliças que, principalmente, as Irmãs Religiosas cultivam, mas que, pelos índios, são adotadas sòmente em escala reduntíssima. De árvores frutíferas chegaram-lhes pôrtas últimos decênios: a mangueira, a laranjeira, o limoeiro, o cafeeiro e uma certa qualidade de cacaueiro. Outros produtos como milho, jerimum, etc., êles já conheciam, mas plantavam-nos em muito pequena escala.

8. Limpeza ou Capinação — Palavras da plantação. Faltam completar algumas notas sôbre os serviços de roça, depois de ser ela plantada. É claro que, depois de terminar a plantação pròpriamente dita, a roça precisa ainda de alguns cuidados. Não imediatamente, mas depois de algumas semanas, ou meses. É a capinação. Entre o plantio e a colheita, fazem-se, geralmente, duas limpezas na roça, capinando o terreno todo. Falam da primeira e segunda limpeza ou também da primeira ou segunda capinação. É feita, quase exclusivamente, a terçada (facão). Não existe época exatamente marcada para isso, porque depende muito do tempo (chuvas) e da necessidade. Fazer a primeira limpeza chamam: tip ogw; fazer a segunda é: kerõ ogw.

9. A Safra — O índio usa mais da expressão regional "desmanchar o roçado" ou ainda "arrancar a mandioca" — masok ta ogw. Dentro de um ano, a roça está madura e pode ser desmanchada. Arranca-se a mandioca à mão. Não se desmancha tôda roça de uma vez, e sim, conforme a necessidade. Para arrancar a mandioca precisa-se de alguma força e jeito. Muitas vezes, quando os tubérculos estão seguros no chão e êste é demasiadamente duro, o índio cava com o terçado ao lado daí'ràs para afrouxar a terra, e poder com mais facilidade, arrancar

a mandioca. O mesmo modo de empregar o terçado como instrumento auxiliar na extração de mandioca, usa-se também na colheita de outros tubérculos: cará, batata dôce, etc.

10. Replantar — pahi kade ou uawdem gup mawe — Desmatochada a roça, isto é, terminada tôda a safra, abandonam o terreno e êste se torna capoeira. Quando a terra é muito bôa, tarda-se uma replanta. O terreno é novamente capinado, limpo e, se houver necessidade, queima-se alguns galhos ou arbustos pequenos, o lixo da roça. Procede-se à nova plantação. Êsse processo de replanta é usado também em casos de urgência, quando no índio por qualquer circunstância, ou doença, não foi possível fazer novo roçado. Quando se faz replanta para sòmente aproveitar a terra, quase sempre derrubam mais um novo roçado, embora pequeno, às vezes encostado, ampliando simplesmente o roçado velho. O índio sabe perfeitamente que o resultado de uma replanta é muito menor do que o de uma roça nova. Por isso tem que suprir a parte que a terra da replanta lhe negará. Frequentemente, a capoeira nova, a roça recém-desmatochada é aproveitada, simplesmente, para plantar um bananal, se a terra fôr apropriada.

A roça, hoje em dia, é indispensável para a vida do Mundurukú. Êle é ainda caçador, pescador, e coletor de frutas silvagens. Mas sem roça, êle não poderá mais viver. Êle mesmo acharia absurdo a idéia de subsistir sòmente de caça e coleta. Sabe aproveitar a sua roça e as plantas que nela cultiva, tirando delas uma série de subprodutos que lhe ajudam o sustento. (10)

III. FATORES SOCIAIS

Sendo a agricultura uma das bases de subsistência da vida Mundurucú, não é de admirar que ela deixe os seus reflexos também na vida social da tribu. Manifestam-se certos fatores

10) — É bastante interessante uma comparação do sistema agrícola indígena com o do caboclo do Baixo-Amazonas. Wagley, em seu estudo de "Uma Comunidade Amazônica" (1957:100 ss), indica, em traços mais gerais, o mesmo processo de abertura de roça, plantio e cultivo, de lavoura ribeirinha, entre a população cabocla de "Itá". Sejam demonstrações, aqui.

sociais, determinadas ou influenciadas pelo complexo da roça e agricultura. Pretendo referir-me, especialmente, à tríplice relação de:

1. Roça e indivíduo: a divisão do trabalho;
2. Roça e família: propriedade agrícola e sucessão sociais;
3. Roça e grupo tribal: migração intra-territorial.

1. ROÇA E INDIVÍDUO: A DIVISÃO DO TRABALHO PELOS SEXOS.

Entre Índios, em geral, existe uma lei ou costume, segundo o qual cada um é dono do que adquire, fez ou produz. Assim, estabelecem-se de antemão, para o indivíduo, certos direitos de exclusividade. Esta se manifesta por um princípio de divisão sexual do trabalho. Por exemplo, a matéria prima e os produtos de cestaria, são exclusividades e propriedade, do homem; o barro e artigo de olaria, da mulher. Pela tradição, o trançado é um trabalho feito somente pelos homens, a louça pelas mulheres. Em todos os setores da vida tribal, os trabalhos pertinentes a cada sexo são determinados por fortes princípios tradicionais. Dêles decorre o conceito de propriedade individual.

Também em tôda a cultura material dos Mundurukú, manifestam-se de modo claro, os dois ciclos de trabalho: o do homem e o da mulher. Esta divisão ergológica aqui só nos interessa enquanto diz respeito à agricultura. O assunto, porém, é um caso quase limítrofe, onde êstes dois ciclos de trabalho se tocam ligeiramente. Na agricultura há serviços exclusivos do homem, especialmente na fase inicial da preparação do roçado; e há serviços exclusivos da mulher, principalmente desde o momento

simplesmente nas tímeas-gaias: escolha de terras e aproveitamento de capoeiras (:101), broca e derruba (:103), queima, colheita, e plantação (:104), principais plantas de cultivo (:102), culturas secundárias (104), replanta (:104). Esta comparação, de fato, justifica os dizeres do mesmo autor que no Baixo Amazonas "os métodos agrícolas básicos pouco mudaram desde o tempo dos aborígenes" (:109). Também os Tenetehara, tribo Tupí do Maranhão (Wagley e Galvão, 1949) usam de métodos e processos agrícolas em muitos pontos até idênticos aos observados entre os Mundurukú.

da plantação em diante; mas há também serviços conjugados, nos quais ambos os sexos participam, como na plantação da mandioca. Aí o homem abre a cova com o pau de cavar e a mulher pôe os galhos no talo de mandioca no buraco aberto e fecha-o, pisando em cima.

Cada etapa da plantação, tem assim os serviços determinados pelo sistema dos chefes especialistas. Um esquema oferece o seguinte quadro:

TRABALHOS

do homem	da mulher
1. Escolher o terreno e o terreno	—
2. Determinar o tamanho e o formato	—
3. Roçar	—
4. Derrubar o mato	—
5. Queimar o derrubado	—
6. Endoinar	—
7. Queimar o coivaro	—
8. Plantar: abrir a cova	Plantar: colocar os talos de mandioca
9. —	Capinar a roça
10. —	Fazer o segundo limpeza da roça
11. —	Colhe: arrancar a mandioca, descascar o regalo.

Este esquema básico vale para os casos normais. Se houver grande necessidade, ou urgência no serviço, o homem pode ajudar, ocasionalmente, nos trabalhos de capinação, limpeza e até colheita. Mas por si, são serviços próprios da mulher e pertencem por direito, devido ao ciclo de trabalho, à mulher.

Esta divisão de trabalho, oferece ainda outro aspecto. Ela não existe somente em relação ao preparo ou uso da plantação, também se refere à espécie das próprias plantas de cultivo. Aí também há certa exclusividade, por exemplo: só o homem planta e cultiva melancia, jerimum, mendubi, macaxeira, fava e feijão.

Mas, na maior parte das plantas ou sementes a serem cultivadas, aparece um serviço conjugado na forma já referida: o

homem abre a cova e a mulher coloca as latas ou sementes de mandioca, cará, cana, milho, arroz, amarra, tomateiro, etc., etc.

Desta divisão do trabalho em dois ciclos, conforme o sexo, depende, também, a terminologia a respeito do conceito da roça. Existem dois termos para a roça: kat, dito o homem; ko, fala a mulher. Estas duas expressões não são propriamente, uma dupla designação para a roça e sim, indicam a roça enquanto é resultado do trabalho de um dos dois sexos. São designações parciais. Portanto, kat, expressão usada pelos homens, abrange os preparativos da roça até à plantação — o roçado, enquanto é trabalho do homem. Ko, término das mulheres para a roça, abrange os trabalhos feitos pela mulher na roça, desde a plantação. Num sentido básico poderiam traduzir-se estes dois termos: kat como derruba e ko como plantação. Assim se torna mais claro porque a mulher nunca dirá por exemplo: que vai ao kat, à derruba, porque não é ela quem a faz, e sim, que vai ao ko, à plantação, porque, de fato, é ela quem planta. O mesmo dirá, vice-versa, o homem. Se, porém, há necessidade para o uso de um término geral, impessoal, também os homens empregam a palavra ko, mas com a indicação respectiva de ser "dele" ou "da mulher", caso possa surgir um mal entendido.

2. Roça e Família: Propriedade Agrícola e Auxílio Mútuo

É claro que êste complexo de assuntos agrícolas deixa os seus reflexos na vida da família indígena, tanto dos Mundurukú que ainda vivem em comunidades no sistema antigo das malocas, como dos que se emanciparam dessa vida, formando com suas famílias núcleos próprios, de vida isolada, com casa e roça particulares. De fato, hoje em dia, é necessário fazer uma distinção:

1. entre os Índios Mundurukú dos campos, em número de 250, uma minoria de, aproximadamente, um quinto do total de 1200, que ainda vive segundo o sistema tradicional de comunidades tribais, ou seja, em malocas;

2. entre os Mundurukú já mais ou menos aculturados, dos rios Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc.

No primeiro grupo, dos campos, encontramos mais ou menos a forma primitiva ou tradicional do sistema agrícola Mundurukú: um sistema de trabalho coletivo à base de auxílio mútuo. Murphy indica a situação atual nas malocas dos campos, dizendo: "Cada camponês adulto do sexo masculino, tem sua própria roça que é limpa pelo esforço coletivo de todos os homens da aldeia e plantada de mandioca com a cooperação da aldeia inteira". (11) Este trabalho cooperativo, de fato, até certo grão, existe nas malocas, e deve ser entendido dentro das normas da divisão de trabalho e suas bases jurídicas que se referem em primeiro lugar, ao direito à propriedade particular ou individual. Aqui, no assunto da roça, trata-se de um serviço conjugado dos dois elementos sociais, masculino e feminino, e, dependendo dêles, dos respectivos ciclos de trabalho. Homem e mulher, porém, mesmo depois de casados, e formando, portanto, família não perdem, pelo casamento, os seus direitos individuais de proprietários de sua parte da roça, pois o índio é essencialmente individualista, e não conhece direitos de propriedade em comum. Para equilibrar esta situação, recorre a um conceito que poderíamos chamar de "direito de compensação", que se aplica ao usufruto da roça em comum: ao homem, à mulher e, naturalmente, aos filhos pelos quais são responsáveis.

Convém explicar mais à miúdo êste assunto, a respeito da propriedade da roça.

Creio que seja necessário fazer uma distinção entre o proprietário da terra e o proprietário dos trabalhos feitos nesta terra, como também dos resultados obtidos.

A terra, nestas matas e mesmo dentro da área ocupada pela tribo, não tem propriamente dono. Todos podem fazer roça, onde quiserem... Mas uma vez escolhida a terra, ela se torna propriedade por todo o tempo enquanto está produzindo, é então propriedade do homem. Depois de abandonada, porém, torna-se outra vez, terra de índio e de ninguém, uma terra devoluta.

(11) — Murphy, 1954:28.

(12). Existe, portanto, unicamente, um direito de propriedade transitório, enquanto está sendo utilizada; um direito que melhor se poderia chamar de uso ou de usufruto.

Este conceito é completado pelo outro aspecto da questão, quanto aos trabalhos e produtos da roça. Entra aqui o conjunto dos trabalhos de homem e de mulher (conforme os ciclos de trabalho), e a família, que já por si forma uma pequena comunidade, faz valer os seus direitos.

O conceito dêste direito de aparente propriedade em comum, deriva-se da divisão de trabalho entre homem e mulher. Pelo direito individual, cada um é dono e proprietário do que produz, faz, etc. O homem faz a roça, a derruba (kui) e é proprietário dela. A mulher, portanto, planta, estritamente dita, em propriedade alheia (a saber do homem ou marido) e paga-lhe o usufruto dêste direito, mais tarde, com produtos de sua plantação. Com outras palavras: em compensação pelo preparo da roça, feito pelo homem ou marido, êle pode comer também da plantação dela. Por outra parte, a mulher é dona da sua plantação e o homem ou marido não pode, pelo direito de propriedade individual, desfrutar da plantação alheia, mesmo sendo a da própria mulher. Adquire, porém, um certo direito, não de propriedade, mas de usufruto, na plantação, pelo trabalho de a ter possibilitado pela derruba da mata. À mulher, corresponde, pois, a obrigação de deixar o marido usufruir de sua plantação, dentro dos moldes da divisão do trabalho. Trata-se pois, de direitos (ou respectivamente, deveres) recíprocos que são normalizados e contrabalançados pelo direito de "compensação". E, relativamente à divisão do trabalho, êste direito de compensação é absolutamente necessário. O que faria o homem com a derruba sem poder plantar, o que é do direito da mulher? Sem o trabalho prévio do homem, ela só poderia plantar em quantida-

(12) — Entre os Tauateberu, também tribo do grupo tupí, observa-se uma coisa bem semelhante. "Garden lands, that is to say, lands on which people have expended labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But in case as he has harvested all his crops and abandoned the land to the secondary growth which begins to cover it, it may be said by anyone" (Wagley e Galvão 1949:30).

dos pequenos e por outro, por falta do preparo do terreno, as plantas de cultivo não se desenvolveriam bastante. Em ambos os casos, os resultados seriam mesquinhos e o sustento da família, nesta parte, estaria periclitando. Resulta, daí, a necessidade dêste direito de compensação mútua.

Cada homem, ou, respectivamente, cada família, faz sua roça própria e a possue com direitos de exclusividade. O dono, porém, pede auxílio de seus parentes ou dos homens do grupo com que convive, para o ajudarem nos serviços (broca, derruba, etc.), enquanto a mulher, mais tarde, pede, por sua vez, (mas nem sempre), o auxílio das mulheres para os serviços tipicamente femininos, no sistema da divisão de trabalho já mencionado (13). A comunidade auxilia o indivíduo, ou melhor, os membros se ajudam mútuamente; e cada um deve auxiliar os outros, quando chega a vez de fazer a roça. Existe pois, quanto a êste trabalho coletivo, um elaborado sistema de receita e recompensa em bases iguais. Recebem-se dias de trabalho e, mais tarde, paga-se êste auxílio recebido, da mesma forma, com dias de trabalho. Trata-se, portanto, de um amplo sistema de auxílio mútuo. É natural que o dono da nova roça achará o seu principal apoio den-

(13) — Embora aqui se trate da agricultura dos Mundurukú atuais, sejam contudo dadas informações, colhidas separadamente e em lugares distantes entre si, a saber uma por mim mesmo entre os Mundurukú ocidentais do rio Cururú e outra pelo missionário Frei Angélico em uma aldeia dos campos, em Dekudyeu. Segundo estas informações, o sistema agrícola dos ancestrais mundurukú e respeito de auxílio mútuo e de propriedade da roça teria sido um tanto diferente. Disse que, primeiramente, o grupo todo fazia uma roçada grande para todos os membros da comunidade e que os direitos do indivíduo na roça se baseavam, justamente, naquele auxílio mútuo, na recompensa de serviço prestado à comunidade. Ao lado desta execução de uma roça coletiva, os informantes mencionaram, igualmente, roças particulares das famílias, cada, não exclusiva, mas principalmente, cultivavam uma alimentação suplementar, acessória, como bananas, pimenta, etc. As novas aldeias, porém, são evidentemente elaboradas, se esta roça coletiva servia para o uso comum e diário do grupo ou fazia, ademais, de reserva para casos de necessidade, para o sustento dos velhos ou inválidos, para o sustento dos hóspedes ou como roça ocasional para ajuda nos grandes festas. — Mais um tipo de roça de uso comum, embora de propriedade particular, entre os Tacunahuca, ver: Wagley-Galvão (1948:139).

tro de seu parentela: filhos adultos, irmãos, cunhados, genros, etc. Este auxílio mútuo, porém, não é obtido espontâneamente, e sim, por meio de convites pessoais, feitos não coletiva, mas individualmente. O modo de fazer isto é muito simples: pede-se o auxílio e combina-se o dia e mais outras circunstâncias da ajuda. Não há danças convidativas ou coisa semelhante. Para o dono da roça é importante acertar os dias de auxílio, porque tem que providenciar para estes dias o rancho: carne, peixe, beijú, bebidas. Pois da aquisição deste rancho depende a continuidade ou a interrupção dos serviços da roça. Quando são muitos os homens e o dono da roça não pode arranjar alimentação suficiente, trabalha-se com intervalos. Brocca-se um ou dois dias e depois para-se, para caçar e pescar. Continua-se, mais tarde, com a derruba, da mesma maneira, "conforme a bóia", como dizem. Os intervalos ou, respectivamente, os dias de trabalho dependem, portanto, da provisão ou dos mantimentos existentes (14).

Assim se explica, também, porque homens e mulheres, a seu tempo, trabalham preferencialmente em grupos: porque trabalham a convite do dono da roça. Quando, porém, se trata do desfruto da roça já madura, estão a família manifesta e entre o seu direito particular de proprietários sôbre a roça. E, na mais das vezes, para arrancar a mandioca, homem e mulher ou os membros da família preferem ir a sós. Desfruta-se a roça, geralmente, sem o concurso dos outros ou do grupo. Eis, pois, a situação da família Mundurukú em relação à roça e plantação dentro da comunidade tribal: A família se baseia na comunidade, necessita e obtém desta mesma comunidade para os tra-

14) — O modo de convidar vizinhos e parentes para trabalhos em comum e de marcar os respectivos dias, existe também, sôbre mesmo modo de auxílio mútuo, entre os caboclos do Baixo Amazonas. Na região de Santarém, Alenquer, Óbidos, etc., chamam isso de "puxirum", "marcar um puxirum", "ir a puxirum", etc. Sem dúvida, isso tem costumes raízes mais profundas e vem de longa data, da época em que o Baixo Amazonas ainda era terra de índios e de mulatos. Em outras regiões, o "puxirum" traz o nome de "ajuri" (Rio Negro) ou também de "mutirão" (sul do país). Também Wagley (1949:156) menciona esta cooperação como "potirão" ou "mutirão". Veja-se ainda, Caldeira, 1956.

balhos da roça, auxílio mútuo; mas à família se reserva sempre os direitos exclusivos de propriedade, de uso e de destruto de sua roça.

Como, porém, está a situação dos Mundurukú aculturados? Hoje, cerca de quatro quintos dos Mundurukú abandonaram o sistema de convivência em comunidades tribais. Para êstes não há mais ligação direta à vida da maloca e suas comunidades se dissolveram. As famílias se emancipam. Não há mais casas em comum, mas cada família tem casa própria. Possuem, por isso mesmo e necessàriamente, roça e plantação particulares. E, como cada família vive só, também cada homem ou cada família, faz individualmente o roçado. Isto fundamentalmente. Mas devido às dificuldades existentes e por necessidade, conservou-se êste elemento tão proveitoso: O auxílio mútuo. Convidam-se os parentes e vizinhos para auxiliarem na roça e, por outra, vai-se ajudar os que prestaram seus serviços, da mesma maneira e nas mesmas condições, como, antigamente, o faziam no sistema da vida em comunidade.

Como conclusão essencial resulta daí que, entre os Mundurukú, divisão e execução dos serviços de roça conforme grupos de sexo e ciclos de trabalho, o sistema de plantação e a colaboração recíproca por meio de convites, são elementos de cultura dos mais estáveis. Permanecem e não se modificaram, essencialmente, mesmo depois da dissolução das comunidades tribais a que pertenciam, e da aculturação ao novo ambiente não-brasileiro.

Existe ainda um tipo de roça que, até certo ponto, poderia ser denominado de "roça comum". Êste tipo aparece, porém, tàcitamente dentro da parentela em sentido mais estrito. Quando a parentela (por exemplo: as famílias de pai e filho ou de vários irmãos) está muito unida ou quando, por qualquer contratempo, um dos membros da família não pode mais fazer roça própria, mas pode auxiliar a fazer a roça do pai, irmão, filho, etc., então, por vezes, fazem um roçado em comum. Entende-se, porém, o conceito de "roça" em sentido absoluto: roça de mandiva, de tubérculos. Pois sempre plantam ainda suas bananas, pimentas, etc., à parte, para o gasto particular, cada família por si. Êste tipo de "roça em comum" existe também (ou exclusi-

vamente ?) fora da antiga comunidade, entre os Mundurukú aculturados. Observei um caso dêstes na própria missão, entre pai e filho, onde todos possuem casas próprias. Ambas as partes têm direitos iguais no desfruto da roça. Êste tipo de "roça em comum" assemelha-se bastante ao conhecido entre os caboclos, como "roça de sociedade". A diferença entre os dois tipos, poderia ser estabelecida, talvez, assim: a "roça em comum" serve, diretamente, para o gasto e sustento das respectivas famílias interessadas no caso; a "de sociedade" é de contrato com bases e fins, geralmente, comerciais.

Uma vez que há propriedade, surge também o problema da herança. Cada plantação tem o seu dono, com todos os direitos de propriedade. Em casos de morte, o roçado passa para as mãos do filho mais velho, que, porém, não é outra coisa mais do que "administrador" desta herança, com co-direito de usofruto. Herdeira é a família, representada pelo filho mais velho no sentido de que êle deve tomar conta do roçado, de que a família participa juntamente com êle. Quando não há família, os irmãos herdam a roça. Não havendo irmãos, são os outros parentes. Em todo caso, não se deixa perecer a roça. Desfruta-se sempre a plantação.

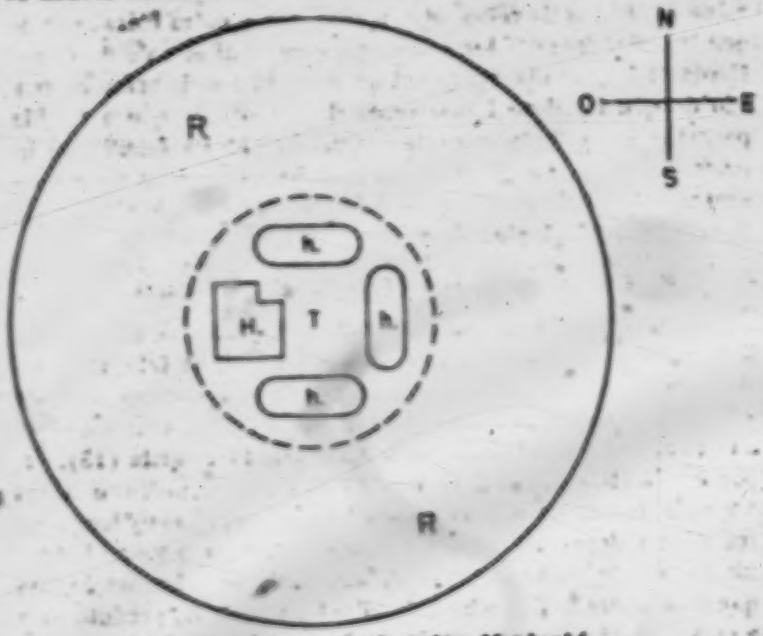
3. A ROÇA E O GRUPO: MIGRAÇÃO INTRATERRITORIAL

À primeira vista, muitas vezes, o roçado dos Mundurukú parece ficar longe da sua casa ou maloca. E de fato, freqüentemente, é assim. Mas quase sempre isto é consequência de longos anos de vivência num só e mesmo lugar. Com o tempo, a terra ao redor das habitações torna-se fraca e exausta (15). É por êste motivo que o índio tem necessidade de procurar novas terras mais adiante e fazer as plantações sempre mais longe, de forma que, depois de um certo espaço de tempo, o grupo indígena, realmente, mora distante de sua fonte de alimentação, até que os próprios índios acham difícil o transporte do produto para a casa. Então, dá-se a vez de mudar a maloca para outro local

15) — É conhecida a completa inexistência de técnicas de fertilização do solo entre os índios das florestas amazônicas. Ordinariamente por escassez de quantidade de capoeiras, o solo já gasto recebe algumas substâncias fertilizantes, pelas chuvas.

mais favorável. E nesta ocasião, pode-se observar o sistema primitivo e, sem dúvida, mais ideal desta relação recíproca de roça e maloca.

No caso da mudança e da construção de uma nova maloca, esta fica no centro do novo roçado do tuxaua ou chefe do grupo. A forma tradicional da roça é arredondada, como já mencionamos. E no centro dela limpa-se o terreiro da nova aldeia, também redondo. Nêle se distribuem as casas num quadrado: a casa ou o barracão dos homens (hokse), aberto com a frente para leste e com a casa dos espíritos dos ancestrais (kudahe) ao lado; as casas ovais para as mulheres e crianças (hob-a) à direita e à esquerda, fechando-se o quadrado com outra hob-a no lado sôlo, se houver necessidade.



III — Esquema de uma aldeia Mundurukú
T: terreiro; H: hokse; h: hob-a; R: roçados

O núcleo assim formado torna-se, então, um novo centro do grupo tribal, do clã ou sipe. Roça e maloca formam, pois, uma unidade e a maloca fica dentro da primeira roça. Nos anos se-

guintes, amplia-se o roçado mais para os fundos. E, se a terra não for própria, transfere-se a roça para mais adiante, e sempre mais adiante, até que, depois de uma série de anos, sente-se necessidade de transferir a aldeia e começar de novo. Origina-se, assim um ciclo de migração intraterritorial dos grupos.

Desta relação de roça e aldeia, ou também, de roça e comunidade, resulta pois, relativa pouca estabilidade local dos grupos tribais que, porém, não chega à formas de nomadismo, talvez nem às de um semi-nomadismo estritamente dito. De fato, existe uma certa migração dos grupos, resultantes das condições agrárias, pois é a terra que obriga o índio a mudar-se sempre de novo. Mas estas migrações são um processo lento que não se nota tanto ou acentuadamente, porque as mudanças de um lugar para outro, realizam-se só espaçadamente, dentro de decênios e porque se passam dentro de uma certa área bem definida que é justamente o habitat da tribo. Saindo, porém, êste movimento dos limites do território próprio, as causas devem ser procuradas, geralmente, em outras circunstâncias: em guerras, coação por outras tribos, ou como se nota entre os Mundurukú atuais, as influências do comércio e da extração da borracha. Mas, primitiva e normalmente, esta migração "interna", isto é, êsses deslocamentos e essas mudanças de grupos dentro da área própria da tribu, baseiam-se unicamente, nas ditas condições agrárias. Já Martius disse dos Tupí do alto Tapajós, a frase citada: "Dedicam-se a uma agricultura primitiva e, por isso, em sentido próprio, não são nômades; as suas malocas, todavia, não ficam invariáveis no mesmo lugar" (16). Êle, portanto, já notou êste movimento e reconhecera a agricultura como responsável pela maior ou menor estabilidade do índio em seu território. De fato, a mesma cousa pode dizer-se concretamente do Mundurukú. Êle não é nômade, justamente por causa da sua agricultura. Mas também, não é inteiramente estável em seu habitat pelo mesmo motivo, a agricultura que, pelo gasto das terras, o obriga a estas mudanças contínuas, que por fim, resultam em lentas migrações internas que aqui chamei de intra-territoriais.

16) — Martius, 1857:201.

FRIKEL — AGRICULTURA DOS ÍNDIOS MUNDURUKÚ

IV. TERMINOLOGIA INDÍGENA A RESPEITO DA ROÇA E PLANTAS DE CULTIVO

1) A respeito da roça (17).

a) ferramenta:

enxada	*purure*
ferro de cova	*chit*
pau de cavar	*ip maraaivarab ip*

b) roça e serviço de roça:

roça (enquanto é trabalho do homem); êle diz:	*kat*
roça (enquanto é trabalho da mulher); ela diz:	*ku*
brocar	*tyup tatabm*
derrubar (mata)	*yup chign; yup chichign*
queimar	*imapign*
coivara	*taipa*
encoivarar	*taipa chign; taipa chichign*
queimar a coivara	*taipa mapign*
plantar (maniva)	*(masok) taisabm; (masok) ip manm*
capinar, 1.ª limpeza	*tip ogn*
limpar, 2.ª limpeza	*karit ogn*
arrancar mandioca	*masok ta ogn*
replantar	*warabm ypu manm; yabi kuon*

17) — A transcrição foi adaptada, quanto possível, ao português. Note-se, porém:
w — como no inglês
ü — como no alemão, porém mais curto
ö — como "u" tremado em alemão, porém mais curto
r — sempre dental
s — sempre forte
z — sempre brando
Consoantes finais (como: k - p - t), sem explosão.
O acento tônico, se não fôr marcado de outra maneira, sempre fica na última sílaba.

2) A respeito das plantas de cultivo.

algodão (Gossypium)	buru
" qualidade grande	buru chichi
" qualidade pequena	buru anan
ananaz (Ananaz sativus), abacaxi	ipara
" qualidade grande, açêde	ipara chichi
" qualidade do campo	ipara dyõ dyõ
" qualidade sem espinhos, doce	ipara biraprap
" qualidade pequena	ipara anan
" qualidade pequena, amarelo	ipara rem
arroz (Oryza)	arúira
banana (Musa sapientum)	aku
" qualidade São Tomé	aku rabã chichi; (aku robõ)
" " Caiena ou Caiana	aku ãnya
" " Inajá	aku an an pa
" " Rôxa	aku pakpak
" " Branca	aku ritrit
" " "	aku rorot; aku rigu rigu
" " dágua, Chorona	aku ipapan; aku chik pa
" (Musa paradisiaca); qualidade Pacova	aku chichi
" qualidade Pacova grande	aku ok pirut chichi
" " " "	aku ok pirut an
" " " "	aku hi ba beredn pa
batata doce (Ipomoea batatas)	wechik
" qualidade amarela	wechik pakpak
" doce qualidade meio roxa	wechik tuitui
" " " branca	wechik ririt
" " (pintada por dentro)	wechik piri pararak
cacau (Theobroma cacao)	wadye
" manso, plantado	wadye
" silvestre (às vezes plantado)	wadye buruburu — pa

" " (" " ")	wadye akarap pa
café (Coffea)	kape (ip)
cajú (Anacardium esp)	murese; muroso
" qualidade branco	murese ririt ta
" " vermelho	murese pakpak hat ta
" " do campo	murese krau
cana (Saccharium officinarum)	kanya
cará (Dioscorea)	awai; puira
" qualidade, dentro metade rôxo, metade branca	awai kurep (ta)
" qualidade meio escura	awai pugnpuga (ta)
" " meio escura	awai ruirui
" " pretinha, pequena (põe na manicuera)	awai tutu
" " ("parece mão de gente")	awai panatyat
" " "bola grande"	awai puira chik a a
" " fino comprido, branco	awai puira brechidn (puira beredn; puira ririt)
" " de entresaca vermelha	awai puira ara be pak
" " grande, cará-assu	awai puira
" " vermelho	awai puira pakpak
" " redondo, vermelho e branco	awai-ra
cuia (Crescentia)	ua e; wa e
curauá (Bromeliacea)	ipara he
fava; feijão (Phaseolus esp.) grande	feijáu; wetoi
" " pequeno	
" " comum (pequeno de fava comprida)	wetoi anan
	hadyorõ
genipapo (Genipa americana)	warem ap (a)
jerimun (Cucurbita)	yurumú (a)
ingá (Inga)	chiriri
jamaru (Cucurbita; Lagenaria	

Vulgaris)	uai a; wai a
laranja (Citrus)	yarai ip
limão (Citrus)	brimão, brimáu, brimáu
macaxeira (Manihot esp. (Palmata ?)	makachi
macaxeira qualidade branca	makachi tartitat
" " amarela	makachi potpot
mamão (Carica papaya)	asíu a
" rôxo	asíu rom rom (asíu rem rem)
manga (Mangifera Indica)	mãga, mãka
manicuera (Manihot, esp.?)	maso; manikue
" qualidade roxa na folha	maso
" qualidade branca na folha	maso yubritat
maniva (Manihot utilissima)	masok
" qualidade amarela	masok pekpek
" " de folha meio rôxa	masok tchukumai
" " de folha grande	masok yairipuyen
" " de folha mesmo roxa (paraiso)	masok paraisu
" " branca	masok tatya ĩm ĩm at
" " de folha miuda	masok anan
melancia (Citrullus vulgaris), carne vermelha	barãchi, burãsi-a
melancia qualidade de carne branca	barãchi a biu chep nyen a a
melancia qualidade pequena	barãchi an an a
" " de carne rôxa	barãchi rem rem a
milho (Zea mays)	mura, mora
" de bago duro	mora tyatya (ra)

FRIKEL — AGRICULTURA DOS INDIOS MUNDURUKÚ

" de bago mole	mora tya am am (ta); mora hat
mudubi, amendoim (Arachis hypogaea)	wenambone
pimenta (Capsicum)	achi (a)
" qualidade pimentão	achi chichi (a)
" " cheirosa	achirew
" " malagueta	chi kai (a)
" " redonda	achi kurêtanyen (a)
tabaco (Nicotiana tabacum)	he; e
tajá (Araceae esp.) qualidade do mato, plantado	porhit
tajá qualidade de cobra	kurudyudyut
timbó (Paullinia ? Serjania ?)	sá ok, sá ok papa
urucú (Bixa Orellana)	tyuku (a)

BIBLIOGRAFIA

BATES, HENRY WALTER, 1944 — O Naturalista no Rio Amazonas. *Ed. Nacional. Série Brasiliana*, V. 237-237 A, *São Paulo*.

CALDEIRA, CLÓVIS, 1956 — Mutirão; formas de ajuda mútua no meio rural. *Ed. Nacional. Série Brasiliana*, V. 289, *São Paulo*.

HOWTON, DONALD, 1948 — The Mundurucu. *In Handbook of South American Indians, vol. III: 271-282, Ed. Julian Steward, Smithsonian Inst. B.A. E. Bull. 143, Washington.*

MARTIUS, KARL F. P. VON, 1867 — Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachkunde Südamerika's zumal Brasiliens. Bd. 1, Leipzig.

MONTEIRO BARNA, ANTÔNIO LADISLAU, 1843 — Observações ou notas illustrativas dos três capítulos da parte segunda do Thesouro descoberto no Rio Amazonas. *Rev. Inst. Hist. Geogr. Braz., vol. 19, Rio de Janeiro.*

MURPHY, ROBERTO E YOLANDA, 1954 — As condições atuais dos Mundurucú. *Inst. Antr. Etnogr. do Pará. Pub. n.º 8, Belém.*

WAGLEY, CHARLES, 1949 — The Tenetehara Indians of Brazil. *Columbia Univ. Press. New York.*

1957 — Uma comunidade amazônica (Trad. Clotilde S. Costa). *Ed. Nacional, Série Brasiliana*, V. 290, *São Paulo*.

WAGLEY, CHARLES E E. GALVÃO, 1948 — The Tenetehara. *In Handbook of South American Indians, vol. III: 137-148, Ed. Julian Steward, Smithsonian Inst. B: A. E. Bull. 143, Washington.*

Studies on the Mundurucu Tribe: A Memoir Written and Read before the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute by Engineer Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, Corresponding Fellow of the Institute.

I

Journey to the central Mundurucu villages, situated in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. -- Itinerary from Belém, capital of the province of Pará, to those villages. -- Scenes of savage life.

I left Belem on the eighteenth of June, 1875, bound for the Upper Tapajoz.

The journey up the Amazon from Belém to Santarém and up the Tapajoz from Santarém to Itaituba takes five days on one of the big steamers of the Companhia do Amazonas.

At Itaituba I embarked in a small canoe manned by eight Indians, nearly all of the Maué tribe, and proceeded through the falls of the Upper Tapajoz.

Ten days later I reached the Mission of Bacabal, which was founded by order of the Imperial Government and established on the right bank of the Tapajóz on the twenty-third of February [74] 1872.

Translator's Note:

Whenever possible, the spelling of Portuguese and aboriginal words -- including names of places, tribes, rivers, plants, native foods and implements -- has been changed to its modern Brazilian equivalent.

Portuguese personal names and trade names, book titles, aboriginal word lists and Mundurucu quotations have been left untouched, as have a few other native words of uncertain phonetic rendition and those that would require the use of letter combinations equally foreign to present-day Portuguese.

2. ABORIGINAL CULTURE•

[2] The brief outline of the aboriginal culture of the Wundurusú which follows is based chiefly on traditional knowledge and the memories of informants, supplemented by the writer's observation of those features which are extant. Only slight reference has been made to historical sources due to their relative unreliability and also because of the absence of data in them on the socio-economic organization, which is our major interest in this work. This section does not pretend to be an ethnography of the Wundurusú, but will be focussed on the delineation of the basis of Wundurusú socio-cultural integration. It will thus provide a baseline for the study of Wundurusú culture change.

The Economy

105 [13] The Wundurusú are essentially forest dwellers. Although their aboriginal villages are located on high savannahs at the headwaters of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajós River, they depended on the resources of the forests and rivers for their subsistence. Their economy did not differ greatly from that of other Tropical Forest

• Because Wundurusú culture has suffered considerable attrition and because this culture loss has been felt in varying degrees in different areas of modern occupation, it is expedient to use the past tense throughout this chapter. It should be remembered that many traits still exist, especially those outside the realm of warfare and ceremonial. The later chapter on the contemporary Wundurusú will indicate what is now present or absent.

[pp 1-16 not processed]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society

ROBERT F. MURPHY
University of California, Berkeley

121 114 UNILINEAL descent and unilocal residence, by definition, follow one of but two possible lines, the male or the female. Simple arithmetic would therefore dictate that there are four possible combinations of common descent and residence. Only three of the combinations, however, are found to have any frequent and reliable occurrence. Kroeber (1952:213) noted the single lapse in the following observation:

> "Logically the possibility arises of a fourth plan of society: matrilocal but patrilineal . . . I do not know of such a society, and should expect its occurrence to be rare."

This combination is certainly unusual, and ethnographic literature yields practically no descriptions of its unequivocal occurrence. In most cases, the unilocality or unilineality of the group is questionable. For example, Loeb and Broek (1947:418) claim the Karen people of Burma to have patrilineal clans and matrilocal residence. However, the sources which they cite in support of this contention (Marshall 1922; Heine-Geldern 1923) do not warrant such positive affirmations as to the rule of descent. This conclusion with regard to the Karen is verified by Murdock (1954). Residence rules are likewise subject to misinterpretation, for in many cultures matrilocality is frequently a temporary state followed by permanent patrilocality.

551 613 [191] In 1952 the writer discovered the co-existence of matrilocality and patrilineality among the Mundurucú Indians of the upper Tapajós River in central Brazil.[1] Existing information on the Mundurucú had led me to believe, before field research, that the group was patrilocal. Subsequent field investigation proved the contrary to be true, and gives us one of our few authenticated accounts of a patrilineal group in which postmarital residence is permanently matrilocal.

121 The purpose of this paper is to present the pertinent data for the use of students of social organization, to describe how such a system functions, and to discuss its significance in terms of the evolution of social structure. Consideration of the latter problem will be reserved until the conclusions of this paper, for much of the discussion will hinge upon what seems incongruous, nonfunctional, or dysfunctional in Mundurucú society. This material, when analyzed [179] with reference to the limited amount of historical data available, suggests strongly that the Mundurucú shifted from patrilocality to matrilocality in the first half of the nineteenth century. The bearing of such a change upon Murdock's observations (1949:190) on the difficulty of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent becomes immediately apparent when it is considered that much of Murdock's position depends upon his persuasive argument that a patrilineal society can change from patrilocality to matrilocality only with great difficulty. It would seem that this shift in residence patterns is possible under certain conditions which will be analyzed functionally among the Mundurucú. Matrilocality, following Murdock's use of residence as a determinant

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of descent, is one of the preconditions to the development of matrilineality. That the latter change never occurred among the Mundurucú can be partially explained by the fact their subsequent involvement in the commercial exploitation of wild rubber has resulted in bilocality and neolocality (Murphy 1954).

It is because of this later breakdown of unilocality that my description of Mundurucú social organization will refer to mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society. Much of the social structure described below is still observable in certain conservative Mundurucú villages and served to supplement and corroborate information obtained from old informants.

THE MUNDURUCÚ

Since Mundurucú culture is not well documented, even for a South American group, a few prefatory remarks are in order. Linguistically, the Mundurucú have been classified as "remotely" Tupian by Nimuendajú (1938:975). However, a summary comparison of Mundurucú and Tupí indicates that if a genetic relationship does exist, it could only be very obscure and distant. It is possible that the substantial number of Tupian loan words in the Mundurucú lexicon had led Nimuendajú to an erroneous conclusion. The final resolution of this problem will be of importance to the prehistory of the Mundurucú and of the entire central Amazon basin.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of the chroniclers in the late eighteenth century when they launched a series of strong raids against other Indian tribes and white colonists in the lower Amazon Valley. Their late appearance on the historical scene and subsequent northward thrust into the waters of the lower Madeira River suggest that the Mundurucú originated in the highlands of Mato Grosso and thence migrated northwards. However, their only known homeland is in the region of mixed gallery forest and savannah east of the upper Tapajós River, between 6° and 8° south latitude. This is where the remnants of the tribe are located today.

After their pacification by Portuguese colonial forces at the end of the eighteenth century, the Mundurucú entered into a long period of peaceful symbiosis with the whites (Almeida Serra 1869:4–5). Traders and government officials capitalized on the renowned aggressiveness of the Mundurucú by employing them as mercenary warriors against tribes still hostile to the whites. In 1835, their services were sought in the suppression of the Revolution of the Cabanas (Hartt 1885:132), and at the end of the nineteenth century their war parties were still being enlisted by the rubber traders of the Madeira River (Coudreau 1897:59). Fighting was not the only source of trade goods for the Mundurucú. Since earliest times, the white settlers of the Amazon valley have exploited the natural products of the region to the neglect of agriculture. The resultant shortage of local sources of subsistence forced them to rely in part upon the products of the Indian gardens. Thus, the Mundurucú were deeply involved in the sale of surplus manioc flour as early as 1819 (Martius 1867: 395). Manioc flour continued to be their principal trade commodity until the late nineteenth century, when wild rubber assumed primacy (Tocantins 1877).

The middle of the nineteenth century found the Mundurucú of the upper

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, resembles the Tupi-Guarani type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão (1946). It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both subsumed under the term *awak*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, is the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this theory comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *we shi*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To further classify the brother's wife as *we shi* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of avuncular marriage. Although contemporary Mundurucú informants deny that sister's daughter marriage ever existed and affirm it to be proscribed, this disparity between the kinship system and actual practice will be seen to be a result of culture lag.

The method of analysis employed above seems to follow almost completely that used by Rivers (1914), and is no doubt in violation of Murdock's dictum (1949:123) that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society." It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate, or the sororate but by all four practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework.[3] In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock states (ibid:126) the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following:

> "Since multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."

All Mundurucú considered themselves to be related to all other Mundurucú by ties of varying degrees of closeness. One's closest relatives were the members of the nuclear family. Beyond this, the clan became the unit of greatest solidarity, and the Mundurucú emphasized their brotherhood with fellow members. They also felt a closer affinity for members of their own moiety as contrasted

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

591 174 tems, despite combining matrilocality and patrilocality. Contemporary informants claim matrilocality to be the normal rule since ancient times, but historical data suggestive of antecedent patrilocality among the Mundurucú comes from the German explorers Spix and Martius, who encountered elements of the tribe near the lower Madeira River in 1819. The reader should be warned that these observers are not completely reliable, and several obvious errors were encountered in their works. We can only verify their information by comparing it with what is reliably known of the structure of Mundurucú society.

604 174 591 According to Martius (1867:393), the Mundurucú were apparently patrilocal, for a man could eject his wife from the household. Every young man, however, had to go through a period of bride service lasting several years (ibid:393). The same writer claimed that when there was no other potential husband available for a young woman, the mother's brother could marry her (ibid:393). This is of some significance, not only because it gives historical confirmation for the previous analysis from kinship terminology (and Martius was not aware of the "sociological" interpretation of kin terms), but also because it tends to bolster the hypothesis of antecedent patrilocality. The practice of avuncular marriage is quite widespread in the Amazon basin and in northeastern South America and the Islands (Lowie 1949:317). In all cases, it is correlated with a period of bride service followed by permanent patrilocality. Both Kirchoff (1932:58) and Metraux (1948:111-12) state that avuncular marriage serves to liberate men from the period of temporary matrilocal residence. Whether or not avuncular marriage had this function among the Mundurucú is not known, but its wide distribution in the Tropical Forest region in combination with initial bride service and patrilocality argues for its former existence among the Mundurucú where, according to Martius, the same pattern was in existence.

604 121 591 The reader will remember that contemporary Mundurucú informants specifically and vehemently deny the contemporary or past practice of avuncular marriage, and this form of marriage was not reflected in genealogies. This is understandable in the matrilocal framework because, although the mother's brother was a member of the opposite moiety to that of his sister's daughter, he was nonetheless a member of the same household until his marriage. In a patrilocal society, the sister's daughter would not reside in the same household and might not even be a resident of her uncle's village. The disappearance of avuncular marriage due to a change from patrilocality to matrilocality would be consistent with much anthropological theorization on the origins of incest prohibitions, whether explained as a result of the necessity to deny sexual access to one's familial intimates, which would disrupt the household (Malinowski 1930:630), or as a result of the need to marry out of the ingroup in order to extend its ties with the larger society (White 1948:425). Titiev (1943:516) has noted the importance of residence in the definition of incest in other cultures:

> ". . . there are numerous cases in which exogamy is enforced among co-residents even when there is no demonstrable or putative genealogical connection."

Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:524–25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs.

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion[1]

ROBERT F. MURPHY
University of California, Berkeley

114 GEORG SIMMEL (1955:33–4) noted that warfare is frequently the only mode of social interaction between primitive societies. He saw the social relations of such groups to be characterized by diametric opposition between the norms of behavior applicable to members of the ingroup, on one hand, and toward members of outgroups, on the other. This dichotomy was internally self-consistent to Simmel, and he wrote (ibid:34):

> For this reason, the same drive to expand and to act, which within the group requires unconditional peace for the integration of interests and for unfettered interaction, may appear to the outside world as a tendency toward war.

Intergroup conflict was viewed by Simmel has having positive functions: it provides the basis for group formation and cohesion, and it accentuates and maintains group boundaries. Conflict, then, is not aberrant or dysfunctional. Rather, it structures social relations both within and between societies.

Lewis Coser (1956:95), writing to Simmel's general thesis, points out that social cohesion does not automatically follow from conflict, for "social systems lacking social solidarity are likely to disintegrate in the face of conflict, although some unity may be despotically enforced." The corollary proposition is offered that:

> . . . if the basic social structure is stable, if basic values are not questioned, cohesion is usually strengthened by war through challenge to, and revitalization of, values and goals which have been taken for granted (ibid:90).

Coser's view by no means contradicts that of Simmel but is an elaboration of the latter's thesis, alluded above, that intergroup hostility and social cohesion are only analytically different aspects of the same social process. Conflict and social solidarity are mutually re-enforcing; conflict promotes social integration, and solidarity is necessary if the group is to take effective common action against the outer world.

The present paper will analyze the warfare pattern of a Brazilian Indian group, the Mundurucú, in the light of the propositions given by Simmel and elaborated by Coser. We will go beyond the thesis that warfare contributes to the maintenance of the social structure to consider also how this social structure organized the membership for military activity. Further, the thesis will be advanced that this type of social structure actually generated the bellicose activities and attitudes that functioned to preserve it, and that this circular relationship allowed Mundurucú society to continue through a period during which it was subjected to severe internal and external threats. Finally, we will conclude with a general hypothesis upon the relation between social structure, social cohesion, and conflict.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

CONCLUSION

721
182
578
121

Our analysis of the functions of Mundurucú warfare has concluded that the institution operated to preserve the integration and solidarity of Mundurucú society. These findings accord closely with Simmel's theory of conflict and are also substantiated by Fernandes' (1952:354) conclusion on the functions of Tupinamba warfare. The means by which this social end was accomplished can be viewed as a variable of the Mundurucú type of society. The latter was of a unique order; it was structured so as to ramify kinship bonds throughout the tribe, but it was extremely vulnerable to any open display of aggression within the group. This, and the ambivalent position of the men, resulted in the suppression of hostility and the emphasis upon solidarity that characterized male social relations. Such solidarity could be maintained only through the release of latent aggression in a socially valued manner upon surrogate objects. Mundurucú warfare thus corresponds to Coser's (1955:48) formulation of the "safety valve" mechanism in society:

> Social systems provide for specific institutions which serve to drain off hostile and aggressive sentiments. These safety valve institutions help to maintain the system by preventing otherwise probable conflict or by reducing its disruptive effects. They provide substitute objects upon which to displace hostile sentiments, as well as means of abreaction. Through these safety valves, hostility is prevented from turning against its original object.

The achievement of specific ends or the defeat of a particular enemy were secondary considerations in Mundurucú warfare. They fought any group and they fought for the sake of fighting. The ultimate source of their bellicosity was the repressed hostility generated within the society, and the ultimate source of repression was the potential destructiveness of intrasocietal aggression.

Safety valve institutions of one kind or another are probably universal in culture. Coser (ibid:41) distinguishes two means by which aggressiveness may safely be released by the members of a society. These are:

> . . . Ventilsitten, which provide a socially sanctioned framework for carrying out conflict without leading to consequences that disrupt relations within a group, and those safety-valve institutions which serve to divert hostility onto substitute objects or which function as channels for cathartic release.

Mundurucú warfare and sorcery fall into the class of "safety-valve institutions"; the structure of the society is such that Ventilsitten would be impossible insofar as the Mundurucú cannot publicly acknowledge the existence of intrasocietal hostilities. The institutionalized public arguments and wrestling matches of the Trumai Indians (Murphy and Quain 1955:57–59) and the spear throwing bouts between Upper Xingú tribes (Galvão 1950:366) are illustrations of cases in which hostility is allowed to appear in a controlled and sanctioned context and is thereby dissipated. Sides are drawn and the issue is resolved among the Upper Xingú groups; the Mundurucú cannot even afford to take sides openly.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Coser (1956:156–7) has considered the relationship between conflict and the rigidity of the social structure, which he defines as "the degree to which it disallows direct expression of antagonistic claims," and concludes:

> Our hypothesis, that the need for safety-valve institutions increases with the rigidity of the social system, may be extended to suggest that unrealistic [i.e. cathartic and not oriented toward the frustrating object] conflict may be expected to occur as a consequence of rigidity present in the social structure.

Mundurucú warfare was clearly "unrealistic" and the social structure was rigid in Coser's sense. It is possible to broaden our example to include a larger category of rigid social structures and to consider their functional concomitants. I would propose as a statistically testable hypothesis that matrilocal societies must repress open aggression in order to insure cohesion and continuity. If we take any matrilocal and matrilineal or bilateral society as our model, the system of residence tends to disperse males at least throughout the local community. Thus, any male will have close ties of kinship and economic interdependence with his housemates, his natal household, the households of his maternal uncles, and the households of his brothers. The same is true of patrilocal societies from the viewpoint of the women, but males are the principal political role-players in all human societies. Any conflict involving men therefore becomes a matter of deep community concern. As among the Mundurucú, if the lines of allegiance in a conflict situation are drawn according to kinship in any matrilocal society, bonds of local contiguity will be sundered; if primary loyalty is given to bonds of residence, the ties of kinship will be broken. In short, when the residence and kin groups of the male do not coincide, he acquires multiple commitments that may come into conflict. Also, the individual male will more readily repress his grievances if he cannot rely upon the full support of a solidary group.

Brief reference to the ethnographic literature suggests that the social solidarity of matrilocal groups is not restricted to my model. Writing of the Apinayé, Nimuendajú (1939:129) says:

> I have never heard of a case of rape nor witnessed anything of publicly scandalous adultery, larceny, or slander. Only when intoxicated do these natives inflict damage on property and bodily maltreatment on persons or commit manslaughter. Compared with any Šerente settlement the village of Bacaba, at least, is a model of internal peace and harmony, and this would hold for Gato Preto, too, in the absence of alcohol.

The Šerente and the Apinayé are Gê-speaking groups of eastern Brazil and are culturally quite similar. The principal difference between them is that the fractious Šerente are patrilineal and patrilocal, while the harmonious Apinayé are matrilineal and matrilocal. Turning to North America, we have the classical example of the matrilocal and "Apollonian" Pueblosans. Ellis (1951:199) has noted of Pueblo warfare:

> Beyond protection, warfare served to provide legitimate outlet for the frustrations and aggressions arising from unpermitted competition or suspicions thereof among peoples of the same general culture.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NHL

Reprinted for private circulation from
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE
Vol. IV, No. 4, July 1956
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

TAPPERS AND TRAPPERS: PARALLEL PROCESS IN ACCULTURATION[1]

Mo
Mu

I. The Problem

121 The purpose of this paper is to show how two cases of acculturation exemplify parallel processes of culture change, that is, cross-cultural regularities of function and causality, even though differences in outward form and substantive content are such that the acculturation might also be considered as convergent development.

Mo
Mu
121
171

As subsequent sections will show in detail, the Mundurucú of the Tapajós River in Brazil and the Northeastern Algonkians in Canada differed during precontact times in social structure, in the general nature of their culture, and in their cultural ecological adaptations. The first were tropical forest hunters and horticulturalists living in semi-permanent villages and given to warfare. The second were hunters of large migratory game and were loosely organized in nomadic bands. Despite these differences, however, both represented roughly the same level of sociocultural integration. That is, individual families were related to one another through certain supra-familial patterns--village activities in the one case and band functions in the other--but the local unit in each instance was politically autonomous.

Mo
Mu
[121]

Since this paper is essentially an illustration of methodology, it is important to stress that the concept of level does not classify cultures according to concrete and substantive form and content. Different cultures may be wholly unlike in their particulars in that they are the products of distinctive area histories or traditions and of local adaptations to environments. At the same time, the largest integrated and autonomous social units may be of a similar order of inclusiveness. While, therefore, similarity of level must underly formulations of cross-cultural regularities, such similarity alone does not at all imply typological identity. The aboriginal tropical forest Mundurucú and the sub-arctic Algonkian hunters were wholly unlike in most cultural particulars and in social structure, although both were integrated on comparable sociocultural levels.

They were alike, however, in the acculturative processes to which they were subjected and in the final cultural type which is now emerging in both populations. The processes were similar in the special manner in which outside

Mo

---

171 1. The acculturational phenomena described in this article were apparently found among many, although not all, Northeastern Algonkians, including
177 native groups of New England as well as Canada. Speck, Steward, and others have considered this problem for many years. They were also found among certain Mackenzie Basin Athabaskans, as Jenness has shown. A very comparable case of acculturational process was studied by Steward among the British Columbia Carrier. These cases will be cited in the concluding comparative section. The Montagnais are taken as our principal example
Mu because Eleanor Leacock studied them in detail from this point of view.
122 The Mundurucú of Brazil are analyzed on the basis of a year of field research by Yolanda and Robert Murphy during 1952-53. The research was conducted under the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, and was made possible by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mu
121
171

commercial influence led to reduction of the local level of integration from the band or village to the individual family and in the way in which the family became reintegrated as a marginal part of the much larger nation. The resultant culture type was similar in each case in that the local culture core contained the all-important outside factor of almost complete economic dependence upon trade goods which were exchanged for certain local produce and because the functional nature of local production, the family, and other features were directly related to this new element. The common factor postulated to have causal importance is a kind of economic activity--the collection of wild produce--which entailed highly similar ecological adaptations. While rubber production differs as greatly in particulars from fur trapping as the tropical forests differ from the sub-arctic barren-lands of Labrador, the result of the acculturative processes in the two cases was the independent emergence of the same type of culture, as defined in terms of level of integration and culture core. We shall use the latter term to denote the structural interrelationships of the basic institutions of the culture.

This case study should also help clarify the heuristic concept of cultural ecology, and especially to illustrate how fundamentally it differs from environmental determinism. It will be shown that total environment is in no way the decisive factor in the culture-environment relationship. In analyzing the creative processes in the adaptation of culture to environment, it is necessary to determine the crucial features in the environment that are selectively important to a culture of a particular level and a particular area tradition. In this sense, it does not matter how different the subarctic and the tropical forests are in their totality. The primary fact is that each environment afforded a resource for trade purposes which could best be exploited by individual families controlling these products within delimited territories. These products did not achieve importance until the native populations became parts of larger sociocultural systems and began to produce for outside markets in a mercantilist pattern.

The process of gradual shift from a subsistence economy to dependence upon trade is evidently irreversible, provided access to trade goods is maintained. It can be said, therefore, that the aboriginal culture is destined to be replaced by a new type which reaches its culmination when the responsible processes have run their course. The culmination point may be said to have been reached when the amount of activity devoted to production for trade grows to such an extent that it interferes with the aboriginal subsistence cycle and associated social organization and makes their continuance impossible.

II. Northeastern Algonkians

Mo
114
177
423

Our discussion of the acculturation of the Northeastern Algonkians assumes that the family-owned fur-trapping territories widely reported among these Indians were post-white in origin. The supposition of Speck [1915; 1939; 1942], Cooper [1939], and Eiseley [1939; 1942; 1947] that such territories were aboriginal lacks support in early historical documents. Moreover, indisputable cases of post-white formation of family territories have been reported by Leacock among the Eastern Montagnais [1954], Jenness among certain of the Mackenzie Basin Athabaskans [1932, p. 257], and Steward among the British Columbia Carrier [1941]. Leacock's study [1954] deals with the processes of development of trapping territories in greatest detail and consequently provides the most illuminating material. We shall constantly refer to it in the following delineation of the aboriginal culture core and the subsequent changes in it.

Mo
621

According to Leacock, the Eastern Montagnais formerly possessed very loosely integrated bands. The basic aboriginal social unit was the "multi-family" winter hunting group consisting of two to five families. These groups were nominally

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

may pursue and kill deer or caribou on any fur area. In some instances, another may kill and take the meat of a beaver, provided only that he give the pelt to the man having exclusive rights to the furs within the territory in question.

Two basically different concepts of rights to resources within the same area co-exist, each justifiable and explainable in its own way: the right to hunt large game for subsistence purposes practically anywhere and the right to monopolize fur-bearing animals within prescribed areas. In British Columbia the provincial government recognized these differences some years ago and registered family owned trapping territories of the Carrier Indians and protected them by law while permitting moose-hunting anywhere.

This end product of acculturation is substantially Leacock's third stage. The nuclear family now becomes the primary economic and social unit, and the old bonds of inter-familial economic dependency become attenuated. The new individualism has even penetrated the nuclear family. Among the Western Montagnais, the son of a trapper owns the beaver lodges which he discovers, whereas among the most acculturated of the Eastern group, only the family head may own such a resource.

With the breakdown in interfamilial ties among the Northeastern Algonkians, the economic centers of gravity for the families are the trading posts. Leacock says:

> "The movement of trading posts has obviously been the most important factor determining recent shifts in the size and location of Montagnais bands. However, it would be wrong to infer from this that increasing dependence on trade has acted to destroy formerly stable social groups. The reverse seems to be closer to the truth--that the changes brought about by the fur trade have led to more stable bands with greater formal organization". [Ibid., p. 20]

Leacock gives the Seven Islands band as an example of this post-contact development. This new "band", however, is of a different order entirely than aboriginal hunting bands, for the principal bond between the members is that they all trade at the Seven Islands trading post. They claim no band territory; in fact, all present trends are towards familial tracts and not band lands. The modern band has a chief whose principal function is to act as intermediary with the Indian Agent. Also, the Indians refer to themselves as the "Seven Islands" (derived from the name of the trading post) people, and are so called by other Indians. In the interest of taxonomic clarity it is best not to describe such an arrangement as a "band". Such a group is reminiscent of the post-white Shoshoneans of the Great Basin, who classify themselves principally by reservation, for example, Warm Springs Paiute, Burns Paiute, Owyhee Shoshoni, and so forth. Prior to the Reorganization Act, the only basis for these groupings was common residence on a reservation and representation by a spokesman, who generally attained his position partly through prestige, but probably more importantly through recognition by the Indian Agent. Since the agents preferred "cooperative" men, the chiefs often did not truly represent the Indians. These reservation people, like Leacock's Seven Islands band, had little formal structure and a very limited raison d'etre. The stability of these groups is almost entirely a function of their linkage to the whites, an outside factor. Among the more acculturated Eastern Montagnais, the basic socio-economic unit appears to be the nuclear family.

III. The Mundurucú

We shall discuss the Mundurucú in somewhat greater detail than the Algonkians not only because they are less known ethnographically but because the special

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mu 121 128 problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

Mu 175 The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

Mu 361 [131] [137] Mu [505] The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

Mo Mu 621 171 Mu [619] It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Mu [241] 462 Mo Mu 593 171 Mu 593 Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo Mu 177 594 621

The culmination of the long acculturative processes shows a high degree of structural parallelism. Both Mundurucú and Montagnais populations are divided into loosely integrated and dispersed communities centering about particular trading posts with which the individual families have ties. The Indians still recreate, associate, and intermarry with one another, but the nuclear family is now the stable socio-economic unit. It is the highest level of integration found among the native population itself, but it is linked to the nation through the intermediary of a regional economy. The integration of the family with the national level is highly specialized and limited. These families do not yet share a substantial part of the common denominator of the national culture or even of the regional sub-cultures of their non-Indian neighbors.

Mo Mu 177 184

There is a final phase, which, though occurring at different dates in the different localities, is characterized by assimilation of the Indians as a local sub-culture of the national sociocultural system and virtual loss of identity as Indians. At this point, the acculturational processes and results diverge, since the Indians participate to a much greater extent in the national culture. So long as the families maintain their marginal relation with the national society, they are quite unlike the basic populations of the nations in which they lived and much more like one another. When, however, they learn the national language, intermarry extensively with non-Indians, and acquire many of the non-Indian values and behavior patterns, they have to be classed with the special regional sub-cultures that have developed in portions of these nations.

000

It can be predicted that the drastic shift in mode and level of integration will do much to hasten the loss of cultural distinctiveness. Fortes has cogently expressed the relationship between social structure and formal culture content in such a situation:

> "I would suggest that a culture is a unity insofar as it is tied to a bounded social structure. In this sense I would agree that the social structure is the foundation of the whole social life of any continuing society.....The social structure of a group does not exist without the customary norms and activities which work through it. We might safely conclude that where structure persists there must be some persistence of corresponding custom, and where custom survives there must be some structural basis for this" [Fortes 1953, pp. 22-23].

V. Further Comparisons

Mo Mu 171 177 121

We can delimit and refine the Mundurucú-Algonkian parallel by the cross-cultural examination of structural changes caused by acculturation in other areas. We will not seek further parallels, however, but will discuss cultures in which divergence appears manifest. One instance of such apparent divergence is the Northwest Coast, where the fur trade at first strengthened or intensified rather than weakened the aboriginal social structure. The florescence of the potlatch and class system on the Northwest Coast as a result of new wealth in trade goods is a thesis which has been ably expounded by a number of students [cf. Barnett 1938; Drucker 1939; Collins 1950; Codere 1950]. It would be very misleading, however, to consider any trade in furs as the crucial factor. What really matters is individual trapping of fur-bearing animals. The sea otter was the principal fur bartered by most Northwest Coast tribes, and collection involved neither individual effort nor delimited territories. The amount of land trapping was probably fairly limited and in any event did not offset the cultural effects of the great salmon wealth which created surpluses rarely if ever paralleled by hunting, gathering, and fishing people.

The trapping activities of the Skagit of Puget Sound more nearly paralleled those of the Northeastern Algonkians, according to Collins description [1950, p. 335]:

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mu
171
177
121

"The [trading] posts played an important part in altering the economy of the Indians. First, they encouraged a shift in their hunting habits. The skins in which the traders were most interested were beaver and land otter. These animals had small value in the aboriginal economy, since they were less desirable for food than deer or elk, for example. At the traders' behest, however, hunters pursued these animals eagerly. Another economic shift took place when the hunters, instead of killing game for meat, began to exchange skins for food."

The result of this trade was, however, quite different from its effects in Eastern Canada.

"The effects of these changes upon Skagit social organization were pronounced. Distinctions in social rank began to be more marked--a shift made possible since, though social mobility had always been within the grasp of any person of good descent who could acquire the distinction of wealth, new sources of wealth were now available" [Ibid., pp. 337-338].

The new wealth acquired by the Skagit was funnelled into the class structure and ultimately the potlatch. The difference, then, between the processes of change which occurred among Northwest Coast and Northeastern Canadian groups is that the former integrated the new wealth into a pre-existent class structure created and perpetuated by a fishing economy. Among the latter, since there were no cultural means or goals promoting the concentration of surplus wealth in the hands of a select few, the benefits rebounded to all persons. The same was true of Mundurucú society which also was unstratified. The differences between the Skagit on one hand as opposed to the Mundurucú and Montagnais on the other are attributable to the stratification of society among the former, which in turn is partially explainable by the greater aboriginal resources of the Skagit. In effect, this constitutes a difference of level of socio-cultural integration.

The impact of trapping upon a pre-existing social structure can be even better appraised among the Carrier of the interior of British Columbia, where the wealth in salmon was far less than on the coast. The fur trade among the Blackwater River Carrier involved intimate interaction with Northwest Coast groups, especially the Bella Coola. Goldman summarizes the effects of this contact upon the simple, bilateral Carrier hunting bands [1941, pp. 416-417]:

"Undoubtedly the Bella Coola, like all Northwest Coast tribes, became relatively wealthy as a result of this trade. And in Bella Coola where wealth was the decisive factor in building rank, the fur trade must have been particularly welcome. And the lowly interior Carrier who hunted for furs in order to trade with the Bella Coola, who traded them to the whites, became an important part of the scheme of elevating one's rank. Although a Bella Coola did not gain valuable prerogatives from a Carrier son-in-law, if he could get a monopoly upon his furs he could make enough wealth to purchase new prerogatives. And as the Bella Coola benefited by this trade, so did the Alkatcho Carrier. The latter took up products obtained on the coast and traded them to the Carrier villages eastward on the Blackwater River drainage. As they obtained guns and steel traps, economic productivity spurted so that they were able to build up the necessary property surpluses for potlatching. Potlatching obligations in turn stimulated economic activity, and the degree to which they were able to potlatch made possible the full integration of crests as honorific prerogatives.

Given our previous hypotheses, developments more or less parallel to those in Eastern Canada might be expected. But these Carrier did not trade with European traders; they dealt instead with stratified Northwest Coast tribes in the context of an economic system, the rationale of which was the validation of rank by potlatch. As the following example of the Stuart Lake Carrier suggests,

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mu
121
171
177

direct trade with the whites and the end of potlatching result ultimately in the family trapping territory system.

The effect of the fur trade among the Carrier of Stuart Lake to the north of the Blackwater River ran a similar course but culminated in family trapping territories, according to Steward's research. In pre-white times, the wealth of salmon fisheries, although far less than those of the coastal tribes, had provided some surplus, while contacts with the Tsimshian of the Skeena River had introduced a pattern for channeling this surplus to nobles who controlled the fishing rights of large territories in the name of matrilineal moieties. This wealth circulated through small-scale potlatches. The fur trade, carried on directly with the whites more than through coastal contacts, created a new source of wealth and intensified the native pattern. Although furs were trapped by individual moiety members, a noble had rights to certain percentage of the furs taken in his moiety's territory.

In the course of about 50 years, however, several processes combined to bring about individual trapping territories as among the Indians of eastern Canada. Most importantly, the new wealth in trade goods brought hardward that was of value to individuals. Pressures mounted to force the nobles to divide the trapping territories among their own children rather than to pass them on intact to their sister's sons, who had traditionally inherited their titles and rights. This process was aided by the activities of the Catholic missionary-ethnologist Father Morice, who effectively undermined the native religious sanctions of the class of nobles, and by the government, which banned potlatching. The older pattern survives only in isolated localities, where it is carried on clandestinely. At Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, where there is located a Hudsons' Bay Trading Post and some few hundred whites and Indians, the processes have reached a culmination almost identical to that of the Montagnais.

> "Present-day Carrier society at Stuart Lake consists of individual families that have exclusive rights to certain trap-lines that are registered with and protected by the Provincial Government. The family is the kinship and economic unit" [Steward 1941, pp. 500-501].

It seems likely that the Blackwater River Carrier have not yet reached the final stage of acculturation. The same may be true of the Skagit. The critical consideration is whether wealth in salmon among these tribes was so great that it offset the importance of trapping. This was not the case at Stuart Lake. On the lower Skeena River, salmon are so important that canneries have been built, and the Tsimshian and Tlingit have given up fur trapping to become commercial fishermen and cannery laborers.

Certain Plans Indians in North America also engaged in the fur trade but developed in distinctive ways. This is another illustration of the need to examine specific features in the taking of furs. There is a significant ecological difference between the collection of fur on the Great Plains and in the coniferous forests of Canada that lies essentially in the difference between hunting and trapping. It is incomplete and misleading therefore to make comparisons simply on the basis of "fur trading". In the Great Plains, buffalo hides were the chief item traded, whereas in eastern Canada, small, non-gregarious and non-migratory animals were trapped. The trade on the Plains resulted in an emphasis upon the buffalo hunt beyond the needs of subsistence and served to strengthen the collective and cooperative techniques traditionally used in the pursuit of migratory herds. Moreover, band cohesion in the Plains was enhanced by acquisition of the horse and gun and by intensification of warfare, the latter carried on in part to obtain horses.

It is possible that a non-stratified society which acquires surplus wealth may develop a class structure, but this involves special conditions not ordinarily

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montaquais NH6

Behavior Theory W3

Mo Mu 121 171 177

found among collectors of wild products. Some of the North American Plains Indians showed an incipient development of a class society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the tribes were decimated by epidemics and overwhelmed by the advancing frontier when intensified wealth and significant prestige differences had begun to emerge. A parallel between the Plains and the Mundurucu can be found in the increased authority of chiefs owing to their functions as intermediaries between the traders and the Indians. Jablow notes such a florescence of political controls among the Cheyenne [1951, p. 86], and Lewis specifically states of Blackfoot trade [1942, p. 42]:

> "In periods of monopoly [of the Indian trade by one company] the fur trade has a positive effect, that is, it increased the prestige and authority of the chiefs. In periods of competition it has a disruptive effect, that is, it weakened the power of the chiefs."

The Plains band chief traded a commodity which was obtained by collective effort. The Mundurucú chief served as middleman in the pre-rubber period when trade in manioc flour, which was also communally produced, was of primary importance. But he eventually lost his position when individually produced rubber became predominant. The Tenetehara Indians of northeastern Brazil have been in contact with civilization longer than the Mundurucú, but, according to Wegley and Galvao, the village chiefs and extended family heads still have a central role in the trading of collectively produced manioc flour and palm oils [1949, pp. 26-30]. It seems apparent that, lacking some other basis for political authority, it is difficult for leaders to maintain control over trade in individually-produced goods.

W 121 177 439

Our formulations, in effect, state that when certain acculturative factors, defined functionally rather than formally, are present, the core of a culture will change in expectable and predictable ways. These formulations assume the constancy of certain other preconditions, which, though well worth investigation of themselves, can be regarded as given factors for methodological purposes.

This can best be exemplified in our present cases by reference to the basic, though incompletely explained, acculturative factor common not only to the Mundurucu and Naskapi but to most primitive peoples throughout the world. This factor can be stated simply as follows: When goods manufactured by the industrialized nations with modern techniques become available through trade to aboriginal populations, the native people increasingly give up their home crafts in order to devote their efforts to producing specialized cash crops or other trade items in order to obtain more of the industrially made articles. The consequences of this simple though world-wide factor are enormous, even though they vary in local manifestation. The phenomenon is of such a high order of regularity that special explanations must be sought for the few departures from it.

The main hypothesis arising from the present study is that: When the people of an unstratified native society barter wild products found in extensive distribution and obtained through individual effort, the structure of the native culture will be destroyed, and the final culmination will be a culture type characterized by individual families having delimited rights to marketable resources and linked to the larger nation through trading centers. Tappers, trappers, and no doubt other collectors come under this general statement.

Robert F. Murphy

University of California
Berkeley

Julian H. Steward

University of Illinois

●121 Mundurucú Indians, A Dual System of Ethics

[101] The Mundurucú Indians, an aboriginal people of central Brazil, share with most of mankind a propensity to apply one moral standard to relationships among themselves and quite another to their conduct towards the rest of humanity. One may say that this phenomenon is universal. This paper shall maintain the view common to many social scientists that ethical values, whether norms implicit in observed behavior or overt ideals, are parts of social systems. It is to be expected, therefore, that desired and valued behavior will be different among members of any one system than between participants in different systems.

In a sense, all members of modern,

[p. 369 (B)]

[pp. 1-369 (A) not processed for the files. - Analyst]

121 complex societies are a part of the same social system. Therefore, the moral values of in-groups are commonly extended outward to a considerable degree. Moreover, the ethical norms reflected in everyday social interaction are complicated by class differences and other categories of sub-cultural variation. The individual is an actor in many situations, each of which prescribes rather different modes of behavior. He may be the bearer of several standards of ethics, which become manifest according to the particular status and role context in which he is acting. Our "real," as opposed to "ideal," values are heterogeneous in the extreme.

The complexity of our ethical values arises from the very complexity of the social structure of which they are an integral part. Beyond the realm of situationally desirable behavior, the general ideal value system, or thematic moral values, in Kluckhohn's terms, shows somewhat more uniformity and internal consistency.[1] But they are frequently in conflict with sentiments, which, while less lofty, are just as strongly value charged.

577 Since it is more simple, and because
186 it is less ambivalent, the Mundurucú ethic should provide some insight into our own. It varies from our own in degree of intensity of ingroup harmony and outgroup hostility and is perhaps

---

[1] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: an Exploration in Definition and Classification" in *Towards a General Theory of Action* (Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, eds., Cambridge, 1952). [p.370(A)]

181 non-aggression to an extent compa-
577 rable to the Zuni Indians of Arizona; in this light their culture is Apollonian.

121 The apparent disparity between these two concepts of desirable conduct towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedict and others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a central theme which pervades all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If major ethical themes are analyzed, on the other hand, as being an integrated and integrative part of the social structure, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the total culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, does not have to show ideational consistency, for its rationality lies in the structure of the society and, ultimately, of the culture.

186 The major unifying theme of the Mundurucú view of humanity lies in the division which they make, explicitly and verbally, between those who are Mundurucú and those who are not. Only the former are called "people," while the latter are referred to categorically as "outlanders." In times
[609] past, all "outlanders" were considered to be enemies and proper objects of attack.

This is not a racial or genetic concept; the name "outlander" is frequently applied today to many fellow
[177] tribesmen who have adopted white men's ways to such an extent that they no longer operate within the closed circle of Mundurucú society. Further-

[p. 371(A)]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PREFACE

THIS MONOGRAPH is based primarily upon data gathered in the course of research among the Mundurucú Indians of the state of Pará, Brazil, in 1952 and 1953. The field work, in which my wife Yolanda and I collaborated, was conducted with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded by the Trustees of Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. At the time of the investigation, we were graduate students in the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, and our work was under the guidance of Professors Julian H. Steward and Charles Wagley. 122

The focus of the research was upon those changes in economic and social structure consequent upon the involvement of the Mundurucú in the rubber-extraction industry, but we set as a further goal the collection of as much ethnographic data as was possible during the year available. This aim was partly motivated by a desire to add to the information about South American Indian groups, but it was also felt that completely concentrated and problem-oriented research could be done only in cultures upon which a good background of reliable information was already available. 121

Actually, the Mundurucú are probably better known than most South American Indians, except for those few groups which have been the subject of prolonged and intensive study. This speaks less for the wealth of published data than for the poverty of our knowledge of the area. A certain amount of data is available from the early nineteenth-century explorations of Spix and Martius, and a fine source on Mundurucú culture in the latter part of the century is available in the report of the Brazilian engineer, Antonio M. G. Tocantins. More limited and fragmentary data are available in the work of Manoel Ayres de Cazal, Henry Walter Bates, William C. Farabee, João Barbosa Rodrigues, Henri Coudreau, José Monteiro Noronha, and Ricardo de Almeida Serra. Some excellent material has been published by the Franciscan missionaries to the Mundurucú, especially Fathers Albert Kruse and C. Strömer. Unfortunately, I have not had access to the information published by these priests and their colleagues in the *Provinzeitschrift der Franziskaner in Nordbrasilien*. The information available in most of the above sources is based upon limited residence among the Indians, and some contain most questionable data. None was written in the light of modern anthropological problems and theories or with the aid of contemporary field techniques. 114

Accordingly, my wife and I proceeded to gather as wide a range of data as was possible within the limits imposed by the necessity to accumulate material pertinent to our main interests. The present work represents one aspect of this research. The reader will see that a great deal of the native religion has been lost as a result of contact with Brazilian society, and certain items reported were not actually witnessed by me. It was continually necessary to resort to the memories of older Mundurucú, but we made every attempt to insure the reliability of our facts by cross-checking our data with several informants. I stated in the text which activities and beliefs are extinct and which are still practiced. The final [177]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

preface

This book has three principal aims: to present a picture of the life of a South American Indian tribe as it is today; to analyze the processes through which this society has evolved to its present form; and to relate conclusions derived from the study to the general body of anthropological theory. 12

The material on which the work is based was gathered by my wife and me during a field investigation among the Mundurucú Indians of the Tapajós River in the State of Pará, Brazil. I originally became interested in South American Indians (and anthropology) as a student in Professor Charles Wagley's courses in Columbia College. Later, during graduate study at Columbia, the Mundurucú at-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PREFACE

●121 tracted my attention as a research possibility because the tribe had become differentiated into two distinct groups, one characterized by adherence to traditional ways and the other drastically modified. Since I was studying problems of social and economic change, I felt that the Mundurucú presented an opportunity for a "controlled comparison," to use Dr. Fred Eggan's words, between the two sections. I phrased my research proposals in these terms and carried out my intent in the field. Of our thirteen months in Brazil, from May, 1952, to June, 1953, we spent about five months each in a conservative village and in a more "modern" one.

This book does not present a general ethnography of Mundurucú culture; it is rather an analysis of economy and social structure, and their changes. The study of social relations in space and in time inevitably involves theory. I have not attempted to keep "theory" and "fact" rigidly compartmentalized, for facts are meaningless outside a frame of reference and theories are equally devoid of content unless based on substantive data. This is especially true in the present study, as some data appear incomprehensible until their proper position is seen in the light of theoretical assumptions.

128

122 The field trip was supported by the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, administered by Columbia University, and by a Research Training Fellowship awarded by the Social Science Research Council. Much of the writing of the book was done in 1957 with the support of a Faculty Summer Fellowship given by the University of California. Funds awarded by the Research Committee and the Institute of International Relations at the University of California made possible research assistance and typing. Mrs. Janet Seibert prepared the manuscript and was a continual source of help and encouragement.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

probe beneath the surface appearances. The Mundurucú were equally curious, and relentless to the exclusion of all 123 personal privacy in their own ethnographic investigations on us. This is perhaps the worst part of field work, and it was more difficult for Yolanda than for me. The insect life forced her to dress in khakis, and only the canons of empiricism convinced the Mundurucú children—and many of the adults—that she was truly a female. The women shook her hammock before dawn to ask her if she was awake, and they made continuous and repetitive demands on her for bright glass beads. Her relations with the females were of a reciprocal nature; that she was another woman was more important than her role as a foreigner, and she was able to establish close rapport with them for field work. I, who did not hunt, fish, sow, or reap, could claim no such close identification with the men. Our research proceeded, and we found that there was still much that was distinctively Mundurucú below the veneer of material acquisitions. Beyond this, the grinding processes by which Mundurucú society had become transformed and is becoming transformed unfolded themselves through our observations of their continuing mode of existence. The headhunter's heritage, pale and secularized as it may be, was of consummate interest to us as social scientists.

This book, in essence, is the story of the relationship be- 121 tween the white man and the Mundurucú. It is a prosaic and simple tale, unadorned with episodes of valiant resistance and glory, and surprisingly lacking in oppression and suffering. But, perhaps for this reason, it contains an element of tragedy, because the processes of this history have worked inexorably upon Mundurucú society and cultrue for a century and a half and have brought a once proud people to the brink of social extinction.

The complex causes and processes of change in Mun- 177 182

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE SETTING

METHODOLOGY AND ORGANIZATION

This study undertakes to analyze the processes of change in economy and social structure operative among the Mundurucú at the time of this investigation and in the past. I have chosen to focus my attention on the economic and social structural categories rather than on the broader range of interest of the usual acculturation study, for I feel that it is here that the causes of social and cultural change, in general, are to be found. I use the term "cause" advisedly, for I know that it has been used, and misused, in a variety of contexts. I shall avoid interpretations of a finalistic or teleological nature, and I shall similarly eschew the particularism inherent in the concept of immediate causes. I will rather concentrate my interest on the sufficient causes underlying the emergence of new, or modified, social forms. 12/1

So far as society is a system, an organization—and this is inherent in the definition of society—the direction and effect of changes in the system will be governed by its component parts and its over-all nature. In short, sufficient causality lies in large part within the social structure, and the dynamics of social change need not be sought completely outside the unit under study. From this point of view, external forces producing certain effects in one system may have different results in another. This must be kept in mind, for it is only in this way that we can arrive at general laws of social and cultural change: laws that will not only tell why something happens or exists in one instance, but why it does not in another.

The search for causes of change leads into functional analysis of the Mundurucú social system. If understanding of how a system changes is to be obtained, it is necessary

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

121 to know how the parts of the system are related to one another and to the totality. It is also necessary to understand how the system becomes a coherent and integrated set of social relationships in terms of observable behavior. I attempt to do this in the present work. A functional analysis of social structure has another important value, and one that is not fully utilized by anthropologists. Since a basic assumption of the method is that a system has internal coherence, it is possible to see clues to the past in items that do not fit into the present. This, of course, is reminiscent of the now unpopular use of "survivals" for purposes of historical reconstruction. I do not think, however, that I have engaged in a form of "conjectural" history. Rather, I have attempted to relate my clues, the nonfunctional and disfunctional items of the present, to the probable structure of Mundurucú society as it existed in the past. And I have attempted to marshal as much historical and ethnographic data as possible to validate my reconstructions. In this way, I have avoided speculations based on one or another shred of data and have remained within the framework of structural analysis. And, it might be added, I have thus tried to bring my historical material under the canons of internal criticism of historical data.

178 Economy and social structure have changed a great deal during the past century and a half of Mundurucú history, making the tribe an especially good subject for this type of study. I have relied to a certain extent on older informants for data of past conditions. The memories of the old people are variable in accuracy, richness, and content, and I tried where possible to corroborate points with a number of informants. It would, however, be naïve to assume that material obtained from an old informant, however well corroborated, is valid for the "aboriginal," or pre-contact, period. A sixty-year-old man—of whom there are

124
128

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

very few among the Mundurucú—interviewed in 1952 was born in 1892. Since his most reliable recollections probably date from his adolescence, his memories of things seen and heard will be of value only for the time after about 1905—and I am being generous here. The period of 1905 and shortly thereafter is within the last decade of the rubber boom and is well over a century after the first contact between Mundurucú and whites. In short, it has been necessary to exercise great caution with these data.

A good deal of the data from informants were datable, within broad limits, by their context. Thus, when I heard that a duty of the chief in times past was to "buy goods for the people," I knew that I was not faced with the pristine. And, fortunately, there is some highly useful documentary history on the Mundurucú. One does not get a smooth historical continuum replete with detail, but it is possible to discern in the written records some of the large-scale changes that have taken place in the society. I have avoided the method, common in acculturation studies, of working with two cultural base lines, the aboriginal and the present, and comparing the two. This procedure may have some value when the transfer of items of culture from one society to another through diffusion is studied, but it does not lend itself to the analysis of the continual interplay of the forces of stability and change acting on a social system.

The Mundurucú present advantages for the student of social change. It has been said that there are three socially and culturally distinct Mundurucú populations, which differ in degree of change—a differentiation that took place only during the past twenty-five years as a result of migration. This study does not include the population of the Tapajós River, where Mundurucú society is most drastically changed, but concentrates on the people of the savan-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

121 nahs and the Cururú River. The differences between the
184 savannah villages and those of the Cururú, and between the modes of social life of the two groups in general, are profound, and I believe that they can be traced to the degree of participation in trade and the rubber-extraction industry. A comparison of the two groups is rewarding because it reveals two points of Mundurucú history. And since the savannah villages will probably be abandoned in a generation or two, and their residents will move also to the banks of the larger streams, a comparison also gives a glimpse of the future. Beyond these considerations, an element of control over the data is introduced. Processes of change that may be surmised to be at work in the savannah communities may be seen to have run their course on the Cururú. Conversely, we need not speculate on the antecedents of social structure on the Cururú River, for we see them on the savannahs.

I start my analysis with a presentation of Mundurucú
128 history, based on published sources and information given
[127] by the priests of the Cururú mission. The next four chapters, the main body of the book, present general material on traditional Mundurucú culture and social structure in the savannah communities. The last of these four chapters, chapter 6, discusses the contemporary bases of social integration, and the centrifugal tendencies in Mundurucú society. This is also the logical place to discuss relations with the whites. Chapter 7 shifts attention to the Cururú River villages and analyzes the progressive disorganization of Mundurucú society there. The final chapter summarizes the findings on social change and discusses their implications for general anthropological theory.

18 ever, the people of the village still maintain trade relations
36 and their closest social contacts with the Cururú River settlements.

The other five communities are those which before the migration to the Cururú were farthest removed from its shores. A glance at the map will show that communication by water with the dwellers of that river is not feasible, and a two or three days' march would be necessary by land. Thus, geographical removal has combined with the social gulf that has arisen between campineiros and Cururú residents to make contact between the two groups most sporadic.

THE SAVANNAH VILLAGES

21 Most of the research in the savannahs was done in the village of Cabruá. The choice was made primarily for physiological and nonscholarly reasons; it had the least insects and the most food of all the villages. A vacant house was also available and ready to be occupied. Beyond considerations of creature comfort, Cabruá was suitable because it had the second largest population, several excellent old informants in residence, and it was a typical community of the more traditional type. Its five houses
[361] were arranged in the customary circle around a central plaza, and its male population lived in the traditional men's house. My wife and I accordingly settled in Cabruá during the second half of our Mundurucú sojourn.

22 The Mundurucú are essentially forest dwellers. Al-
[361] though their villages are on high savannahs, they depend on the resources of the forests and rivers for their subsistence. Their ecological adaptation does not differ greatly from that of other tropical forest tribes except in varying emphasis on different pursuits. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening were and still are the basis of Mun-

614 then it may be surmised that Mundurucú clans have un-
174 dergone a basic process of segmentation. That such a
615 process continued into recent centuries is indicated by the incomplete differentiation of these four clans. If it can be supposed that the four subclans would in time become increasingly independent of the parent group and would eventually assume their own names and tubö while maintaining a more nebulous bond through the common "companion" spirits, the end result would be a phratric alliance. There is no definitive proof for this hypothesis, but such a process is the only unitary explanation of the phenomena of phratries and subclans. The data given by informants on the relation between clans, phratries, and the spirit "companions of the trumpets" are irregular. Certain clans that should logically be linked by common spirits were said by informants to be unaffiliated; others were placed within the same phratry where no grounds for such linkage exist. This unevenness is reminiscent of the problems encountered by students of Pueblo clan and phratry organization. Depopulation and the weakening of broader kin groupings have obscured the intricacies of the system, making reconstruction most difficult. But the Mundurucú data do show a pronounced tendency toward consistency between phratric affiliation and shared "companion" spirits.

The creation of new clans by the internal segmentation
121 of old ones has numerous parallels in other societies. Pat-
591 rilineal clans frequently segment under conditions of an
614 expanding population, which causes lineages to break off
174 and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. The offshoot group in time becomes differentiated from the parent unit and may establish itself as a new clan, although maintaining some symbolic representation of its former connection. Such a budding proc-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7]

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214-215.
[7] Smith, 1903, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 209.
[9] Steward, 1936, pp. 343-344.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 383.
[12] Ibid., p. 393.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

602 628 619 trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule resulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

571 575 619 Integration was furthered also by such groups as the *Muchacha anyen* society, the men's ceremonial group known as the *Biu ii anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Darek ii anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

121 The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and residence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart."[2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.
[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

this is a valid statement. But it conveys the impression that such integration is sufficient to social cohesion; actually interpenetrating modes of segmentation may make social adjustment a most delicate matter.

When considering the relation between structural integration and social solidarity, it may be well to keep in mind that life in society requires a degree of personal renunciation as a means of securing the corporate well-being. Conflicts in interest, between individuals or groups, are bound to follow in all human societies. The causes and intensity of conflict and the means by which it is resolved are, however, variables of the structure of the particular society. The open expression of hostility, we learn from the sociologist Georg Simmel,[3] may result in a readjustment of relations between groups that produces a measure of stability; the playing out of conflicts can thus promote the integration of a society through the correction of disbalances in power and by the cathartic release of aggression.[4] According to Meyer Fortes, battles between lineal groups in Tallensi society has just this effect.[5] But the Tallensi are significantly different from the Mundurucú. Both are patrilineal, but the former society has local groups based on patrilocal residence; conflict between kin groups is simultaneously conflict between local groups.

Conflict in Mundurucú society, on the other hand, cannot range along such simple segmental lines. The memberships of lineal groups and local groups do not coincide; in a conflict, people cannot align themselves with clan fellows, for this may well pit them against the members of

[3] Simmel, 1955.

[4] The latter corollary to Simmel's thesis has been more fully developed by Lewis Coser (1956).

[5] Fortes, 1945, pp. 240–244. See also Gluckman (1956) for a penetrating analysis of segmentary opposition and the part played by cross-cutting loyalties in the dampening of bend.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

8

the changing social system

121
182

This study has analyzed how Mundurucú society operates to wrest a livelihood from its environment and the connected problem of personal and group relationships. In its focus on Mundurucú social structure and the processes by which this system becomes realized in action to form a coherent way of life, it has been a functional study. But unlike most functional studies, it has been plotted on the coördinate of social time in addition to that of social space. The Mundurucú social system has undergone major transformations, and it is impossible to understand fully what it *is* until some understanding is achieved of what it *was*, at least in its key institutions. And it is further necessary to consider the dynamics of the change, because the processes are still continuing. The student who would consider his data only from the point of view of the contribution of

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the elements of a society to its stability would miss the major problem area. Many social institutions and modes of action did little to maintain a smooth flow in the Mundurucú system of social relationships, and some tended to disrupt and destroy the fabric of the society. The working hypothesis used by social anthropologists that social systems tend to establish a new equilibrium when disturbed has great methodological merit but is of limited utility in the present case, because Mundurucú society is hurrying to its own demise. 121 182

If the social system has ceased to function smoothly, one might ask how this study can be called a functional analysis; and how Mundurucú society can be said to be systematized if there are great incongruities between its parts. These questions may be answered by stressing that the Mundurucú still maintain a social life, despite its manifold changes and internal strains. The presented data suggest that human societies are less bothered by inconsistencies than the social scientist, who abstracts and constructs his systems from a mass of observed behavior. Moreover, Mundurucú society was at no time fraught with absolute contradictions, and there remain important accommodations and adjustments between some of the central activities that make up the totality of their social life.

A major source of change resided in the fact that continuing and patterned relations have been established with another society, that of Amazon Brazil. The adaptation of institutions and modes of behavior to the new system of relationships with the whites called for corresponding adjustments in Mundurucú society itself. Beyond this, the Mundurucú were brought into contact with a larger world through the medium of the market, and the Indians became sensitized to its demands. These demands of the market changed in type of commodity sought and in 177 182

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 amount, and the native social structure was directly af-
182 fected.

That Mundurucú society was not isolated and was not
121 stable, were advantages to a functional analysis rather
182 than disturbing factors. Through observation of change in a component part of a system, it was possible to examine and determine with some degree of verifiability the ramifications and strength of relationship between the changing part and other parts. Functional links of interdependency did indeed exist, and change had repercussions through at least part of the system. As A. R. Radcliffe-Brown phrased it: "It is a corollary of the hypothesis of the systemic connection of features of social life that changes in some features are likely to produce changes in other features."[1] Thus, the functionalist method, when used in the dimension of history, has led to the study of social causality. It further illustrated that the direction of change was profoundly influenced by the structure of Mundurucú society; in this way the social system acted as a field of plural determinants, and social change derived therefrom its order and regularity.

174 At the time when the tribe erupted so violently into his-
182 tory the Mundurucú were patrilineal and patrilocal and
61 appear to have been undergoing expansion in population and territory. Their social structure was well adapted to such growth, because the equivalence of kin and territorial unit permitted a segmentation process whereby small kin-local groups split off from larger ones. The offspring units, composed of residential nuclei of patrilineally related males and their wives, were miniatures of the parent groups, and they maintained a relation with the parent units through the over-all structure of lineage, subclan,

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 7.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[2] He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant coöperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[2] Murdock, 1949, pp. 216–218.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

structure of authority must have followed closely along lines of patrilineal kinship in patrilocal times. Under the new conditions, the man was not only assigned to permanent proximity to the father-in-law and his house, but was left with no unit in which he could exercise a political role. The Hopi man, for example, may move to his wife's household upon marriage, but he rarely moves out of the village; and he maintains an important position in his own lineage. But, on the other hand, the rule of matrilocality in a patrilineal society leaves a man without a lineage in which he may hold membership or play a political role. That the man had no important rights and duties in his natal household undoubtedly contributed to the persistence of intervillage marriages despite his consequent departure for a new locality. But this raised other problems, for life in a new village placed the man under different leadership and away from a solidary group of kinsmen. The situation was partly resolved by allowing the men to continue residence in the men's house beyond the normal period of bride service. Thus, young married men remained independent of the households of their wives during the early years of marriage and became more fully integrated into them after they had been married for several years. By this time, age and seniority allowed them to become significant figures in the extended family; they were no longer potentially at the mercy of the father-in-law. Matrilocality did not bring the man into another patrilineage under the new circumstances, because the father-in-law was also an outsider. The man's ultimate increased participation in the life of the household was correspondingly eased.

121 591 182

That Mundurucú society gave all members free access to natural resources and had a preëxistent men's-house organization are important to an understanding of the change in residence rules. The two factors were struc-

611 182 591 [423]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study, for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock[4] is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–202.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

determined comparatively: cross-cultural studies of social and cultural change may well use the factors of ecological adaptation and types of relationship between social systems as constants. This is a different common denominator than the genetic one suggested by Fred Eggan as a means toward controlled comparison,[5] but it has been used by Steward and myself in a comparative analysis of the rubber-tapping Mundurucú and the Indian trappers of Canada.[6] In the latter study, we attempted to demonstrate that the two populations experienced similar relationships with mercantilist, extraction economies, which entailed similar ecological adaptations. Both groups underwent disturbances of traditional patterns of postmarital residence; and both eventually underwent transitions in which the population became reorganized into loose aggregations in which larger bonds of economic dependency were transferred to patrons.

Finally the relevance of the present work for the study of "acculturation" must be considered, for I have given little attention to the borrowing of the symbolic forms of Western culture by the Mundurucú. The term "acculturation" has had a varied history and much ink has been spilled over its definition. It is generally defined as comprising those changes that take place as a consequence of culture contact. Its application in the past, however, has usually referred to the absorption of the content of European culture by a primitive group. Acculturation studies have been characterized by a concern with the phenomenon of diffusion, although on a large scale, and with the processes through which the content of other cultures is accepted and incorporated. Although such studies are interesting and valuable, I have not chosen acculturation as

[5] Eggan, 1954.
[6] Murphy and Steward, 1956.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

114 the central problem of this work. It might be asked
177 whether the classical culture-historical emphasis of accul-
121 turation studies would have elucidated or confused some of the central issues of Mundurucú social change. Could the development of matrilocality have been understood in these terms? Or could the fact that family organization among the Mundurucú of the Cururú River is converging with that prevalent among the Brazilian population of the region be clarified by noting their intercourse with celibate
[797] German priests? It is true that the priests have encouraged the independence of the nuclear family, but how does this also explain a similar process of fragmentation among the Indians without close contact with the missionaries? Also, it cannot be denied that the adoption of Brazilian forms of dancing and tonsure, of dresses and guitars, are significant because they constitute breaks in the symbolic barriers between the Mundurucú and the whites and, in effect, bespeak alienation from the past. But were not these barriers already shattered and was not the major part of the population already alienated from their heritage by other factors?

The necessities of existence and the ways in which peo-
121 ple and peoples interrelate should be the central problems for the student of culture change—as they are for the persons caught in the process. These, and not man's propensity to imitate, cause the fundamental alterations of a way of life. The question is perhaps too often phrased as "how *have* cultures changed" rather than "how *do* they change." The former leads to description, the latter to theory.

A recent report by a Social Science Research Council seminar on acculturation has expanded the outmoded definition of acculturation as simple transmission of culture between groups in contact to include almost anything that happens when "conjunctive" relations are established be-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tween groups.[7] Since this comprehends everything, it might be asked how this differs from simple "culture change." It would appear that the difficulties of the seminar on acculturation derive primarily from the fact that they have no general theory of social and cultural change nor do they distinguish the two processes. It is for this reason that "acculturation" has been looked upon as a special set of processes despite the fact that examples of groups that have no "conjunctive relations" with other groups are hard to find. It is manifest in the statement of the Social Science Research Council seminar [8] that: "The change that is induced by contact therefore does not represent a shift from a static to an active state but rather *a shift from one sort of change to another.*" Granting the sudden and dramatic effects of the Gatling gun and the Indian reservation, this assumption defeats theory. If we are ever to formulate general laws of social and cultural change, we must rid ourselves of the notion of situational uniqueness. The latter may have operational utility for the traditional historian, but certainly has none for the generalizing social scientist.

[7] Social Science Research Council, 1954.
[8] *Ibid.*, p. 948 (italics mine).

/4 cont./

114 Tocantins appears to have provided some additional materials on Mundurukú agriculture. But his work is not available to me at the moment.

*241 The Handbook of South American Indians summarizes the subject
[22] in these few lines: "The Mundurukú subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugar cane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in Mundurucu economy." (6)

6. Horton, 1948: 273.

*241 And this is all, more or less, that is known of these Indians' agriculture. The present article, therefore, attempts to amplify
●12 this knowledge, although the author is well aware that in many re-
[171] spects, and especially regarding garden methods, the Mundurukú system does not differ materially from that of other tribes in the region, or in the Amazon basin in general. /5/ Practical experience in the matter teaches us that agriculture among the Indians of the Amazon forest allows for slight variations, but not for basic differences.

II. Garden methods

If we regard the agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians as a culture complex, we can easily single out two distinct elements. One is the purely material, manual, or technical element, which will be discussed here. The other is made up of various social factors which render agriculture not a lifeless task or factor, lacking all influence, not an isolated complex within the tribe, but something vitally integrated into tribal life, something upon which the well-
[182] being of the community and of the family now depend. In this sense, agriculture itself becomes a social element in native life. (7)

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

NOTES

[1] The field research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

The writer's wife, Yolanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

[2] For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and u have the phonetic values of Spanish i and u; õ is pronounced as in German; ĩ and ũ are nasal sounds.

[3] The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on referential systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguished from the vocative system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein.

[4] The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep reverberating sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male subconscious is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the banana." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological explanation of this complex. It merely indicates the deep interaction between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purpose, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure.

[5] The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of 'increase in the economic importance' of women. Eggan (1950:131) views the continuance of matrilocality among the Hopi in much the same light.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO F. DE

1869 Navegacão do Rio Tapajós para o Pará. Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro, 9:1–16, Rio de Janeiro.

BATES, HENRY W.

1863 The naturalist on the river Amazon. London.

COUDREAU, HENRI

1897 Voyage au Tapajoz. Paris.

EGGAN, FRED

1937 The Cheyenne and Arapaho kinship system. *in* Social Anthropology of North American tribes. F. Eggan, ed. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. pp. 35–95.

1950 Social organization of the Western Pueblos. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

1954 Social anthropology and the method of controlled comparison. American Anthropologist 56:743–63.

GOLDSCHMIDT, WALTER

1948 Social organization in native California and the origin of clans. American Anthropologist 50:444–56.

HARTT, CHARLES F.

1885 Contribuições para a etnologia do Valle do Amazonas. Archivos do Museu Nacional 6:1–174. Rio de Janeiro.

HEINE-GELDERN, R.

1923 Südostasien. *in* Buschan, G. Illustrierte Völkerkunde, vol. 11, Stuttgart.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

171 The repression of open conflict among the Puebloans accounts for the latent
182 hostility that many ethnologists have seen seething below surface relations. Under modern conditions this often results in community fission, and the same process can be noted among the contemporary, nonwarring Mundurucú. Lacking adequate safety-valves for the release of aggression, the Mundurucú now tend to withdraw from the frustrating situation.

721 Not all matrilocal groups repress aggression to the same extent as do the
578 Mundurucú, nor are they as warlike. The greater emphasis of the Mundurucú
182 upon social cohesion and external aggression stems from the persistence of patrilineal clans in a matrilocal society. This factor, combined with intervillage matrilocality, made hostility even more explosive and internal release systems less workable. It oriented the group toward warfare and provided the organization for its effective pursuit. Some deviation from our model is expectable, for there is no fixed and unvarying reservoir of aggression in society; it has its roots in the social structure, as does its expression. Our thesis states only that matrilocal societies must repress the open expression of intrasocietal conflict and that this repressed hostility, variable in intensity, will be released through acceptable and nondisruptive means within the society, or through warfare, or through both. But warfare, it can be concluded, is an especially effective means of promoting social cohesion in that it provides an occasion upon which the members of the society unite and submerge their factional differences in the vigorous pursuit of a common purpose.

NOTES

122 [1] The field research upon which this article is based was conducted by my wife and me during 1952–53, and was supported by a Research Training Fellowship, granted by the Social Science Research Council, and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. Grateful acknowledgement is made to these institutions.

The present article was read in manuscript by David M. Schneider and profited greatly from his suggestions.

[2] This seemingly incredible sortie was still remembered by the Urubú Indians of the upper Gurupí River in the state of Maranhão, according to a personal communication from the Brazilian ethnologist, Dr. Darcy Ribeiro.

[3] A fuller description of the ceremonies held subsequent to a successful raid will be published in a forthcoming monograph (Murphy n.d.).

REFERENCES CITED

113 Almeida Serra, Ricardo
1869 Navegação do Rio Tapajóz para o Para (1779). Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro 9:1–16.

Ayres de Casal, Manoel
1817 Corografia brazilica. Rio de Janeiro.

Bates, Henry W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazons. London.

Chandless, W.
1862 Notes on the rivers Arinos, Juruena, and Tapajós. Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 36:119–128.

Coser, Lewis A.
1956 The functions of social conflict. Glencoe, The Free Press.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NHL

Reprinted for private circulation from
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE
Vol. IV, No. 4, July 1956
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

TAPPERS AND TRAPPERS: PARALLEL PROCESS IN ACCULTURATION[1]

Mo
Mu

I. The Problem

121 The purpose of this paper is to show how two cases of acculturation exemplify parallel processes of culture change, that is, cross-cultural regularities of function and causality, even though differences in outward form and substantive content are such that the acculturation might also be considered as convergent development.

Mo
Mu
121
171 As subsequent sections will show in detail, the Mundurucú of the Tapajós River in Brazil and the Northeastern Algonkians in Canada differed during precontact times in social structure, in the general nature of their culture, and in their cultural ecological adaptations. The first were tropical forest hunters and horticulturalists living in semi-permanent villages and given to warfare.
Mo
Mu The second were hunters of large migratory game and were losely organized in nomadic bands. Despite these differences, however, both represented roughly the same level of sociocultural integration. That is, individual families were re-
[621] lated to one another through certain supra-familial patterns--village activities in the one case and band functions in the other--but the local unit in each instance was politically autonomous.

Since this paper is essentially an illustration of methodology, it is important to stress that the concept of level does not classify cultures according to concrete and substantive form and content. Different cultures may be wholly unlike in their particulars in that they are the products of distinctive area histories or traditions and of local adaptations to environments. At the same time, the largest integrated and autonomous social units may be of a similar order of inclusiveness. While, therefore, similarity of level must underly formulations of cross-cultural regularities, such similarity alone does not at all imply typological identity. The aboriginal tropical forest Mundurucú and the sub-arctic Algonkian hunters were wholly unlike in most cultural particulars and in social structure, although both were integrated on comparable sociocultural levels.

They were alike, however, in the acculturative processes to which they were subjected and in the final cultural type which is now emerging in both populations. The processes were similar in the special manner in which outside

Mo

---

171 1. The acculturational phenomena described in this article were apparently
177 found among many, although not all, Northeastern Algonkians, including native groups of New England as well as Canada. Speck, Steward, and others have considered this problem for many years. They were also found among certain Mackenzie Basin Athabaskans, as Jenness has shown. A very comparable case of acculturational process was studied by Steward among the British Columbia Carrier. These cases will be cited in the concluding
● Mu comparative section. The Montagnais are taken as our principal example because Eleanor Leacock studied them in detail from this point of view.
● 122 The Mundurucu of Brazil are analyzed on the basis of a year of field research by Yolanda and Robert Murphy during 1952-53. The research was conducted under the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, and was made possible by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PREFACE

THIS MONOGRAPH is based primarily upon data gathered in the course of research among the Mundurucú Indians of the state of Pará, Brazil, in 1952 and 1953. The field work, in which my wife Yolanda and I collaborated, was conducted with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded by the Trustees of Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. At the time of the investigation, we were graduate students in the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, and our work was under the guidance of Professors Julian H. Steward and Charles Wagley. /22

The focus of the research was upon those changes in economic and social structure consequent upon the involvement of the Mundurucú in the rubber-extraction industry, but we set as a further goal the collection of as much ethnographic data as was possible during the year available. This aim was partly motivated by a desire to add to the information about South American Indian groups, but it was also felt that completely concentrated and problem-oriented research could be done only in cultures upon which a good background of reliable information was already available. /21

Actually, the Mundurucú are probably better known than most South American Indians, except for those few groups which have been the subject of prolonged and intensive study. This speaks less for the wealth of published data than for the poverty of our knowledge of the area. A certain amount of data is available from the early nineteenth-century explorations of Spix and Martius, and a fine source on Mundurucú culture in the latter part of the century is available in the report of the Brazilian engineer, Antonio M. G. Tocantins. More limited and fragmentary data are available in the work of Manoel Ayres de Cazal, Henry Walter Bates, William C. Farabee, João Barbosa Rodrigues, Henri Coudreau, José Monteiro Noronha, and Ricardo de Almeida Serra. Some excellent material has been published by the Franciscan missionaries to the Mundurucú, especially Fathers Albert Kruse and C. Strömer. Unfortunately, I have not had access to the information published by these priests and their colleagues in the *Provinzialschrift der Franziskaner in Nordbrasilien*. The information available in most of the above sources is based upon limited residence among the Indians, and some contain most questionable data. None was written in the light of modern anthropological problems and theories or with the aid of contemporary field techniques. /14

Accordingly, my wife and I proceeded to gather as wide a range of data as was possible within the limits imposed by the necessity to accumulate material pertinent to our main interests. The present work represents one aspect of this research. The reader will see that a great deal of the native religion has been lost as a result of contact with Brazilian society, and certain items reported were not actually witnessed by me. It was continually necessary to resort to the memories of older Mundurucú, but we made every attempt to insure the reliability of our facts by cross-checking our data with several informants. I stated in the text which activities and beliefs are extinct and which are still practiced. The final [177]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PREFACE

121 tracted my attention as a research possibility because the tribe had become differentiated into two distinct groups, one characterized by adherence to traditional ways and the other drastically modified. Since I was studying problems of social and economic change, I felt that the Mundurucú presented an opportunity for a "controlled comparison," to use Dr. Fred Eggan's words, between the two sections. I phrased my research proposals in these terms and carried out my intent in the field. Of our thirteen months in Brazil, from May, 1952, to June, 1953, we spent about five months each in a conservative village and in a more "modern" one.

This book does not present a general ethnography of Mundurucú culture; it is rather an analysis of economy and social structure, and their changes. The study of social relations in space and in time inevitably involves the-
128 ory. I have not attempted to keep "theory" and "fact" rigidly compartmentalized, for facts are meaningless outside a frame of reference and theories are equally devoid of content unless based on substantive data. This is especially true in the present study, as some data appear incomprehensible until their proper position is seen in the light of theoretical assumptions.

122 The field trip was supported by the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, administered by Columbia University, and by a Research Training Fellowship awarded by the Social Science Research Council. Much of the writing of the book was done in 1957 with the support of a Faculty Summer Fellowship given by the University of California. Funds awarded by the Research Committee and the Institute of International Relations at the University of California made possible research assistance and typing. Mrs. Janet Seibert prepared the manuscript and was a continual source of help and encouragement.

According to the same informant, some warriors from this village had returned from a war a few days previously, bringing back with them the mummified heads of two of their enemies, necklaces of human teeth, and other trophies.

As it turned out, I did not regret my choice, for I was well received in Necodemos and I encountered there, more vivid than anywhere else, the legend of Mundurucu beginnings which considers this very maloca or village the cradle of the human race.

I continued up the Cadereri. Strange river! Every day we had to carry bodily our light boat over sand bars. Here was confirmed an opinion I had already formed, namely, that the Cadereri, as well as the Araguaia, Juruena, Mamoré, and other upper branches of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, such as the Tocantins, the Tapajoz, the Madeira and others, would dry up completely during the summer months, baring their channels, were it not for the falls of the middle course which serve to dam up the violent flow of the stream. The average gradient on the middle course of these great Amazon tributaries, which descend from the central plateau, is steeper than necessary to maintain a normal flow of water. [76]

Finally, on the morning of the sixth day as calculated by the Indian, we came upon a tree thrown across the river in the form of a bridge. On the bank stood a crude hut. There was no one around. We blew a horn to call out the owner of the hut, who was probably out hunting in the nearby woods. As no one appeared, we continued our journey. I left behind some trifling gifts to mark the passage of a friendly person.

I thought it best to behave in this fashion, remembering that Lieutenant Captain Soares Pinto had been attacked and killed by the savages for having destroyed some bridges which they had laid across the river. It is impossible to proceed upriver without destroying the bridges, and it is not always feasible to replace them.

For this reason, whenever I found myself unable to replace one in the same spot -- and on that day we encountered four more bridges -- I left gifts to make up in some degree for the damage I had caused the savages. At the end of the day the river became totally impassable: we could not carry the canoe any further. Happily, at this difficult moment we found another bridge over the river and a hut upon the bank. We blew our horn persistently,

[i.e., Necodemos. - Analyst]

609

[362] From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled [362 574] with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia vemifera); he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully.

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Abaenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

342 621 The village of Abaenanti was under construction; it comprised but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

We found no one inside the house, but the large number [352] of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

[609] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

302 This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the lozenges; that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [78] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

609 When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

123 609 In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away, leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Abaenanti and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

M
648
B
101

In former times the Mundurucu also fought the Bacairi, whom they call [98] "Murutuãte," and forced them to move to Mato-Grosso where they were resettled.

They fought the Apiacá, and only left them alone when the latter settled on the Juruena River, at the foot of the Salto-Augusto Falls. Even today they are very much afraid of the Mundurucu, and when the latter pass through the Apiacá malocas on their way to war, the occupants furnish them with cassava and other supplies.

Irinãte -- They have already withdrawn toward Cuiabá. They are bearded.

Tuparuãte -- They live toward the Xingu.

Nhauanhen -- This band belongs to the Paristintin tribe, and lives by the falls of the Jauanxin River, a tributary of the Tapajoz.

The Mundurucu of Necodemos know Cuiabá; but they say that many bands of fierce heathens roam those parts.

In the course of their journeys they meet yet other bands of savages whose names they do not know.

It may be assumed that part of the native populations that disappeared from the banks of the Tapajoz and of the Tocantins may now roam the valley of the Upper Xingu.

It might prove of scientific interest to study the movements of these unknown savage populations.

XI

There appears in the malocas an elegantly dressed Mundurucu who claims to have been baptized in Rio de Janeiro.

M
123

It was only natural that I should invite the Mundurucu to come and share with us the advantages of life in society, and especially to [98] send us their children so they might be properly educated and return to the malocas knowing how to build houses and make bows, ovens and other things that would prove of great usefulness.

123 I was seeking through every means to convince them that they would find dedicated friends among us, when they replied that Teiu Burubê had told them H. M. the Emperor was a friend of the Mundurucu.

159 Teiu Burubê was a Mundurucu who had left the villages many years previously, and returned after a long absence. He presented himself in the maloca of Cabroá elegantly dressed after our fashion. His kinsmen greeted him with delight.

Then he told them that he had been baptized in Rio de Janeiro, that he had taken the name of *Martinho de Alcantara*, and that H. M. the Emperor had served as his godfather and patron. He found in the maloca of Cabroá various relatives, and in particular a sister who treated him with great devotion. When he had left his native village, at a very young age, he had been accompanied by a brother, and together they had traveled down the Canumá River.

This Mundurucu painted a vivid image of the advantages of civilized life, without moving his kinsmen to renounce their savage existence.

Eventually the change in his way of life made him ill, and he came down with violent fevers.

It was said in the maloca that his elegant clothes had cast an evil spell upon him, so his sister angrily gathered them on the village grounds and set them ablaze.

As he recovered from his illness he met even greater distress, for now he was naked.

He finally died; his sister, who had not forsaken him for an instant, buried him under her own hammock. [100]

XII

Population of the central Mundurucu malocas.

161 It is very difficult, indeed impossible, to furnish an exact 361 census of these Indians, living as they do in malocas situated in inaccessible stretches of bush country.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

KATIWAT, before you came to live with us, our lives were as always, and we were happy. We worked, we ate, and then we slept. When you came we were glad, for you brought us many fine gifts. And every night, instead of going to sleep, we sat with you, drank coffee, smoked your tobacco, and listened to your radio. But now you go, and we are sorry, for all of these things go with you. We now know pleasures to which we were unaccustomed, and we shall be unhappy.

The Chief of Cabruá upon our departure

THE SETTING

182 American standards, it is tame in comparison with the sit-
648 uation of a century ago when the Mundurucú were still in the heyday of their militarism. The lives of the native peoples are shorn of the elements of excitement and danger; pacification has no doubt been a relief to the weaker tribes, but to the Mundurucú it has been destructive. The tribe is now a society without important goals or a future, and its members know this well. Even more important in the progressive deterioration of the social fabric, though more insidious in its operation, has been trade and the activities that go into the acquisition of salable commodities. The effects of the relations of the Indians with the whites are obvious to the most casual inspection. When my wife, Yolanda, and I first walked into a Mundurucú village in 1952, we hardly expected to encounter a flamboyantly warlike people, for we knew well that the warring had ended some half-century ago. But we were psychologically
[177] unprepared for the dismal sight of Indians dressed in tattered cottons, for the cheap metal pots and pans, the rubber-tapping apparatus, and the little suitcases that sat in the rafters of every house and in which the people packed their clothes for journeys to their rubber trees or to trading posts. Little children with distended abdomens played in the dirt, hollow-ribbed dogs fought over scraps of fish entrails, and an occasional, and very unaboriginal, rooster crowed. The effect of the sun beating mercilessly on the mud huts in the village clearing, of the surrounding monotonous forest, of our inability to communicate with the people, and of our total incapacity to fend for ourselves in this strange environment, was a most depressing experience. This, I believe, is what some anthropologists refer to as "culture shock."

123 We settled in the village, acquired a Brazilian interpreter who spoke Portuguese and Mundurucú, and began to

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

probe beneath the surface appearances. The Mundurucú were equally curious, and relentless to the exclusion of all personal privacy in their own ethnographic investigations on us. This is perhaps the worst part of field work, and it was more difficult for Yolanda than for me. The insect life forced her to dress in khakis, and only the canons of empiricism convinced the Mundurucú children—and many of the adults—that she was truly a female. The women shook her hammock before dawn to ask her if she was awake, and they made continuous and repetitive demands on her for bright glass beads. Her relations with the females were of a reciprocal nature; that she was another woman was more important than her role as a foreigner, and she was able to establish close rapport with them for field work. I, who did not hunt, fish, sow, or reap, could claim no such close identification with the men. Our research proceeded, and we found that there was still much that was distinctively Mundurucú below the veneer of material acquisitions. Beyond this, the grinding processes by which Mundurucú society had become transformed and is becoming transformed unfolded themselves through our observations of their continuing mode of existence. The headhunter's heritage, pale and secularized as it may be, was of consummate interest to us as social scientists.

This book, in essence, is the story of the relationship between the white man and the Mundurucú. It is a prosaic and simple tale, unadorned with episodes of valiant resistance and glory, and surprisingly lacking in oppression and suffering. But, perhaps for this reason, it contains an element of tragedy, because the processes of this history have worked inexorably upon Mundurucú society and cultrue for a century and a half and have brought a once proud people to the brink of social extinction.

The complex causes and processes of change in Mun-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

timbó parties the water is poisoned by two or three separate groups at points about 1,000 feet apart along the stream. As soon as the fish begin fleeing downstream from the group farthest upstream, a sentinel stationed a short distance downstream gives several loud shouts to the next group, signaling them to start beating the drug into the water. The fish thus have little opportunity to escape to pure water. To prevent any from making their escape, a dam made of branches set into the stream bottom is sometimes placed about a mile or two downstream from the fishing location. A space is left open until the morning of the fishing to allow fish to swim upstream during the night. This system is particularly effective to catch the *matrinchão* (*Brycon brevicaudatus* Gunther), which ascends the smaller streams every night to sleep and then returns downstream with the coming of day. 226

These communal fishing trips are undertaken by as many persons as can conveniently gather together; lack of canoes and the long distances between rubber-avenue dwellings limit the size of these gatherings among the contemporary campineiros. The efficacy of this system of fishing is remarkable. My wife and I took part in one such venture on the Cururú River in which more than one hundred people from four different villages participated, and approximately two tons of fish were killed. The surplus yield is preserved by smoking, salting, and sun drying, but due to the crudity of the process it remains edible for a period of only one week to ten days. [123] [251]

GATHERING OF WILD VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Gathering of wild vegetables and fruits is and was the least important subsistence activity and food source in Mundurucú economic life; it is often done incidentally to hunting, fishing, or trips to the gardens. Among the main 222

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently coöp-
476 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of
244 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro-
252 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are
462 concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals
422 or extended families.
574 That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production
476

571 578 592 males is extremely close knit and is probably the most cohesive group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional bond between the women of these groups that I know of [762] one who committed suicide because of alienation from her two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended family, conflicts between individual women or households are common. All women of the household generally join with a member in her antipathy for another woman or household; this, of course, follows from the fact that the housemates are closely related to each other, which complements the allegiance arising from co-residence.

521 578 Hostility between the women generally takes the form of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of most of the confidences that passed among the women, [123] which constituted one of our most valuable sources of information. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house [115] and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women. Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart. And we usually managed to learn by this means of the well-repressed hostilities in the village, of fears and accusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn, gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the exchange of female information and opinion was the shed where farinha was made. The women usually chatted animatedly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the group, the heads of the others drew together and she was thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of residence in the village, the same thing happened, as we had no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst. Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 466 648 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who gives valued objects and who must be given something in return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rationalized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 609 648 The client-patron relationship applies also to that between the Mundurucú and all white men of similar prestige position. The trader is called *katiwat;* or also *compá,* a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre,* or co-father. The latter title was evidently learned from the white rubber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as godparent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mundurucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I 123 was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role. Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission, and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of smoked latex, in return for which they wished merchandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were willing to integrate us into the collective village economy and to designate us by kinship terms.

439 648 484 Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savannahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader generally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals during the rubber-collection season and sporadically during the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

439 484 574 648 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their excursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main business is with their own patron, they often make side trips to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

171 648 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent, and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 648 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 648 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual

797 by Fa. Antonino and Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva. This mission holds some five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe.

[124] The missionary Fa. Pelino who was alone there, his companion having already left Bacabal, lent me as an interpreter a Mundurucu Indian who understands and speaks the Portuguese and Tupi languages in addition to his own dialect.

114 I continued my journey up the Tapajoz and reached the mouth of the Cadereri River, an eastern tributary of the Tapajoz, five days after leaving the Mission of Bacabal.

There, according to what I had been told, I was supposed to meet a bold frontiersman who knew the way to the central villages. Unhappily, however, I did not find him, and the members of my crew knew nothing about the course of the Cadereri River.

Here I was, perplexed for lack of guides and information, when two Mundurucu savages appeared upon the beach.

We asked them, through the interpreter, how long it would take us to reach the source of the Cadereri.

[201 805] The older of the two savages responded with the following sign: with his index finger he pointed due east, and then he traced a semicircle following the apparent course of the sun to the west, accompanying this gesture with expressive looks, motions and sounds; and he repeated this slowly and distinctly six times in such a way that before the interpreter could explain his message I had already understood that the savage meant it would take us six days.

He also told us that we would meet other Indians at the headwaters of the Cadereri, who could guide us to the village of [103] Necodemos whence he and his companion came. [75]

I was impressed by this name of Necodemos which the Mundurucu gave one of their main villages, for it is the name of the generous and compassionate Jew who bestowed simple funeral dignities upon Christ -- a shroud to enclose his body and a sepulcher to protect it.

I do not know why the Mundurucu gave this name to their village, but I imagine that the coincidence of names is no more than a mere accident.

In any case, I decided to seek the village of Necodemos in preference to any other.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

121 to know how the parts of the system are related to one another and to the totality. It is also necessary to understand how the system becomes a coherent and integrated set of social relationships in terms of observable behavior. I attempt to do this in the present work. A functional analysis of social structure has another important value, and one that is not fully utilized by anthropologists. Since a basic assumption of the method is that a system has internal coherence, it is possible to see clues to the past in items that do not fit into the present. This, of course, is reminiscent of the now unpopular use of "survivals" for purposes of historical reconstruction. I do not think, however, that I have engaged in a form of "conjectural" history. Rather, I have attempted to relate my clues, the nonfunctional and disfunctional items of the present, to the probable structure of Mundurucú society as it existed in the past. And I have attempted to marshal as much historical and ethnographic data as possible to validate my reconstructions. In this way, I have avoided speculations based on one or another shred of data and have remained within the framework of structural analysis. And, it might be added, I have thus tried to bring my historical material under the canons of internal criticism of historical data.

178 Economy and social structure have changed a great deal during the past century and a half of Mundurucú history, making the tribe an especially good subject for this type of study. I have relied to a certain extent on older informants for data of past conditions. The memories of the old people are variable in accuracy, richness, and content, and I tried where possible to corroborate points with a number of informants. It would, however, be naïve to assume that material obtained from an old informant, however well corroborated, is valid for the "aboriginal," or pre-contact, period. A sixty-year-old man—of whom there are

124
128

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

very few among the Mundurucú—interviewed in 1952 was 124
born in 1892. Since his most reliable recollections prob- 128
ably date from his adolescence, his memories of things seen and heard will be of value only for the time after about 1905—and I am being generous here. The period of 1905 and shortly thereafter is within the last decade of the rubber boom and is well over a century after the first contact between Mundurucú and whites. In short, it has been necessary to exercise great caution with these data.

A good deal of the data from informants were datable, within broad limits, by their context. Thus, when I heard that a duty of the chief in times past was to "buy goods for the people," I knew that I was not faced with the pristine. And, fortunately, there is some highly useful doc- 127
umentary history on the Mundurucú. One does not get a smooth historical continuum replete with detail, but it is possible to discern in the written records some of the large-scale changes that have taken place in the society. I have avoided the method, common in acculturation 121
studies, of working with two cultural base lines, the aboriginal and the present, and comparing the two. This procedure may have some value when the transfer of items of culture from one society to another through diffusion is studied, but it does not lend itself to the analysis of the continual interplay of the forces of stability and change acting on a social system.

The Mundurucú present advantages for the student of 121
social change. It has been said that there are three socially 184
and culturally distinct Mundurucú populations, which differ in degree of change—a differentiation that took place only during the past twenty-five years as a result of migration. This study does not include the population of the Tapajós River, where Mundurucú society is most drastically changed, but concentrates on the people of the savan-

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101 [61] the middle Rio Curuá do Iriry. According to Nimuendajú they number about 120 souls. The Juruéna Mundurucú are also called Njambékwáras.

From the Mundurucú are also supposed to be descended the Guajajára. They were settled on the Rio Gurupi near Cerzedello in 1818. So says Martius.

Tribal Names

[61] a. What do the Tapajós Mundurucú call themselves? A designation for the whole tribe does not exist. When a Mundurucú speaks of his fellow tribesmen, he simply calls them *wédye'nye*,[1] "our own", "our people". The word is compounded of the absolute inclusive pronoun *wédye*, "we", and the plural suffix, *nye*. Thus it has the meaning: "A great many of our own", "a plurality of our own". The Mundurucú language seems to have no word for homo, human being. Expressions like the following are used: "I belong to the Red Arara sib"; "he belongs to the Seringueira-itaúba sib"; "there come the Japu [people of Japu sib]"; "we met people of the *Ikupi*-wasp sib"; "some of the Mutum sib". For the list of sibs, see infra under social organization.

The Madeira Mundurucú, and the Kuruáya, that is, the Xingú Mundurucú, are held by the Tapajós Mundurucú to be relatives

●126 [1] The following phonetic symbols are used: *ö* = German *ö* (palatal); *ü* = German *ü* (palatal); vowel with tilde = nasalized vowel; *ö̃* = nasalized *ö*; falling diphthongs in which both vowels are pronounced distinctly have small superior second vowel; *c* = German *sch*; *ñ* = *ng* (guttural nasal); *r* = dental *r*; *s* = always voiceless; *w* as in English but pronounced with lips closer together; *w* as in English "water"; *x* = German *ch*; *y* as in English "yes". The spiritus lenis (stimmloser Kehlkopfexplosivlaut) occurs always between two vowels, and often before words beginning with a vowel; in these cases it is not indicated in transcription; in other cases it is indicated by *q*. Weak sounds are enclosed in brackets. Colon after vowel = long vowel. Accent is on last syllable, except where otherwise indicated by accent mark (′) following vowel.

The palatal vowels *ö* and *ü* are acoustically related to German *ö* and *ü*, but they are not identical with them. Nimuendajú writes me (personal letter, 1931): "A genuine ö and ü, such, for example, as occur in German, are found in none of the more than seventy Indian languages which I have heard with my own ears. Up to the present, I have heard these two sounds only in Urupá; but they do not occur even in Torá, which is most closely related to Urupá".

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

very few among the Mundurucú—interviewed in 1952 was born in 1892. Since his most reliable recollections probably date from his adolescence, his memories of things seen and heard will be of value only for the time after about 1905—and I am being generous here. The period of 1905 and shortly thereafter is within the last decade of the rubber boom and is well over a century after the first contact between Mundurucú and whites. In short, it has been necessary to exercise great caution with these data.

A good deal of the data from informants were datable, within broad limits, by their context. Thus, when I heard that a duty of the chief in times past was to "buy goods for the people," I knew that I was not faced with the pristine. And, fortunately, there is some highly useful documentary history on the Mundurucú. One does not get a smooth historical continuum replete with detail, but it is possible to discern in the written records some of the large-scale changes that have taken place in the society. I have avoided the method, common in acculturation studies, of working with two cultural base lines, the aboriginal and the present, and comparing the two. This procedure may have some value when the transfer of items of culture from one society to another through diffusion is studied, but it does not lend itself to the analysis of the continual interplay of the forces of stability and change acting on a social system.

The Mundurucú present advantages for the student of social change. It has been said that there are three socially and culturally distinct Mundurucú populations, which differ in degree of change—a differentiation that took place only during the past twenty-five years as a result of migration. This study does not include the population of the Tapajós River, where Mundurucú society is most drastically changed, but concentrates on the people of the savan-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

121/124 nahs and the Cururú River. The differences between the savannah villages and those of the Cururú, and between the modes of social life of the two groups in general, are profound, and I believe that they can be traced to the degree of participation in trade and the rubber-extraction industry. A comparison of the two groups is rewarding because it reveals two points of Mundurucú history. And since the savannah villages will probably be abandoned in a generation or two, and their residents will move also to the banks of the larger streams, a comparison also gives a glimpse of the future. Beyond these considerations, an element of control over the data is introduced. Processes of change that may be surmised to be at work in the savannah communities may be seen to have run their course on the Cururú. Conversely, we need not speculate on the antecedents of social structure on the Cururú River, for we see them on the savannahs.

128 [127] I start my analysis with a presentation of Mundurucú history, based on published sources and information given by the priests of the Cururú mission. The next four chapters, the main body of the book, present general material on traditional Mundurucú culture and social structure in the savannah communities. The last of these four chapters, chapter 6, discusses the contemporary bases of social integration, and the centrifugal tendencies in Mundurucú society. This is also the logical place to discuss relations with the whites. Chapter 7 shifts attention to the Cururú River villages and analyzes the progressive disorganization of Mundurucú society there. The final chapter summarizes the findings on social change and discusses their implications for general anthropological theory.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCU[1]

By Donald Horton

TERRITORY AND NAME

101 [131] [199]

The *Mundurucú* are a *Tupí*-speaking people in the southwestern portion of the State of Pará and the southeastern corner of the State of Amazonas, Brazil (map 1, *No. 1;* map 4; lat. 5°-8° S., long. 56°-60° W.). When first encountered by Europeans in the late 18th century, the *Mundurucú* were a warlike people, aggressively expanding their territory along the Tapajóz River and adjacent areas. Their expansion reached its limits at the beginning of the 19th century, when they were defeated by the Neo-Brazilians. Since then their territory has dwindled; remnant settlements are located on the Canumá and several of its tributaries (Abacaxis, Paracury, Apucitóm), in the municipios of Maués, Parintins, and Juriti, and on the Cururú River (a southeastern tributary of the Tapajóz). The principal settlements are located along the middle Tapajóz River and especially on its southeastern tributary, the Rio de Tropas (between lat. 6° and 7° S., and long. 56° and 57° W.). Communities formerly established on the lower Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Amazon have been absorbed or wiped out by Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Kruse (1934) distinguishes four regional groups of the *Mundurucú*: The Tapajóz River group, living on both sides of the Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Cururú River; the Madeira River *Mundurucú*, on the Secudury, a tributary of the Canumá; the Xingú River *Mundurucú*, known also as the *Curuaya*, on the uppermost left tributary of the Igarapé de Flecha, itself an eastern tributary of the middle Rio Curuá do Iriri; and the Jurueña River *Mundurucú*, known also as the *Njawbitawa*. Nimuendajú (personal communication) regards the name "*Madeira Mundurucú*" as unsuitable, since the rivers on which this group is located do not flow into the Madeira; he also believes that the *Curuaya*,

[1] The writer is indebted to Dr. Curt Nimuendajú, who through personal knowledge of the *Mundurucú* and familiarity with literary sources not available to the writer, was able to provide additional information on the distribution and history of the tribe which has been utilized in the present account.

[128] Where the literature clearly indicates that a custom is no longer practiced, the past tense is employed; otherwise the account is given in the present tense even though it is probable that much of the culture as described no longer persists.

Studies on the Mundurucu Tribe: A Memoir Written and Read before the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute by Engineer Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, Corresponding Fellow of the Institute.

I

Journey to the central Mundurucu villages, situated in the valley of the Upper Tapajos. -- Itinerary from Belém, capital of the province of Pará, to those villages. -- Scenes of savage life.

I left Belem on the eighteenth of June, 1875, bound for the Upper Tapajos.

The journey up the Amazon from Belém to Santarém and up the Tapajos from Santarém to Itaituba takes five days on one of the big steamers of the Companhia do Amazonas.

At Itaituba I embarked in a small canoe manned by eight Indians, nearly all of the Maué tribe, and proceeded through the falls of the Upper Tapajos.

Ten days later I reached the Mission of Bacabal, which was founded by order of the Imperial Government and established on the right bank of the Tapajos on the twenty-third of February,[74] 1872.

Translator's Note:

Whenever possible, the spelling of Portuguese and aboriginal words -- including names of places, tribes, rivers, plants, native foods and implements -- has been changed to its modern Brazilian equivalent.

Portuguese personal names and trade names, book titles, aboriginal word lists and Mundurucu quotations have been left untouched, as have a few other native words of uncertain phonetic rendition and those that would require the use of letter combinations equally foreign to present-day Portuguese.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo 224 423

may pursue and kill deer or caribou on any far area. In some instances, another may kill and take the meat of a beaver, provided only that he give the pelt to the man having exclusive rights to the furs within the territory in question.

Two basically different concepts of rights to resources within the same area co-exist, each justifiable and explainable in its own way: the right to hunt large game for subsistence purposes practically anywhere and the right to monopolize fur-bearing animals within prescribed areas. In British Columbia the provincial government recognized these differences some years ago and registered family owned trapping territories of the Carrier Indians and protected them by law while permitting game-hunting anywhere.

Mo

This end product of acculturation is substantially Leacock's third stage. The nuclear family now becomes the primary economic and social unit, and the old bonds of inter-familial economic dependency become attenuated. The new individualism has even penetrated the nuclear family. Among the Western Montagnais, the sum of a trapper owns the beaver lodges which he discovers, whereas among the most acculturated of the Eastern group, only the family head may own such a resource.

177 224 423

With the breakdown in interfamilial ties among the Northeastern Algonkians, the economic centers of gravity for the families are the trading posts. Leacock says:

Mo 177 439 621 583

> "The movement of trading posts has obviously been the most important factor determining recent shifts in the size and location of Montagnais bands. However, it would be wrong to infer from this that increasing dependence on trade has acted to destroy formerly stable social groups. The reverse seems to be closer to the truth--that the changes brought about by the fur trade have led to more stable bands with greater formal organization". [Ibid., p. 30]

Leacock gives the Seven Islands band as an example of this post-contact development. This new "band", however, is of a different order entirely than aboriginal hunting bands, for the principal bond between the members is that they all trade at the Seven Islands trading post. They claim no band territory; in fact, all present trends are towards familial tracts and not band lands. The modern band has a chief whose principal function is to act as intermediary with the Indian Agent. Also, the Indians refer to themselves as the "Seven Islands" (derived from the name of the trading post) people, and are so called by other Indians. In the interest of taxonomic clarity it is best not to describe such an arrangement as a "band". Such a group is reminiscent of the post-white Shoshoneans of the Great Basin, who classify themselves principally by reservation, for example, Warm Springs Paiute, Bannock Paiute, Gayhead Shoshoni, and so forth. Prior to the Reorganization Act, the only basis for these groupings was common residence on a reservation and representation by a spokesman, who generally attained his position partly through prestige, but probably more importantly through recognition by the Indian Agent. Since the agents preferred "cooperative" men, the chiefs often did not truly represent the Indians. These reservation people, like Leacock's Seven Islands band, had little formal structure and a very limited reason d'etre. The stability of these groups is almost entirely a function of their linkage to the whites, an outside factor. Among the more acculturated Eastern Montagnais, the basic socio-economic unit appears to be the nuclear family.

III. The Mundurucú

Mu 121 123

We shall discuss the Mundurucú in somewhat greater detail than the Algonkians not only because they are less known ethnographically but because the special

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

776 224 propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community. Moreover, great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to these spirits lest they strike back at the offender. The major Mundurucú ceremonies functioned mainly to secure the [756] benevolence of the spirit mothers, and one of the chief duties of the shaman was to make periodic offerings to them and thus insure their coöperation.

562 224 This preoccupation with animal spirits reflects certain basic facts about Mundurucú culture. The society is male-oriented; women are by no means passive actors in the social structure, but the major foci of the culture were male values and activities. And to the Mundurucú men, at least those of the remaining savannah villages, few activities are more important than the hunt. The male self-image is that of the warrior and hunter, the wayfarer of the forests,[8] and the Mundurucú are intensely concerned with all things arboreal. Hunting was as important as horticulture in the traditional subsistence economy and may well have been more basic to the diet in earlier times. There is some speculation about [174] a more southerly origin of the Mundurucú,[9] which suggests the corollary hypothesis that horticulture was less important in their former habitat. If this were true, it would help to explain why hunting is so heavily emphasized in Mundurucú religion, and horticulture is almost completely secularized.

776 224 756 The mother of the game, or *putcha ši*,[10] protects the animal kingdom as a whole from human offense. The relation between the *putcha ši* and animals is conceived by the Mundurucú to be a mother-child relationship. It is believed to be a single, unitary spirit, but it can be found in several places and under several guises at one and the same time. Expressed differently, the *putcha ši* is a single power having several manifestations.

The mother of the game is not an anthropomorphic personage; it has no form nor does it exist as a mobile and independent entity. Characteristically, the *putcha ši* is found in two forms; in one it is a very special stone called a *wirakuá*, and in the other it travels in the bodies of the land tortoise and the coatá monkey. The Mundurucú *wirakuá* concept, as many of their beliefs, is not highly conceptualized or rigidly formalized. It is vaguely conceived as a power and is described as a stonelike object visible only to shamans. Thus, the mother of the game and the *wirakuá* are not identical, but the spirit does manifest itself in the latter object. In its *wirakuá* guise, the *putcha ši* is usually found in the deep perennial springs at the headwaters of the streams that issue from the hills of the Mundurucú country. Hunting is invariably good in these locales because of the desire of the game to congregate about their mother, and Mundurucú shamans have techniques whereby they can place the *putcha ši* in springs near their villages. So placed, the *putcha ši* will remain indefinitely unless stolen by a shaman of another village. When the *putcha ši* is moved by a shaman, it emits

[8] See the myth of Purisuat on pp. 187–201 for the expression of this theme in legendary form.
[9] Cf. Martins, 1947, p. 396 and Strömer, 1932, p. 1.
[10] Mundurucú words are italicized throughout the text. The system of phonetic transcription [128] and a complete glossary of all Mundurucú terms used may be found in Appendix A. Portuguese words are not italicized, but Appendix B contains the translations of all terms mentioned and the taxonomic classifications of most flora and fauna for which Portuguese designations have been given.

PREFACE

121 tracted my attention as a research possibility because the tribe had become differentiated into two distinct groups, one characterized by adherence to traditional ways and the other drastically modified. Since I was studying problems of social and economic change, I felt that the Mundurucú presented an opportunity for a "controlled comparison," to use Dr. Fred Eggan's words, between the two sections. I phrased my research proposals in these terms and carried out my intent in the field. Of our thirteen months in Brazil, from May, 1952, to June, 1953, we spent about five months each in a conservative village and in a more "modern" one.

This book does not present a general ethnography of Mundurucú culture; it is rather an analysis of economy and social structure, and their changes. The study of social relations in space and in time inevitably involves theory. I have not attempted to keep "theory" and "fact" rigidly compartmentalized, for facts are meaningless outside a frame of reference and theories are equally devoid of content unless based on substantive data. This is especially true in the present study, as some data appear incomprehensible until their proper position is seen in the light of theoretical assumptions.

122 The field trip was supported by the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, administered by Columbia University, and by a Research Training Fellowship awarded by the Social Science Research Council. Much of the writing of the book was done in 1957 with the support of a Faculty Summer Fellowship given by the University of California. Funds awarded by the Research Committee and the Institute of International Relations at the University of California made possible research assistance and typing. Mrs. Janet Seibert prepared the manuscript and was a continual source of help and encouragement.

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians SL4

incorporation in Brazilian society. They have acquired a limited but adequate body of common understandings with their Brazilian neighbors, and their social structures have become accommodated to their relations with the whites. Straddling two worlds, their positions are not stable, and they push themselves and are pulled from the outside into closer relations with Brazilian society. The "pull" arises from the chronic demand for cheap labor in the Amazon; the "push" is a product of the native's increasing desire for manufactured possessions, coupled with disturbances in his society which resulted from this acquisitiveness. The outcome of the process is the disappearance of traditional Indian social systems. But the affected Indians are not left in a social limbo. Rather, they shift their principal bonds of dependency to their already existent relations with the whites and move into the general orbit of caboclo society.

B M 182 563 177

An understanding of the process by which native societies of the Amazon have become economically and socially dependent on the white man, and of the effects of this dependence, are central to an understanding of the transition from Indian to caboclo. Other aspects of the native culture are secondary in importance; the Indian, once incorporated, has ample opportunity to learn the white man's ways. Or, if he is disinclined or unsuccessful in this respect, his children, who have been reared outside the traditional social matrix, certainly will become linguistically and culturally as much, or more, Brazilian than Indian.

B M 177 182

These remarks are also pertinent beyond the Amazon valley. The final chapter of this book will consider the general relevance of Mundurucú social and economic change to an understanding of the broader problems of culture change.

M [128]

[Text continues on page 7]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

121 to know how the parts of the system are related to one another and to the totality. It is also necessary to understand how the system becomes a coherent and integrated set of social relationships in terms of observable behavior. I attempt to do this in the present work. A functional analysis of social structure has another important value, and one that is not fully utilized by anthropologists. Since a basic assumption of the method is that a system has internal coherence, it is possible to see clues to the past in items that do not fit into the present. This, of course, is reminiscent of the now unpopular use of "survivals" for purposes of historical reconstruction. I do not think, however, that I have engaged in a form of "conjectural" history. Rather, I have attempted to relate my clues, the nonfunctional and disfunctional items of the present, to the probable structure of Mundurucú society as it existed in the past. And I have attempted to marshal as much historical and ethnographic data as possible to validate my reconstructions. In this way, I have avoided speculations based on one or another shred of data and have remained within the framework of structural analysis. And, it might be added, I have thus tried to bring my historical material under the canons of internal criticism of historical data.

178 Economy and social structure have changed a great deal during the past century and a half of Mundurucú history, making the tribe an especially good subject for this type of study. I have relied to a certain extent on older informants for data of past conditions. The memories of the old people are variable in accuracy, richness, and content, and I tried where possible to corroborate points with a number of informants. It would, however, be naïve to assume that material obtained from an old informant, however well corroborated, is valid for the "aboriginal," or pre-contact, period. A sixty-year-old man—of whom there are

124
128

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

very few among the Mundurucú—interviewed in 1952 was 124
born in 1892. Since his most reliable recollections prob- 128
ably date from his adolescence, his memories of things
seen and heard will be of value only for the time after
about 1905—and I am being generous here. The period of
1905 and shortly thereafter is within the last decade of
the rubber boom and is well over a century after the first
contact between Mundurucú and whites. In short, it has
been necessary to exercise great caution with these data.

A good deal of the data from informants were datable,
within broad limits, by their context. Thus, when I heard
that a duty of the chief in times past was to "buy goods
for the people," I knew that I was not faced with the pris-
tine. And, fortunately, there is some highly useful doc- 127
umentary history on the Mundurucú. One does not get a
smooth historical continuum replete with detail, but it is
possible to discern in the written records some of the
large-scale changes that have taken place in the society.
I have avoided the method, common in acculturation 121
studies, of working with two cultural base lines, the ab-
original and the present, and comparing the two. This
procedure may have some value when the transfer of items
of culture from one society to another through diffusion
is studied, but it does not lend itself to the analysis of the
continual interplay of the forces of stability and change
acting on a social system.

The Mundurucú present advantages for the student of 121
social change. It has been said that there are three socially 184
and culturally distinct Mundurucú populations, which dif-
fer in degree of change—a differentiation that took place
only during the past twenty-five years as a result of mi-
gration. This study does not include the population of the
Tapajós River, where Mundurucú society is most drasti-
cally changed, but concentrates on the people of the savan-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

121 nahs and the Cururú River. The differences between the
184 savannah villages and those of the Cururú, and between the modes of social life of the two groups in general, are profound, and I believe that they can be traced to the degree of participation in trade and the rubber-extraction industry. A comparison of the two groups is rewarding because it reveals two points of Mundurucú history. And since the savannah villages will probably be abandoned in a generation or two, and their residents will move also to the banks of the larger streams, a comparison also gives a glimpse of the future. Beyond these considerations, an element of control over the data is introduced. Processes of change that may be surmised to be at work in the savannah communities may be seen to have run their course on the Cururú. Conversely, we need not speculate on the antecedents of social structure on the Cururú River, for we see them on the savannahs.

I start my analysis with a presentation of Mundurucú
128 history, based on published sources and information given
[127] by the priests of the Cururú mission. The next four chapters, the main body of the book, present general material on traditional Mundurucú culture and social structure in the savannah communities. The last of these four chapters, chapter 6, discusses the contemporary bases of social integration, and the centrifugal tendencies in Mundurucú society. This is also the logical place to discuss relations with the whites. Chapter 7 shifts attention to the Cururú River villages and analyzes the progressive disorganization of Mundurucú society there. The final chapter summarizes the findings on social change and discusses their implications for general anthropological theory.

to harm them. We resumed our journey at dawn of the following day, crossing successively woods and stretches of open country.

While crossing one of those woods I came upon one of the most touching scenes of savage life. Near one of those numerous brooks that wind their way everywhere, and that constitute the head-
593 waters of the Cadereri, I met a young family. The head was no more than eighteen years old, and his companion was not over fifteen or sixteen, yet she already carried in her arms a child of a few months. They were accompanied by an old Indian woman. The faces and chests of the young couple had not yet been painted with
[302 the indelible dyes of the tribe; but the young woman, who had been
515] bathing in the brook, had painted her face with urucu dye, which
lent her a childlike attractiveness. This interesting couple, on
[604] seeing us pass, showed visible signs of surprise and alarm.

Tired as I was, and anxious to get to the end of the journey, it was not even possible for me to tarry a few minutes and have some friendly words with these poor savages; besides, the interpreter was not present at the time.

I would have liked, at least, to offer them a cloth with [80] which the two children -- mother and baby -- might ward off the burning rays of the sun during their journey across vast stretches of open country; but our men, rebellious like all Maué Indians, carried only what was strictly necessary for our own subsistence.

We have sketched here this touching scene in order to inspire sympathy for the poor savages, weighted down as they are with great misfortunes.

III

I arrive at the village of Necodemos. -- The Mundurucu offer me shelter and good hospitality.

131 After five days of incessant walking, counting from the spot where we had left our canoe at the headwaters of the Cadereri, we finally saw in the distance a column of smoke which rose from the maloca of Necodemos.

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

175 The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the
[131] mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided
114 the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by
131 the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with
101 the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maué, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

[302 "The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have
386] the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quice, which means 'head-cutter,' owing
[727] to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

[622] "They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

[648] "Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

[3] the plains] are not located in the district which Ayres de Cazal named Mundurucania. They stand in the territory which the geographer called Tapajonia, between the Tapajoz and the Xingu and close to the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajoz, namely the Cadereri, Cabetutum and Cururu rivers, the Rio das Tropas (which the Mundurucu call Pitunzi) and the Rio do Crepuri.

In the course of my journey I encountered a great many small streams that were sources of the Cadereri and tributaries of the Tapajoz.

Had I proceeded in the same direction beyond Necodemos a few days longer, I would undoubtedly have come upon the sources of the tributaries of the Xingu.

IX

Wars of the Mundurucu -- waging procedure -- End of these wars.

727 We have already noted that the wars of these barbarians are
597 waged with the sole aim of capturing young women and children of both sexes. Within the tribe, however, the captives are treated no differently than native Mundurucu. They are painted with the same arabesques of indelible dyes; the woman immediately gets a husband, and the child finds an adoptive father who is almost invariably the same Indian who captured him. When preparations are made for one of these forays, the warrior's sister, his mother, or some other relative places an order for a child, saying: "Bring me a boy to be my son."

[648] The Mundurucu's chief victims are the Parintintin; in addition to a desire for captives, the deadly hatred [94] which has long ruled between the two tribes is another motive for frequent attacks.

721 Whenever it becomes known that a band of Parintintin have appeared somewhere, the Mundurucu immediately set off after them. To my knowledge, however, this inveterate hatred is not directed toward other tribes. Among the Mundurucu there runs a

000 a different origin. Since I have already given the essential material
114 about the Apiacas it might, however, be appropriate to repeat here what I reported about the Mundrucus (Reise in Brasilien III. 1308 et. seq., 1337.) for no other traveller has actually observed these remarkable Indians in their native habitat.

The Mundrucus, Mondurucus, Mundurucus, Moturicus
(called by the Apiacas Pari)

●131 The Mundrucus are, together with the Apiacas, the ruling tribe in the northern basin of the Tapajoz. Their largest aldea de S. Manoel, which has trade connections with the Brasilians, lies about a day's journey below the junction of the Rio Arinos with the Juruena at the Rio negro (vermelho).

142 [387] When I met the first Mundrucus in the Mission Novo Monte Carmel de Canoma I had to admit that I had never before seen Indians like these. Without exception they were athletically built, broad-chested and four-square, plump and well nourished in limbs and torso, and the hard muscles so evenly covered as though these people had never interrupted a life of comfortable relaxation with the hardships
[516] of war and the hunt. Their posture and their walk was that of conscious strength. What struck me the most, along with the general physical excellence of every member of the tribe, was the light skin color.
304 They were not so deep a copper red as many other Indians, in particular those living on plains or on large rivers, and this paler color was considerably accented by the tattooing (it was not just painting) which covered almost the whole of the body. * Either the whole face was

*See the illustration in Spix and Martius Reiseatlas. For this painful operation they use a comb made from the thorns of several varieties of palm trees. In all probability there is no other tribe in South America which practices tattooing to the same extent. Rob. Dudley has drawn similar ones from Guyana.

THE MUNDURUCU[1]

By Donald Horton

TERRITORY AND NAME

101 [131] [197] The *Mundurucú* are a *Tupí*-speaking people in the southwestern portion of the State of Pará and the southeastern corner of the State of Amazonas, Brazil (map 1, *No. 1;* map 4; lat. 5°–8° S., long. 56°–60° W.). When first encountered by Europeans in the late 18th century, the *Mundurucú* were a warlike people, aggressively expanding their territory along the Tapajóz River and adjacent areas. Their expansion reached its limits at the beginning of the 19th century, when they were defeated by the Neo-Brazilians. Since then their territory has dwindled; remnant settlements are located on the Canumá and several of its tributaries (Abacaxis, Paracury, Apucitáua), in the municípios of Maus, Parintins, and Juriti, and on the Cururú River (a southeastern tributary of the Tapajóz). The principal settlements are located along the middle Tapajóz River and especially on its southeastern tributary, the Río de Tropas (between lat. 6° and 7° S., and long. 56° and 57° W.). Communities formerly established on the lower Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Amazon have been absorbed or wiped out by Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Kruse (1934) distinguishes four regional groups of the *Mundurucú*: The Tapajóz River group, living on both sides of the Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Cururú River; the Madeira River *Mundurucú*, on the Secudury, a tributary of the Canumá; the Xingú River *Mundurucú*, known also as the *Curuaya*, on the uppermost left tributary of the Igarapé de Flecha, itself an eastern tributary of the middle Rio Cruá do Iriri; and the Juruena River *Mundurucú*, known also as the *Njabiltwaras*. Nimuendajú (personal communication) regards the name "*Madeira Mundurucú*" as unsuitable, since the rivers on which this group is located do not flow into the Madeira; he also believes that the *Curuaya*,

[1] The writer is indebted to Dr. Curt Nimuendajú, who through personal knowledge of the *Mundurucú* and familiarity with literary sources not available to the writer, was able to provide additional information on the distribution and history of the tribe which has been utilized in the present account.

[128] Where the literature clearly indicates that a custom is no longer practiced, the preterite is employed; otherwise the account is given in the present tense even though it is probable that much of the culture so described no longer persists.

2. ABORIGINAL CULTURE

121 The brief outline of the aboriginal culture of the Mundurucú which follows is based chiefly on traditional knowledge and the memories of informants, supplemented by the writer's observation of those features which are extant. Only slight reference has been made to historical sources due to their relative unreliability and also because of the absence of data in them on the socio-economic organization, which is our major interest in this work. This section does not pretend to be an ethnography of the Mundurucú, but will be focussed on the delineation of the basis of Mundurucú socio-cultural integration. It will thus provide a baseline for the study of Mundurucú culture change.

The Economy

105 [131] The Mundurucú are essentially forest dwellers. • Although their aboriginal villages are located on high savannahs at the headwaters of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajós River, they depended on the resources of the forests and rivers for their subsistence. Their economy did not differ greatly from that of other Tropical Forest

• Because Mundurucú culture has suffered considerable attrition and because this culture loss has been felt in varying degrees in different areas of modern occupation, it is expedient to use the past tense throughout this chapter. It should be remembered that many traits still exist, especially those outside the realm of warfare and ceremonial. The later chapter on the contemporary Mundurucú will indicate what is now present or absent.

[pp 1-16 not processed]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society

ROBERT F. MURPHY
University of California, Berkeley

121 114 UNILINEAL descent and unilocal residence, by definition, follow one of but two possible lines, the male or the female. Simple arithmetic would therefore dictate that there are four possible combinations of common descent and residence. Only three of the combinations, however, are found to have any frequent and reliable occurrence. Kroeber (1952:213) noted the single lapse in the following observation:

> "Logically the possibility arises of a fourth plan of society: matrilocal but patrilineal . . . I do not know of such a society, and should expect its occurrence to be rare."

This combination is certainly unusual, and ethnographic literature yields practically no descriptions of its unequivocal occurrence. In most cases, the unilocality or unilineality of the group is questionable. For example, Loeb and Broek (1947:418) claim the Karen people of Burma to have patrilineal clans and matrilocal residence. However, the sources which they cite in support of this contention (Marshall 1922; Heine-Geldern 1923) do not warrant such positive affirmations as to the rule of descent. This conclusion with regard to the Karen is verified by Murdock (1954). Residence rules are likewise subject to misinterpretation, for in many cultures matrilocality is frequently a temporary state followed by permanent patrilocality.

391 613 [131] In 1952 the writer discovered the co-existence of matrilocality and patrilineality among the Mundurucú Indians of the upper Tapajós River in central Brazil.[1] Existing information on the Mundurucú had led me to believe, before field research, that the group was patrilocal. Subsequent field investigation proved the contrary to be true, and gives us one of our few authenticated accounts of a patrilineal group in which postmarital residence is permanently matrilocal.

121 The purpose of this paper is to present the pertinent data for the use of students of social organization, to describe how such a system functions, and to discuss its significance in terms of the evolution of social structure. Consideration of the latter problem will be reserved until the conclusions of this paper, for much of the discussion will hinge upon what seems incongruous, nonfunctional, or dysfunctional in Mundurucú society. This material, when analyzed [176] with reference to the limited amount of historical data available, suggests strongly that the Mundurucú shifted from patrilocality to matrilocality in the first half of the nineteenth century. The bearing of such a change upon Murdock's observations (1949:190) on the difficulty of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent becomes immediately apparent when it is considered that much of Murdock's position depends upon his persuasive argument that a patrilineal society can change from patrilocality to matrilocality only with great difficulty. It would seem that this shift in residence patterns is possible under certain conditions which will be analyzed functionally among the Mundurucú. Matrilocality, following Murdock's use of residence as a determinant

of descent, is one of the preconditions to the development of matrilineality.[2] That the latter change never occurred among the Mundurucú can be partially explained by the fact their subsequent involvement in the commercial exploitation of wild rubber has resulted in bilocality and neolocality (Murphy 1954).

It is because of this later breakdown of unilocality that my description of Mundurucú social organization will refer to mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society. Much of the social structure described below is still observable in certain conservative Mundurucú villages and served to supplement and corroborate information obtained from old informants.

THE MUNDURUCÚ

Since Mundurucú culture is not well documented, even for a South American group, a few prefatory remarks are in order. Linguistically, the Mundurucú have been classified as "remotely" Tupian by Nimuendajú (1938:975). However, a summary comparison of Mundurucú and Tupí indicates that if a genetic relationship does exist, it could only be very obscure and distant. It is possible that the substantial number of Tupian loan words in the Mundurucú lexicon had led Nimuendajú to an erroneous conclusion. The final resolution of this problem will be of importance to the prehistory of the Mundurucú and of the entire central Amazon basin.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of the chroniclers in the late eighteenth century when they launched a series of strong raids against other Indian tribes and white colonists in the lower Amazon Valley. Their late appearance on the historical scene and subsequent northward thrust into the waters of the lower Madeira River suggest that the Mundurucú originated in the highlands of Mato Grosso and thence migrated northwards. However, their only known homeland is in the region of mixed gallery forest and savannah east of the upper Tapajós River, between 6° and 8° south latitude. This is where the remnants of the tribe are located today.

After their pacification by Portuguese colonial forces at the end of the eighteenth century, the Mundurucú entered into a long period of peaceful symbiosis with the whites (Almeida Serra 1869:4-5). Traders and government officials capitalized on the renowned aggressiveness of the Mundurucú by employing them as mercenary warriors against tribes still hostile to the whites. In 1835, their services were sought in the suppression of the Revolution of the Cabanos (Hartt 1885:132), and at the end of the nineteenth century their war parties were still being enlisted by the rubber traders of the Madeira River (Coudreau 1897:50). Fighting was not the only source of trade goods for the Mundurucú. Since earliest times, the white settlers of the Amazon valley have exploited the natural products of the region to the neglect of agriculture. The resultant shortage of local sources of subsistence forced them to rely in part upon the products of the Indian gardens. Thus, the Mundurucú were deeply involved in the sale of surplus manioc flour as early as 1819 (Martius 1867: 395). Manioc flour continued to be their principal trade commodity until the late nineteenth century, when wild rubber assumed primacy (Tocantins 1877).

The middle of the nineteenth century found the Mundurucú of the upper

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxi and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestiço colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:9) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Ucizaba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1849, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1883 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira do Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

577 different in kind, for the central theme
186 makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between desirable behavior within Mundurucú society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

648 The Mundurucú first came to the
[13] attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forests and savannah country east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles
[726] of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a
[105] peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

131 Mundurucú warfare represents one
577 side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[2] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[2] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946). [p. 370(8)]

I. HABITAT AND HISTORY

THE MUNDURUCU INDIANS are a tribal group of some 1,200 people living on the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. The remnants of a formerly much more numerous population, they have maintained a considerable part of their native culture despite more than one and a half centuries of contact with Brazilian society. Linguistically, the Mundurucú are Tupian-speaking, but their language is not mutually intelligible with the so-called classical Tupian of the Brazilian littoral. Rather, they appear to form a Tupian substock in company with the near-by Shipaya, Curuaya, and Juruna Indians of the Xingú River drainage. Other cultural characteristics indicate some discontinuity between the Mundurucú and the bulk of the Tupian-speaking peoples and suggest that Mundurucú history had a relatively independent course from that of the coastal groups. Some of these differences are manifest in mythology and religion.

Habitat

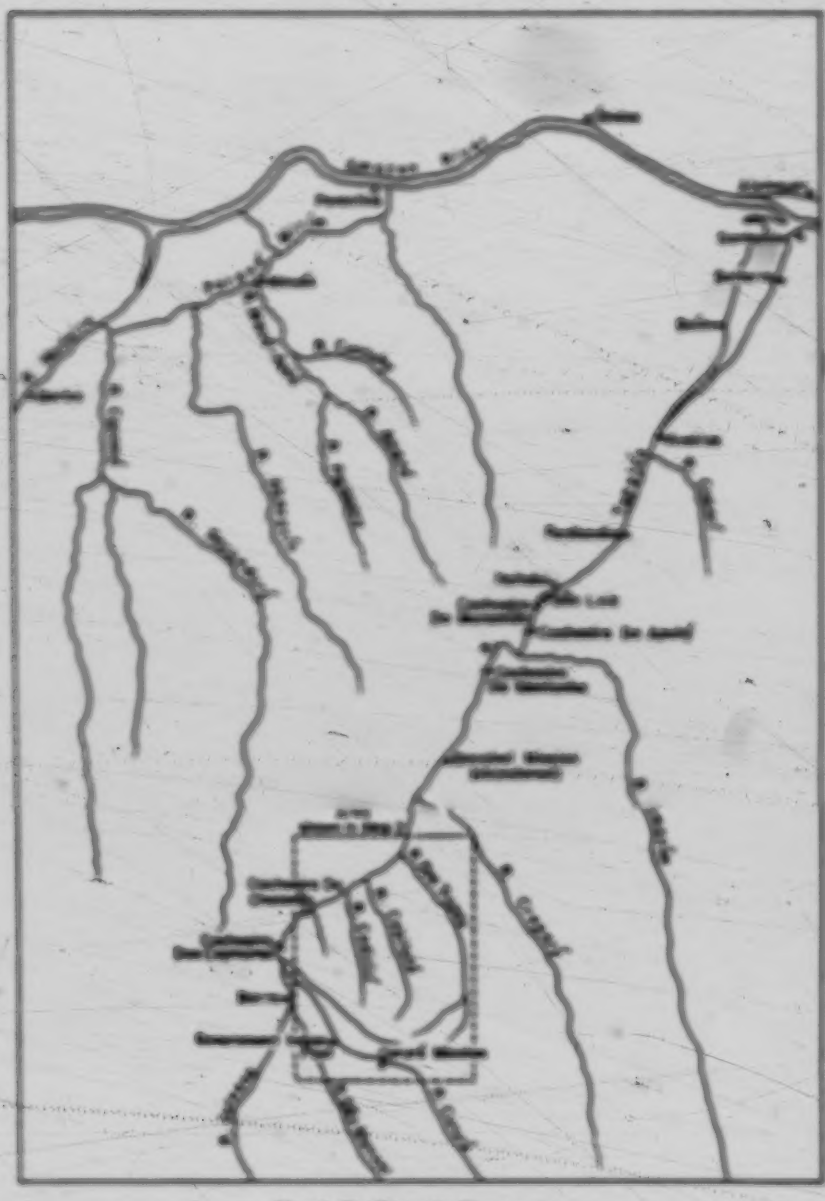
The Mundurucú habitat is rather different from what might commonly be expected in the Amazon Valley. Although stretches of flat jungle terrain abound, the area is in a northward-reaching finger of the Planalto do Mato Grosso; the topography is characterized by low hills, and the forests are interspersed with rock outcroppings and large stretches of grassy savannah. Actually, the northernmost extension of these central Brazilian highlands overlooks the Amazon behind the city of Santarém at the mouth of the Tapajós River.

The traveler en route to the Mundurucú country usually ascends the Tapajós River from Santarém; recent completion of an emergency landing field some 300 miles upstream can shorten the weeks-long trip to a matter of two hours flight.[1] During the first 150 miles of the water route the steamer or launch carries one up the deep blue and usually tranquil stream between shores that are at first more than 10 miles apart, but which narrow to a width of about one mile. The hills on either side rise to a few hundred feet and are covered with the vegetation characteristic of most areas of terra firme in the Amazon. At the point where the more elevated country and the banks of the river finally merge to form a narrow gap, the Tapajós River plunges furiously over the almost impassible rapids called the Cachoeira de Maranhão. These rapids form an effective block to navigation, and the traveler must debark and by-pass them by truck or on foot. The truck and the road, which are frequently not usable, are the property of a rubber-trading concern that maintains warehouse and commercial facilities at the lower end of the rapids. The company town has a population of less than 1,000, but it is the metropolis and entrepôt of the upper Tapajós; one can continue for 1,000 miles farther upstream without finding a settlement one-fifth that size.

The next stage of the trip is made in a shallow-draft diesel launch, especially built to negotiate rapids. The shores of the lower Tapajós River are lined with pleasant sand beaches and are broken by occasional villages, but the upper reach

[1] The reader will find it convenient to consult the maps on pp. 2 and 3 during the following discussion.

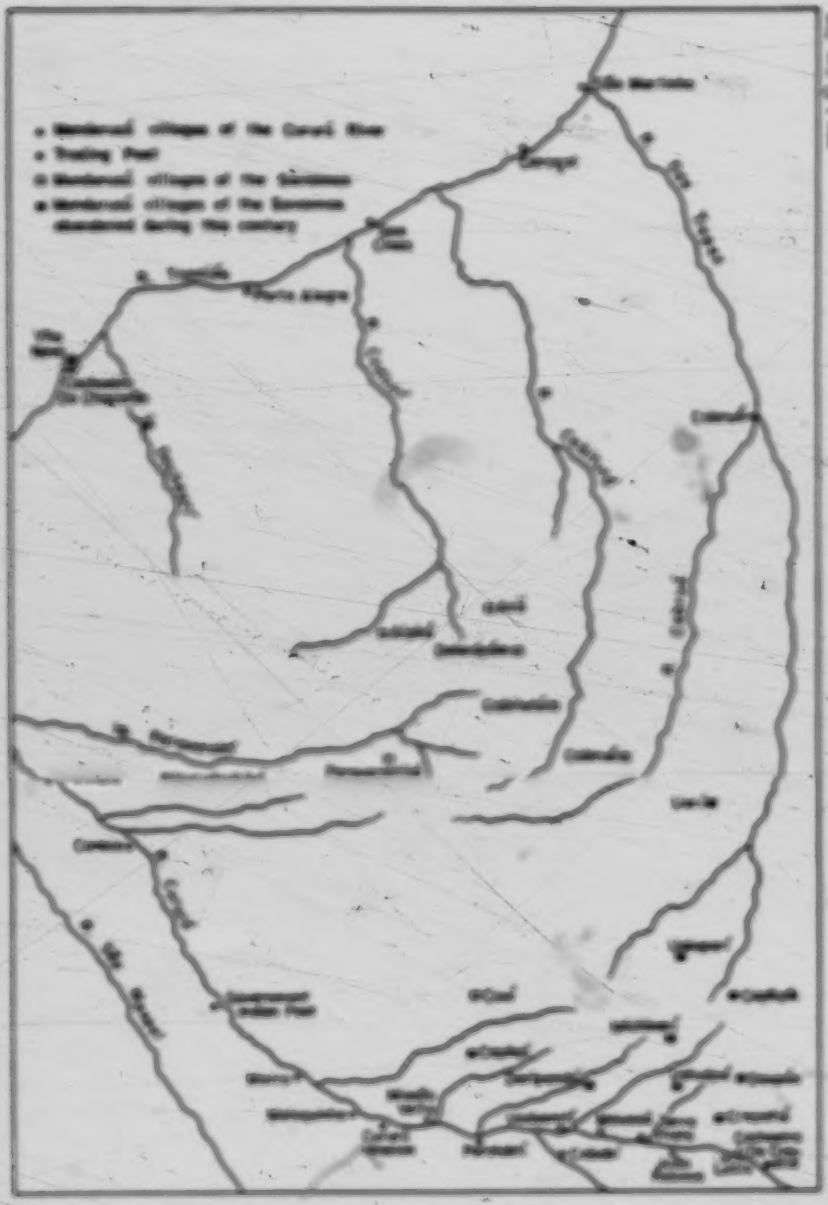
11: Murphy Σ-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundaruca SQ13



Map 1. The Tapajós River region.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131
103
961
133



Map 1. Mundurucú territory and villages.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only once in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers of the scattered collector population.

Several days and barely 400 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Mundurucú population. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadiriri, Cabituni, and das Tropas. A number of Mundurucú villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and an occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually ragged or ill-fitting clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading posts. Racially, the Mundurucú does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes among the local Brazilians.

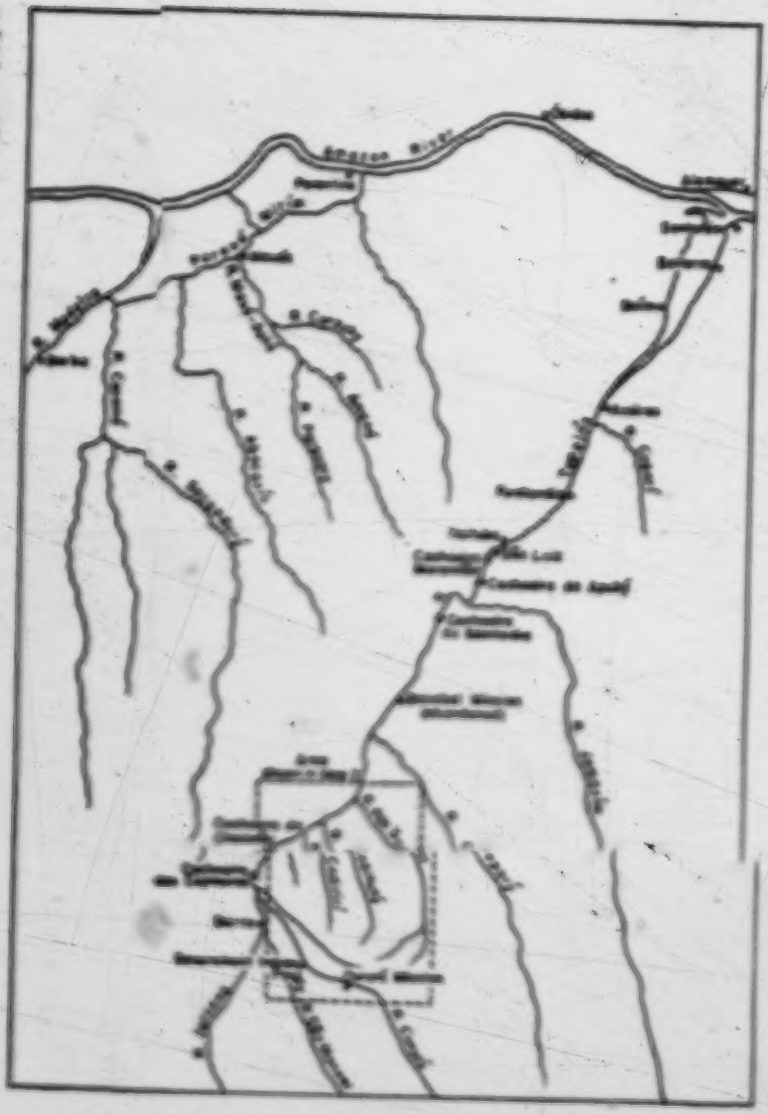
If one wishes to reach the village of Cabruá, a typical Mundurucú community of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabituni River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of dawn-to-dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 100 yards away. The house is usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabruá go there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village, one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from the valley of the Cabituni and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a sun-scorched savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one to the village.

The majority of the Mundurucú now live on the banks of the larger streams of the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there. Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 reside on the Cururú River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated part of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River. But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the historic period and, according to Mundurucú tradition, since the creation of man.

The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Mundurucú architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance precincts and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbrush. And the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

102
103
•131
133



Map 1. Region of the Tapajós and lower Madeira rivers

[p 6]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE SETTING

The Mundurucú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, 131 ●
in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Assú, Secundurý, and Abacaxis rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River.

The Mundurucú are usually classified as a Tupian- 197
speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has [101]
been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Mundurucú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Mundurucú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identifi- [114]
cation of the Nambikuara as the "Juruena Mundurucú" are erroneous.[3] The Mundurucú originally were an auton- 101
omous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their 134
first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of 166
the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact.

The present-day Mundurucú population consists of 161
about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea

[1] Nimuendajú, 1938, p. 975.
[2] Kruse, 1934, p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

THE SETTING

174 try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional home-
●191 land as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 360 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in
177 search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his
[294] first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western
[301] style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is
[415] a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong
142 in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the
[304] younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the
171 Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely
361 Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

133 rivers rise there as small streams meandering through gallery forest. As they flow south, they increase greatly in volume, and their valleys cut deeper into the uplands, tumbling over waterfalls and dropping through strong rapids on their descent to sea level. The forest on either shore becomes vast and deep, but in the interior, the Planalto scenery continues, for the high country extends in long fingers between the rivers and reaches north in some places to the very shores of the Amazon. This is uninhabited, and largely unknown, terrain; its rivers are small, and delightfully cool and swift, and the landscape is characterized by open savannahs, flat hills, and fantastic rock formations.

The Tapajós River proper begins at approximately 7½° S lat. and is formed by the confluence of the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. For about 300 miles below this point, it flows through a valley that is in places broad and flat—typical Amazonian scenery—but is more commonly hilly. There are numerous rapids in this stretch, but none so spectacular and dangerous, as the Cachoeira (Rapids) de Maranhão, at which point the river passes through a low range of hills and drops to about the same level as the Amazon. The Tapajós then continues, without further rapids north of this point another 150 miles to its confluence with the Amazon at the city of Santarém. This section of the river is by far the most beautiful. It gradually broadens to form a bay ten miles wide, bordered on either side by forested hills. Unlike most other rivers of the area, the Tapajós is blue and clear, and its lower reaches are lined in the low-water dry season by endless stretches of white sand beach.

131 The Mundurucú live in the area immediately north and east of the point where the Tapajós is created by the juncture of the São Manoel and Juruena rivers. For this reason, I will refer to their habitat as being on the "upper Tapajós,"

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

while the lands lying north of the last rapids, the Cachoeira de Maranhão, will be termed the "lower Tapajós"; this division follows local usage. The traditional location of their villages has been in a high and hilly area inland from the Tapajós, between the Cururú and Tropas rivers. This is a region of mixed savannah and forest in which several minor tributaries of the Tapajós have their headwaters. Topographically, this high savannah land is a continuation of the Serra do Cachimbo; it extends northwestward through the Mundurucú country and across the Tapajós at the Cachoeiras de Capoeira and Chacorão. Beyond this point there is some savannah land at the headwaters of the Secundurý and Abacaxís rivers, but the terrain soon flattens out into the great, forested Amazon lowland encompassed by the Negro and Madeira rivers.

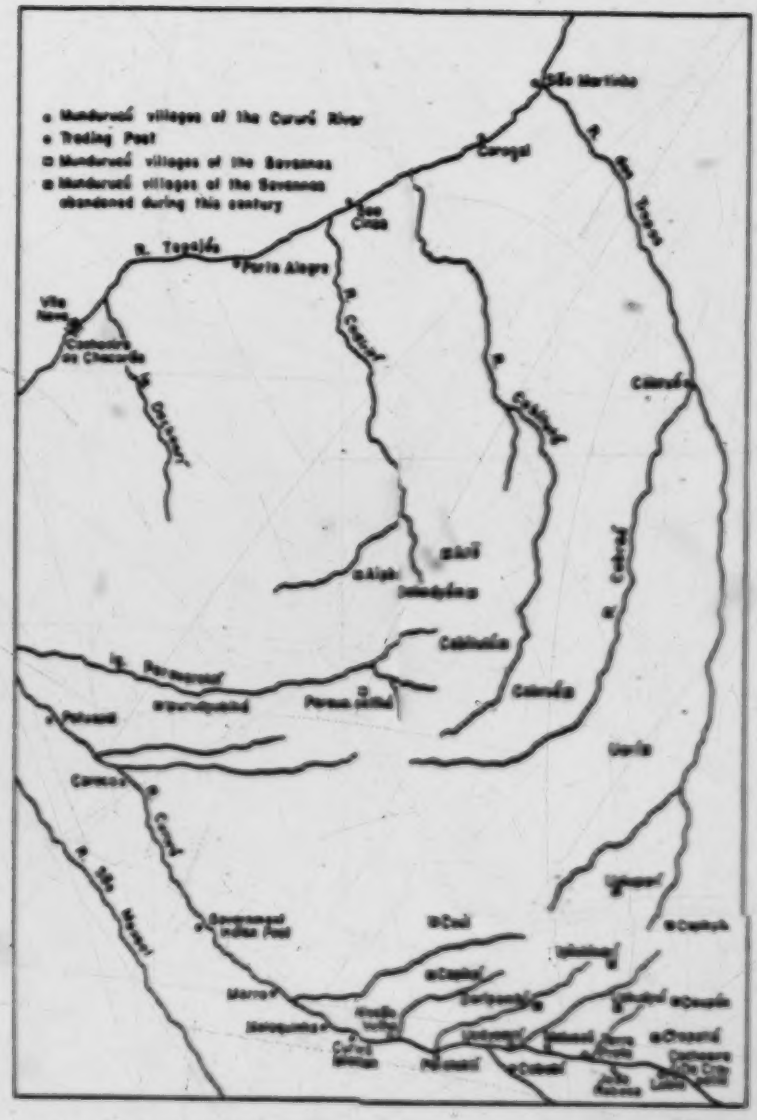
The savannahs in which the Mundurucú have long dwelled are considered agreeable by Indians and Brazilians alike, although the latter do not live in the area. The villages are usually situated on high, grassy knolls, and some offer vistas of twenty miles across forests and open country, low hills, and valleys. The local streams are small, but the water is cool and pure. And the forests are far richer in game than in the more heavily settled areas of the Amazon.

The climate of the upper Tapajós follows a more pronounced wet-and-dry cycle than that of the Amazon valley proper. The rains begin in mid-September and increase in frequency and intensity for the next three months. The heaviest rains fall between January and March; then they gradually slacken until the dry season commences in June. The great extremes between wet and dry seasons can be seen from the following figures on average January and July rainfall, collected by the Cururú Mission. During 1945–1951, the average January rainfall was 420.6 milli-

[Text continues on page 15]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

102
103
● 191
133
361
366


Mundurucú villages of the Curuá River
Trading Post
Mundurucú villages of the Savannas
Mundurucú villages of the Savannas abandoned during this century
R. Tapajós
Porto Alegre
Vila Nova
Santarém
Cachoeira do Chacorão
R. Curuá
R. Cururú
R. Cabelo
R. Crepori
R. Jamanxim
R. Tocantins
R. Xingu
R. Iriri
R. Xingu
R. Iriri
R. Tocantins
R. Tocantins
R. Xingu
R. Iriri
R. Xingu
R. Iriri
R. Xingu
R. Iriri

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural change in this part of South America. 177 648 439

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong attacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2] 175 648

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Tapajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the 131 175 [197]

[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[2] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4-5.
[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

131 175 Tapajós in 1779, which located the "Mondruci nation" on the "Rio Vermelha," probably either the Cadiriri or Cururú River.[4] Also, although Martius was personally acquainted only with the Mundurucú living between the Tapajós and Madeira, he confirmed the upper Tapajós to be their area of greatest strength in 1819.[5]

175 648 [166] The Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River remained relatively isolated during the early contact period, although large numbers of migrants from these villages moved north to the proximity of the white settlements. This population shift, caused by the lure of manufactured articles, was facilitated by the rapid decimation of the intervening Indian tribes. The complementary, and frequently identical, agencies of colonization and catechization had broken and absorbed those groups, such as the populous Tapajó, which had occupied areas near the Amazon, and disease had reduced the ranks of the surviving [165] societies. Mundurucú warfare aided the process. For example, Serra located the Hiauain tribe in an area several days' travel above the first rapids of the Tapajós in 1779,[6] but in 1817 Manoel Ayres de Casal placed them on the east bank of the lower Tapajós, to where they had fled from Mundurucú war parties.[7] The net effect of these demographic changes was to provide the Mundurucú with uninterrupted avenues of access to trade facilities.

175 648 197 The Mundurucú who moved into the lower Tapajós valley soon entered into close relations with the whites. The mission of Santa Cruz was established in 1803 and was followed by other missions to the Mundurucú at Boim and Pinhel, all on the lower Tapajós.[8] The inhabitants of these

---

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 3-5.
[5] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[6] Almeida Serra, 1869, p. 3.
[7] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 232.
[8] Martius, 1867, p. 395.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 648 [797] [439] sion and were also scattered throughout the surrounding forest. They were already conducting trade with the whites in manioc flour, sarsaparilla, and *guaraná* and apparently did not have the men's house and the other accoutrements of the traditional men's organization. According to these explorers, the Indians were found mainly on the Canomá and its tributary, the Secundurý. About forty years later, Mundurucú inhabitants lived also on the Abacaxís and Maué-Assú rivers, two other tributaries of the Paraná-Mirim, a channel that connects the Amazon with the lower Madeira. [131]

The Mundurucú of that area are of interest, because the earliest assimilation of large numbers of the tribe took place in the Madeira River region. It was there too that a long tradition of friendly relations with the whites was established; this friendship was to a large extent sealed by the coöperation of the Mundurucú in the quelling of tribes of the region still hostile to the colonists. In the late eighteenth century, two tribes of the lower Madeira, the Mura and the Arara, especially the former, waged incessant warfare against the white settlements and did much to impede the colonization of the central Amazon Valley. Unable to cope with the Mura, the whites enlisted the aid of the Mundurucú and from this date, according to Charles F. Hartt, the whites and the Mundurucú were allies.[13] By 1819, Ayres de Casal reported the lower Madeira River town of Borba to have a nearby settlement of Mura who had sought refuge from the Mundurucú,[14] and in 1852, Henry Walter Bates, the noted English naturalist, found fugitive remnants of the tribe scattered along the Amazon as far as the town of Catuá, a short distance below the mouth of the Rio Teffé.[15] At the time Bates wrote, the at-

[13] Hartt, 1885, pp. 116-117.
[14] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 238.
[15] Bates, 1863, p. 168.

Second, warfare, for both mercenary pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because of the acquisition of firearms.[24] The continuance of warfare helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type villages no longer existed on the waters of the Crepory River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[24] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ1

131 pajés,[37] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited
175 the headwaters of that river in 1860.[38] Thus, by 1925 at the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had diminished to its present confines between the Curuá and Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining
[177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization. They had acquired steel tools and clothes from the whites, and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber
182 economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and
649 mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was
177 a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head acquisitive taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads. It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men, who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically at the past.

175 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom col-
439 lapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension
648 to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased in importance and yielded decidedly less returns. The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

[37] Coudreau, 1897, p. 30.
[38] Chandless, 1869, p. 277.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

3

economic life

Until about 1925, the bulk of the Mundurucú population of the Tapajós area lived in the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest that begins some twenty to thirty miles east of the upper Tapajós River. The population of about 300 living in seven villages in this area today is constantly diminishing. The villages and their approximate populations are: Aró, 90; Cabituná, 45; Cabruá, 67; Aipka, 50; Dekodyem, 50; Caui, 25; and Paxwatikká, 30. The last-named village is in the traditional savannah area and has some antiquity, but in recent years the organization of village life has shifted to the downstream pattern of the Curuá River. Caui was established in recent times by conservative Mundurucú who became dissatisfied with their new way of life on the Curuá River and wished to revert to more traditional practice. How-

[p.51]

/1/

114

The Agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians *

*Most of the data that follow were gathered in 1957, in the course of a two-month stay among the Indians of the Franciscan mission of Cururú and vicinity. My principal informants were the Mundurukú Tomé, Cirilo, and Antônia. But I am also indebted to the mission fathers for much valuable data, for which I am grateful.

115

Protásio Frikel

Goeldi Museum

000

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture
II. Garden methods
III. Social factors
IV. Native terminology

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture

241 175

What we know of Mundurukú agriculture is little, and most of it is based on the reports of nineteenth-century travelers. Already in those days the Mundurukú were described as a people who possessed a certain level of primitive agriculture. These /travelers/ speak of the Mundurukú as living on the margins of the Tapajós River and as already being in the first stage of acculturation to the environment of the time. They deal with the subject of "agriculture" as if it were an ancient culture trait among these Indians. This may indeed be the truth, for we cannot assert the contrary. /2/ Although certain

[131]

241 174

2. Reisen-472.8,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SPT Bakairi.377
Africa 372
Canal
Mundurucu 903

/301 cont./

enemies of the Bakaïří, but there is no more specific information about them. The Nambiquara and Tapaúna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapaúna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïří

* Noticia de Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïří, let alone on that of the Tapaúna, /302/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Histórico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning: it refers to the tribe of the Mundurú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajós, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks: "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïří, whom they call Muruchábos and whom they forced to go into the Mangrove where they ('abitiset') settled in villages." The letter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Bakaïří lived in the province of Pará; among the dwellers along the lower Tapajós, the region of the upper course and of the source arm Juruena and Arinos is called "Mangrove"; the Mundurú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Sanuma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Teles Pires area with their attacks. The Bakaïří, who called them "Muruchábo," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

The chief enemies of the West Bakaïří, and probably even of the united Bakaïří, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

[50] edge it to have been learned from their Tupian neighbors, the Apiaca. In early times, this bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when on a war expedition. Small [48] streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. [49] Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among these Mundurucú of the savannahs.

An additional factor limiting fishing is that the 226 132 annual rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks allowing the fish to disperse through the forest in search of fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is very difficult throughout the entire rain forest region, even for those people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who had to fish from the river banks, it was a sheer impossibility. The Indians of the present village of Cabruá complain that they have no canoes and that to fish during the rainy season would involve wading through the igapó, or flooded forest, impractical due to poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

226 Dry season fishing was done by two means. The first of these was to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms were often built on the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it [77] is still preferred to the hook and line, which was introduced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry [132] season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and 554 aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the pariwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent [561] direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

721 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party 202 was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchachá* society, a group [575] of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs [701] and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he [534] sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who 701 took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this 722 was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

while the lands lying north of the last rapids, the Cachoeira de Maranhão, will be termed the "lower Tapajós"; this division follows local usage. The traditional location of their villages has been in a high and hilly area inland from the Tapajós, between the Cururú and Tropas rivers. This is a region of mixed savannah and forest in which several minor tributaries of the Tapajós have their headwaters. Topographically, this high savannah land is a continuation of the Serra do Cachimbo; it extends northwestward through the Mundurucú country and across the Tapajós at the Cachoeiras de Capoeira and Chacorão. Beyond this point there is some savannah land at the headwaters of the Secundurý and Abacaxis rivers, but the terrain soon flattens out into the great, forested Amazon lowland encompassed by the Negro and Madeira rivers.

The savannahs in which the Mundurucú have long dwelled are considered agreeable by Indians and Brazilians alike, although the latter do not live in the area. The villages are usually situated on high, grassy knolls, and some offer vistas of twenty miles across forests and open country, low hills, and valleys. The local streams are small, but the water is cool and pure. And the forests are far richer in game than in the more heavily settled areas of the Amazon.

The climate of the upper Tapajós follows a more pronounced wet-and-dry cycle than that of the Amazon valley proper. The rains begin in mid-September and increase in frequency and intensity for the next three months. The heaviest rains fall between January and March; then they gradually slacken until the dry season commences in June. The great extremes between wet and dry seasons can be seen from the following figures on average January and July rainfall, collected by the Cururú Mission. During 1945–1951, the average January rainfall was 420.6 milli-

[Text continues on page 15]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

meters, but during July in the same period an average of only 6.05 mm. fell. The extremes during this seven-year ranged from 530.4 mm. in January, 1947, to no rainfall in July, 1945, and again in 1951. The rivers rise and fall with the rains, overflowing their banks in November or December and receding in May. 152

Contrary to popular belief, the heat is seldom excessive in this part of Brazil. Although the sea breezes that blow up the Amazon from the sea as far as Manaos every evening are not felt in the upper Tapajós, the temperature usually drops at night to very comfortable levels. It was my experience that one could use pajamas and two cotton blankets at night; the Mundurucú, who do not possess such luxuries, generally sleep in their cotton clothes and awaken at three or four in the morning to light a small fire beneath their hammocks. There are no great variations in temperature from one month to another. Days are slightly warmer and nights cooler during the dry season, but the lower humidity makes it more agreeable than the rains. Maximum temperatures throughout the year range between 87° and 95° F. (30° and 35° C.), minimum temperatures between 63° and 77° F. (17° and 25° C.). During June, a cold wind blows from the distant Andes and chills the entire region for two to four days. Temperatures then fall to as low as 63° F. (17° C.). [291] [513]

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Mundurucú habitat is surely not an earthly paradise, but neither is it the "green hell" so often pictured by royalty-minded travelers and writers. The Brazilians of the Tapajós River, however, do live in a social and economic hell. They distinguish themselves from the Indians by the self-designation of *civilizado* or, less often, *cristão* (Christian). The Indian is commonly called *caboclo* by them, 101 695

ECONOMIC LIFE

226 streams rely primarily upon fish for protein. The savannah villages are several hours inland from the nearest navi-
[364] gable streams. This settlement pattern was well adapted to the defensive requirements of a warrior society, but it removed the communities from the best fishing sites. The narrow, shallow streams within easy reach of the villages yield only smaller species of fish and in limited quantities.

177 The Mundurucú relied little on the river system for
501 food or transportation in times past, as is shown by the fact that only in recent years has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The modern Mundurucú canoe is usually of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders; before contact with the whites the only water craft used was the bark canoe. Not even this canoe, however, was native to the Mundurucú for they acknowledge having acquired it from their Tupian-speaking neighbors, the Apiacá. In early times, the bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when the Indians were on war expeditions. Small streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among the Mundurucú of the savannahs, despite their annual dry-season residence on large streams. Only two men in the village of Cabruá owned canoes and no one in Cabitutá had one.

226 An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual
[182] rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks, allowing the fish to disperse through the flooded forest where they feed on fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is difficult in the rain-forest region, even for people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who have to fish with bow and arrow from the river banks, it is almost impossible. The modern residents of Cabruá say that their lack of canoes would make it necessary for them during

[27] According to the same informant, some warriors from this village had returned from a war a few days previously, bringing back with them the mummified heads of two of their enemies, necklaces of human teeth, and other trophies.

As it turned out, I did not regret my choice, for I was well received in Necodemus and I encountered there, more vivid [73] than anywhere else, the legend of Maidurucu beginnings which considers this very maloca or village the cradle of the human race.

133 I continued up the Cadeuei, Paraiba river. Every day we had to carry bodily our light boat over coal bars. Here was confirmed an opinion I had already formed, namely, that the Cadeuei, as well as the Aringuaia, Juruena, Maranon, and other upper branches of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, such as the Tocantins, the Tapajos, the Madeira and others, would dry up completely during the summer months, losing their channels, were it not for the falls of the middle course which serve to dam up the violent flow of the stream. The average gradient on the middle course of these great Amazon tributaries, which descend from the central plateau, is steeper than necessary to maintain a normal flow of water. [78]

83 Finally, on the morning of the sixth day as calculated by [74] the Indian, we came upon a tree thrown across the river in the form of a bridge. On the bank stood a crude hut. There was no one around. We blew a horn to call out the owner of the hut, who was probably out hunting in the nearby woods. As no one appeared, we continued our journey. I left behind some trifling gifts to reach the passage of a friendly person.

I thought it best to behave in this fashion, remembering [74] that Lieutenant Captain Soares Pinto had been attacked and killed by the savages for having destroyed some bridges which they had laid across the river. It is impossible to proceed upriver without destroying the bridges, and it is not always feasible to replace them.

For this reason, whenever I found myself unable to replace one in the same spot -- and on that day we encountered four more bridges -- I left gifts to make up in some degree for the damage I had caused the savages. At the end of the day the river became totally impassable: we could not carry the canoe any further. Happily, at this difficult moment we found another bridge over [75] the river and a hut upon the bank. We blew our horn persistently.

[Lin, Necodemus - Society]

I. HABITAT AND HISTORY

The Mundurucú Indians are a tribal group of some 1,250 people living on the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. The remnants of a formerly much more numerous population, they have maintained a considerable part of their native culture despite more than one and a half centuries of contact with Brazilian society. Linguistically, the Mundurucú are Tupian-speaking, but their language is not mutually intelligible with the so-called classical Tupian of the Brazilian littoral. Rather, they appear to form a Tupian cohortack in company with the near-by Shipaya, Curuaya, and Juruna Indians of the Xingú River drainage. Other cultural characteristics indicate some discontinuity between the Mundurucú and the bulk of the Tupian-speaking peoples and suggest that Mundurucú history had a relatively independent course from that of the coastal groups. Some of these differences are manifest in mythology and religion.

Habitat

The Mundurucú habitat is rather different from what might commonly be expected in the Amazon Valley. Although stretches of flat jungle terrain abound, the area is in a northward-reaching finger of the Planalto do Mato Grosso, the topography is characterized by low hills, and the forests are interspersed with rock outcroppings and large stretches of grassy savannah. Actually, the northernmost extension of these central Brazilian highlands overlooks the Amazon behind the city of Santarém at the mouth of the Tapajós River.

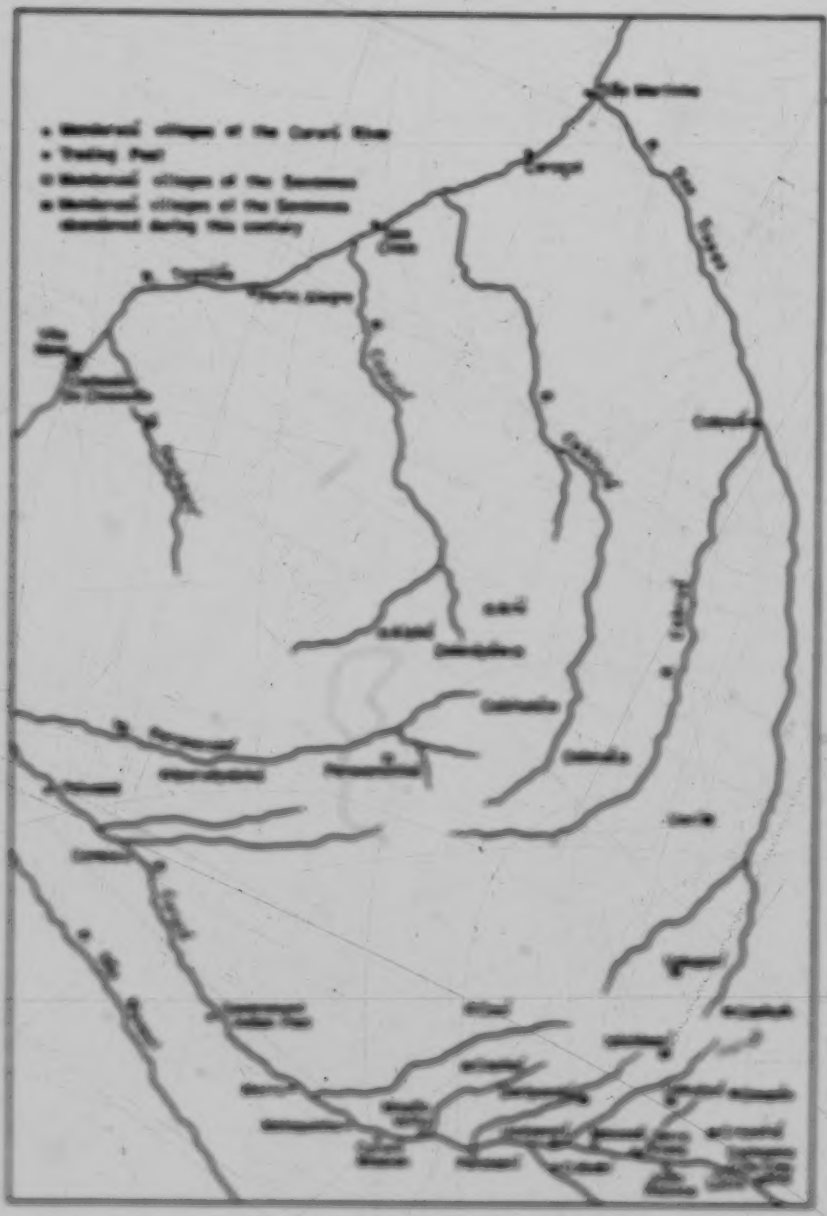
The traveler en route to the Mundurucú country usually ascends the Tapajós River from Santarém. Recent completion of an emergency landing field some 200 miles upstream can shorten the weeks-long trip to a matter of two hours flight.[1] During the first 120 miles of the water route the steamer or launch carries one up the deep blue and usually tranquil stream between shores that are at first more than 10 miles apart, but which narrow to a width of about one mile. The hills on either side rise to a few hundred feet and are covered with the vegetation characteristic of most areas of terra firma in the Amazon. At the point where the more elevated country and the banks of the river finally merge to form a narrow gap, the Tapajós River plunges furiously over the almost impassible rapids called the Cachoeira de Maranhão. These rapids form an effective block to navigation, and the traveler must debark and be passed by truck or on foot. The truck and the road, which are frequently not usable, are the property of a rubber trading company that maintains warehouse and commercial facilities at the lower end of the rapids. The company town has a population of less than 1,000, but it is the metropolis and entrepôt of the upper Tapajós; one can continue for 1,000 miles further upstream without finding a settlement one-fifth that size.

The next stage of the trip is made in a shallow-draft diesel launch, especially built to negotiate rapids. The shores of the lower Tapajós River are lined with pioneer sand beaches and are broken by occasional villages, but the upper reach

[1] The reader will find it convenient to consult the maps on pp. 2 and 3 during the following discussion.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13



Map 2. Mundurucú territory and villages.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

133

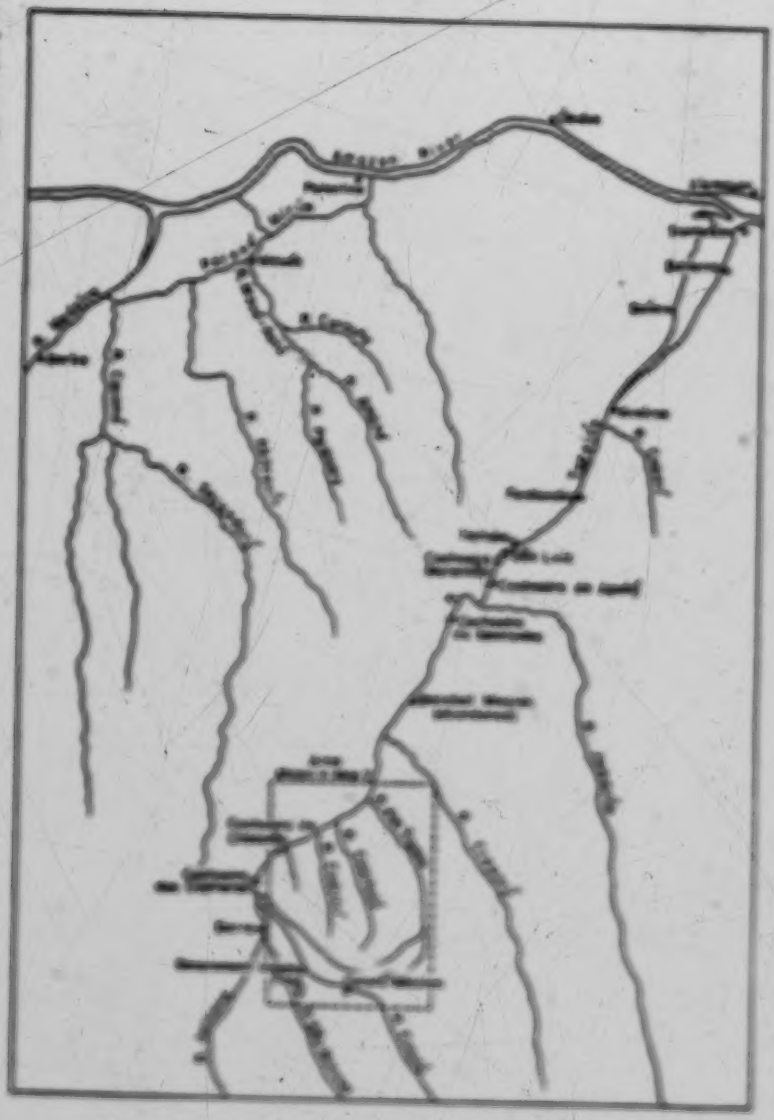
a. View of the savannahs southeast of the village of Cururú.

b. Forests and rubber east of Cururú, looking toward the Das Tropas River.

[end plate 1]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

102
103
131
133



Map 1. Region of the Tapajós and lower Madeira rivers

[p 6]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

as most of the population. These small one- or two-family 361
groups do not have the social frame of reference necessary
for the perpetuation of the native social system. And the 367
social units are too small for the effective transmission of
the traditional culture to the young.

Village life, relative isolation from Brazilians, greater 182
population density, and, therefore, more intensive interac- 184
tion with other Mundurucú, make for better preservation
of the Indian culture among the residents of the Cururú
River. But here, too, tradition is on the wane, and the na-
tive social structure has been drastically modified.

Actually, the stronghold of Mundurucú society and cul-
ture lies in the remaining savannah villages; and it is from
the savannah area, once far more populous, that the con-
temporary dwellers of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers orig-
inally emigrated. It cannot be said that the Mundurucú of
the savannah villages represent the "aboriginal culture,"
for they too have been deeply affected and altered by
Brazilian society. But change has been the least among
this population. A greater degree of political and economic
autonomy is preserved, and the native social system per-
sists, although it has been subjected to modifications. So-
ciety and culture in the savannah is certainly not the
same as one hundred fifty or even fifty years ago, but it
is still more distinctively Mundurucú than in the Cururú
villages and far more so than among the scattered Indians
of the Tapajós River.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Planalto do Mato Grosso is a heavily forested and rug- 153
ged upland, ranging in altitude from 2,000 to 3,000 feet,
which forms the divide between streams flowing north
to the Amazon and south to the Paraguay River. The head-
waters of the Madeira, Tapajós, Xingú, and Aragaya

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

133 rivers rise there as small streams meandering through gallery forest. As they flow south, they increase greatly in volume, and their valleys cut deeper into the uplands, tumbling over waterfalls and dropping through strong rapids on their descent to sea level. The forest on either shore becomes vast and deep, but in the interior, the Planalto scenery continues, for the high country extends in long fingers between the rivers and reaches north in some places to the very shores of the Amazon. This is uninhabited, and largely unknown, terrain; its rivers are small, and delightfully cool and swift, and the landscape is characterized by open savannahs, flat hills, and fantastic rock formations.

The Tapajós River proper begins at approximately 7½° S lat. and is formed by the confluence of the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. For about 300 miles below this point, it flows through a valley that is in places broad and flat—typical Amazonian scenery—but is more commonly hilly. There are numerous rapids in this stretch, but none so spectacular and dangerous, as the Cachoeira (Rapids) de Maranhão, at which point the river passes through a low range of hills and drops to about the same level as the Amazon. The Tapajós then continues, without further rapids north of this point another 150 miles to its confluence with the Amazon at the city of Santarém. This section of the river is by far the most beautiful. It gradually broadens to form a bay ten miles wide, bordered on either side by forested hills. Unlike most other rivers of the area, the Tapajós is blue and clear, and its lower reaches are lined in the low-water dry season by endless stretches of white sand beach.

134 The Mundurucú live in the area immediately north and east of the point where the Tapajós is created by the junction of the São Manoel and Juruena rivers. For this reason, I will refer to their habitat as being on the "upper Tapajós,"

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

while the lands lying north of the last rapids, the Cachoeira 191
de Maranhão, will be termed the "lower Tapajós"; this
division follows local usage. The traditional location of
their villages has been in a high and hilly area inland from [361]
the Tapajós, between the Cururú and Tropas rivers. This
is a region of mixed savannah and forest in which several
minor tributaries of the Tapajós have their headwaters.
Topographically, this high savannah land is a continua- 135
tion of the Serra do Cachimbo; it extends northwestward
through the Mundurucú country and across the Tapajós
at the Cachoeiras de Capoeira and Chacorão. Beyond this
point there is some savannah land at the headwaters of
the Secundury and Abacaxis rivers, but the terrain soon
flattens out into the great, forested Amazon lowland en-
compassed by the Negro and Madeira rivers.

The savannahs in which the Mundurucú have long 193
dwelled are considered agreeable by Indians and Brazil- 361
ians alike, although the latter do not live in the area. The
villages are usually situated on high, grassy knolls, and
some offer vistas of twenty miles across forests and open
country, low hills, and valleys. The local streams are small,
but the water is cool and pure. And the forests are far
richer in game than in the more heavily settled areas of
the Amazon.

The climate of the upper Tapajós follows a more pro- 152
nounced wet-and-dry cycle than that of the Amazon valley
proper. The rains begin in mid-September and increase in
frequency and intensity for the next three months. The
heaviest rains fall between January and March; then they
gradually slacken until the dry season commences in June.
The great extremes between wet and dry seasons can be
seen from the following figures on average January and
July rainfall, collected by the Cururú Mission. During
1945-1952, the average January rainfall was 420.6 milli-

[Text continues on page 15]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

102
103
191
133
361
366

Map 2. Present territory of the Mundurucú Indians

P-14

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

duction is overshadowed in value by agricultural products, 511
cattle, and hardwoods. Some rubber is still produced at 439
the old Ford plantations, now government-owned, at Bel- 649
terra and Fordlandia, but both installations are currently mainly used for experimental cattle breeding. Commerce is correspondingly brisker on the lower Tapajós. The inhabitants are not only visited regularly by several traders, but they have access to the market facilities of small towns and the city of Santarém.

The upper Tapajós and its two main tributaries, the São 133
Manoel and Juruena rivers, are broken by a series of heavy rapids, some of which are impassable in the dry season. The first set of rapids, the Cachoeira de Maranhão, can be passed during the flood stage of the river only with considerable danger. For this reason, a five-mile-long road 439
was built around them early in the century with the result that the trading company that controlled the road could force the local patrons to deal only with it, and thus effectively monopolize trade on the river. This is done by allowing only freight bought from the company and destined for freightage on the company launches to be transported on the road. Several attempts at competition by passing cargo through the dangerous rapids have ended in failure. Whatever company has controlled the two-way trade of rubber export and consumer-goods import has been able to fix consumer prices at whatever the market would bear. These prices have usually been too high to keep a stable, permanent working force, and there has been a chronic labor shortage on the Tapajós, even after the great rubber boom ended. The prices charged by the company for freight and goods are based on a cost index already made high by lack of the deep-water transportation available on the lower Tapajós. On the upper river, the rapids force the use of shallow-draft diesel launches

The agricultural land exploitable by each village was more than adequate, but it was by no means validated. Amazonian forest soil is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and friable and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks used by the Shuiqiness in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. However, there is some variation in soil quality even in this fairly uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Manduruwanha due to being periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass covered savannah. The viable forest land is divided by the Manduruwá into black earth, red earth, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only plot in which squash, melon, beans, and rice can be raised. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Manduruwá crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings and on the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant themselves. The reason for this two planting system is the fact that bitter manioc matures in about eight months on the first planting and from fourteen to eighteen months on the second in the already "tired" soil. A third planting would yield little and, also, as the <u>yabuchi</u> says,

tato (*Ipomoea batatas*), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, 24/
and pepper. At some time after the advent of the whites in 24.2
the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, po- [177]
tato, and sugar cane were introduced. Cotton, although, [24]
native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the
Mundurucú until the nineteenth century. Similarly, although the potato is native in western South America it was not found aboriginally in the eastern part of the continent.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village is more than adequate, but not unlimited. Amazonian forest soil is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and friable and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks formerly used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. There is some variation in soil quality, however, even in this rather uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Mundurucú territory because it is periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass-covered savannah. The tillable forest land is classified by the Mundurucú into the categories of black, red, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only kind in which they raise squash, melon, beans, and rice. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings. 24/
On the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter 3/
manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant

cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home. He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit his rubber avenue, the Mundurucú hunts or fishes. He is joined by the other men of the house if there are any; otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting techniques cannot be employed. This and the general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely do so because they do not have enough workers to clear forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting them. The resident families have a local supply of farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the village and transported to the rubber avenue, a difficult chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Cabruá. These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

/T cont./

242 this estimate. Through repeated tests he finds out the type of the soil and draws the necessary conclusions. As a rule, he proceeds as follows: with the machete, he digs a hole and examines the soil. By crumbling it between his fingers, he finds out its quality by touch. [123] He distinguishes three types: sandy, clayey, and black, allowing for certain variants and intermediary types, according to the composition and percentage of clay or sand. He makes these soil tests at various depths and in various places when he suspects that only a thin layer is involved, or to find out how far /the layer/ extends. The type of garden also depends on the type of the soil; in other terms: depending on what he wishes to plant, he has to choose a /specific/ type of soil. For this reason, in his hunting forays through the forest, the Indian pays attention to the ground through which he passes in order to find out where he will find appropriate soil when he needs it. The following rule applies as a general norm:

242 •154

sandy soil:	good only for bitter manioc; inadequate for other plants.
clayey soil: [345]	good especially for bitter manioc, tubercles in general, and also for banana plantations; other plants do not grow well in this soil.
black soil: [349]	good for everything. For this reason, black soil is always sought out and preferred. This is the tobacco ground par excellence.

*341 2. Size and shape of the plot. As was already partly explained, [342] the size of the plot depends on the quality of the soil. If /the Indian/ finds the chosen soil somewhat weak, he figures out beforehand that the harvest will be less satisfactory, and makes the plot somewhat larger. From the practice he has acquired since youth, he empirically figures out the area that will be needed. To do this he does not use measurement, as our peasants do ("braças," "varas," and such). [104] I attempted in various ways to find out how the Mundurukú figures out the size of the plot he is about to prepare. The answers were always the same: "... just by looking, you already know ..." /B/ or "... just by looking...." If the family has grown through the years,

/26 cont./

*241 602 431 are closely united, or when, owing to some reverse, one of the family members cannot prepare his own garden but can help in the preparation of that of his father, brother, son, etc. then, sometimes, a communal plot is prepared. This refers, however, to the concept of "garden" in its absolute sense: a garden of bitter manioc, of tubercles. For they always continue to plant their own bananas, pepper, etc., separately, for their own private use, each family for itself. This type of "communal garden" is found also (or exclusively?) /27/ outside the old community, among the acculturated Mundurukú. I observed such a case, between father and son, in the mission itself, where everyone has his own home. Both parties have equal right to the use of the garden. This type of "communal garden" is quite similar to that known among the peasants as a "company garden." The difference between the two types might perhaps be defined as follows: the "communal garden" serves directly for the use and sustenance of the families involved; the "company garden" exists on a contract basis, and its foundations and goals are usually commercial.

423 428 Once there is property, there arises the problem of inheritance. Each garden has its owner, with all ownership rights. In case of death, the plot passes into the hands of the eldest son, who is, however, nothing more than the "administrator" of this inheritance with a share in the usufruct. The heir is the family, represented by the eldest son in the sense that he must look after the plot, which the family shares along with him. When there is no family, the brothers inherit the plot. If there are no brothers, the other relatives do. In any case, the garden is not allowed to go to waste, and its produce is always utilized.

3. Garden and group: intraterritorial migrations

*241 361 At first sight, the Mundurukú gardens often seem to lie far from the house or village. And, in fact, this is frequently the case. But this is nearly always the result of long years of permanence in one and the same spot. As time goes by, the soil around the houses becomes weak and exhausted. (15)[134] It is for this reason that the Indian

[134] [See category 116, p. 32 for explanation of this footnote--analyst]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

such hut stood until recently upon the Ikuribi, a plain not far from our Cururu mission.

I shall now give the names of the moieties and of the respective sibs under each moiety:

A. Moiety of the Whites, *i ririty'a'ye*

1. *Ari* tree (m). 2. Cotton bush (m). 3. *Datye* sparrow hawk. 4. Sloth. 5. Fish otter. 6. *Ikö* sparrow hawk. 7. *Ikapi* wasp. 8. Jabuti [Land tortoise]. 9. Japim [?]. 10. Toad. 11. Macaco de cheiro [Chrysothrix ?]. 12. Macaco prego [Cebus fatuellus]. 13. Piabu [a fish]. 14. Seringueira-Itaúba (m) [rubber tree]. 15. Spider. 16. Swamp deer (Sumpfhirsch). 17. Taperibaxeiro (m) [genus Spondias ?]. 18. Wild cat (Wildkatze). 19. *Ywtu* tree (m).

B. Moiety of the Reds, *i pappiku'aye*

20. Corôca [a bird ?]. 21. Cutia [aguti, Dasyprocta]. 22. Jacu [guan, Penelope]. 23. Japu [Cassicus, Ostinops or Xanthornus]. 24. *Kahububu* bird. 25. *Kapak* (Red Jurini ? *Ir'arewaryu pakpak-rinat* ?]. 26. Mãe da lua [a nocturnal bird]. 27. Mutum [curassow, Crax]. 28. Roe-deer (Reh). 29. Red Arara [red macaw]. 30. Saúba [an ant, Oecodoma cephalotes]. 31. Black Arara [black macaw]. 32. *Uyui* wasp. 33. *Ir'aru* tree (m). 34. Cricket (Zirpe).[2]

TRADITIONAL ORIGIN OF THE SIB SYSTEM

The sibs are supposed originally to have been independent tribes. "Os *rinat* foram primeiro nações," was told me without my inquiring into this fact. The tribes had been at war with one another. Then came Karusakaibé and united them into one large nation, the Mundurucú confederacy. This great Indian event is supposed to have taken place where the Tapajós Mundurucú now live.

"Who told you this?" I asked my informant, a man who was in his best years. "An old man of the plain told me that," was the answer. In order to be more certain, I had the story repeated later in Mundurucú. This is the translation:

[2] The identifications, given in angular brackets in these two paragraphs, have been added by the editor,—in some cases tentatively only,—from more readily available sources in ZE, JSAP, etc.—ED.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A -- Analyst

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

162 men's house, and the newly formed Caui, is 60. On the other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

361 Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east, [312] but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest. [311] There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable. [134]

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one [342] [177] of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal [343] [177] dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctively Brazilian trait.

XVIII

Means of subsistence of the Mundurucu -- Hunting -- Cultivated Plants -- Wild Fruits.

224 The Mundurucu, living as they do among vast plains and virgin forests, being skillful hunters and possessing excellent hounds, owe their subsistence largely to hunting.

They also practice some husbandry which, though still quite rudimentary, is of considerable help to them. [119]

Many wild fruits also grow in the region, some of them excellent.

I will not enumerate all the various kinds of game which are to be found in these parts, where tapir, deer, wild pig, mutum [?] and the inhambu and jacamin birds occur in such abundance. I will, however, provide below a list of all the plants cultivated by the Mundurucu, and another of the wild fruits, with the corresponding names in their own language:

Cultivated Plants

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
manioc	mocetá
sweet manioc	mocepean
large white yam	puerá erechacho
large purple yam	puerá aniucate
small white yam	auaiá
small purple yam	auauerá aniucate
sweet potato	uixiá
pineapple	para-ã
papaya	ação-ã
pepper	aium-ã
sugar cane	canipec
timbó liana	comopi
cotton	bruun-ã
maize	muirarã

24 [English], Portuguese or Tupi Term — Mundurucu Name

[24]

large bean — uriri
banana — aroubá
S. Tomé banana — aranegrengá
large yuca — pau-ro-uau
manioca — macará
reed — largá
jamaru (gourd) — cicá

[120] **Wild Fruits**

Fruits of the forest and brush

222.

[121] Para chestnut [Brazil nut] — bacaiá
[197] assaí — açaçaba
murici [fruit of that palm] — inhaengará
bacaba — jaruzuá
patauá — uadiu
uxi — uruá
pequiá — uxá
abio — atacará
forest caju — baracará
maracock? [passion fruit] — maracuiá
bacuri-pari — ukumaçá
sage — ziuá
araticu — bacubacu
mocajá — ukuriá
anaja — uaritaiá
copu-ahi — acarapá
pajurá — cobicao-a
cumaí ([Port.] | salsachinha [small sage]) — iubaá
mamaranduba — ciuara-ã
forest cacao — uadiará
jutaí or jatubá — [sic]
copu-assu — acarapá

Fruits of the Fields

jaborandi	pitá
mangaba	sabua
field cajú	bacurdicuará
acáua	etará
murici	quaribara-á
marmelada	bacuri-á
field aratico	bacurdicuará bacu
pineapple	yaná

Daú is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared with Paú chesnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Paú yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectolitres.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

To prepare daú, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daú keeps for a long time.

They also make another kind of daú from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assai; patauá; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uxima.

They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daú, etc.

They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

24
.137

Plants cultivated in Mundurucu villages (1)

1. I owe this technical outline to the courteous collaboration of Dr. Lourenço José Ribeiro da Cruz Rangel, distinguished botanist from the National Museum (Rio).

manioc	Manihot utilissima, Linn.; euphorbiacea fam.
sweet manioc	Manihot aypim, euphorbiacea fam.
[122]	
large white yam large purple yam small white yam small purple yam	Dioscorea bulbifera, dioscorea sativa, Linn. Dioscorea fam. There are many different yam species, such as: Dioscorea dodecaneura, Vell.; Dioscorea hyperi folia, Vellozo; Dioscorea trifoia, Vil.; Dioscorea brasiliensis; etc., etc.
watermelon	Cucurbita citrullus, Linn.; cucurbitacea fam.
jerimu	Cucurbita maxima, D.C.; cucurbitacea fam.
sweet potato	Convolvulus edulis; convolvulacea fam.
pineapple	Bromelia ananas, Linn.; bromeliacea fam.
papaya	Caryca papaya, Linn.; papayacea fam.
pepper	Many fruits belonging to different families and genera go by the name of pepper; but the Indians know best and use most the Indian pepper, Capsicum pendulum, Vellozo; solanacea fam.
sugar cane	Saccharum officinarum, Linn.; graminacea fam.
timbó	The timbó liana, also known as cururupé, is Paulinia pinnata; and the Rio de Janeiro timbó is Physalis heterophilla.

[37]

Beside these, the Serjania genus also embraces some poisonous varieties that go by the name of timbó, such as S. caracasana, S. clematifolia and S. lethalis--especially the latter as its name indicates.

[123]

cotton	Gossypium herbaceum, Linnaeus; malvacea fam.
maize	Zea mais, Linn.; gramineae fam.
large bean	Bean, Vicia sativa, Linn.; leguminosa fam.
	There are many bean species, nearly all of which belong to the Phaseolus genus, leguminiflos fam.
banana	Pisang banana, Musa sapientum; plantain, Musa sylvestrum; dwarf banana, Hexandria monoecia, Linn. These are all of the musacea family.
S. Island banana	Musa paradisiaca, Linn.; musacea fam.
large taji	Caladium esculentum, Linn.; aroidea fam.
reeds	The reeds used by the Indians to make arrows belong to the wild cane, Amboxanthium gigas; gramineae fam.
calabashes	Calabash, Cucurbita lagenaria, Linn.; Cucurbita leucables, Duch.; genera of cucurbitacea family. The term "calabash" is used to designate various species of the genus Cucurbita, cucurbitacea family, some of which are edible and others poisonous.

[124]

Unrelated Fruits Native to the Region

Fruits of the Fields

[illegible]	Blanconea pulverulenta, Martius; apocynaceae fam.
jabuticaba	Myrtus cauliflora, Martius; myrtaceae fam.
field caju	Anacardium humile? Martius; thombeteinaceae fam.
acina	[illegible]
murici	Byrsonima verbasca.
marmelada	The people of Sergipe thus call the fruit of a wild shrub, which looks somewhat like the genipap and is of a dark purplish hue; it is edible, and considered to be a kind of quince native to [the province of] Alagoas. Cydonia?; rosacea fam.
field anibico	Anona coriifolia, St. Hilaire; annaceae fam.
andry	Lagenaria imperialis cucurbitacea fam.

Fruits of the forest and brush

chestnut	Pará or Maranhão chestnut, Bertholletia excelsa, Humb. and Bonp.; myrtaceae fam.
assaiy	Euterpe edulis, Martius; palmtree fam.
muriti	Mauritia vinifera, Linn.; palmtree fam.
bacaba	Oenocarpus baccaba, Martius; palmtree fam.
[illegible]	
patauá	Oenocarpus?; palmtree fam.
uxi	Uxi umbrosinus; crossolanea fam.
pequiá	Pequiá, coffee or wild coffee, Casearia foetida; samydea fam.
sajo	Labatia reticulata, Martius; sapotacea fam.

137

137 forest cajá	Connaraceae,	I to belong to the Connarus lombardianus fam.
mococh? [passion fruit]	Passiflora,	passiflora, Linn. and Wild. xxx fam.
berurú-pari	Placosperma fam.	rugosa, Martius, caesiacea
cage	Liggia o[illegible] Brazil [illegible] Mart. [illegible] Huaran[illegible]	ata, Schott. verbenacea fam. pr. Salvia fulgens. Cav. ubiacea fam. Forest cage. schegnerilla
artículo	Around [illegible] fam.	xxxx. Sr. Hilaire; xxxxxxx
muxaja	Known in [illegible] cocoma, Martius	ito de jesuita or "cocoma" Acrocomia sclerocarpa, palmae fam.
muxaja or majá	Palmae	am.
cupu-assu	Dilleniaceae	xxxx. malvacea fam.
cupu-á	Leguminosae	a fam.
pajura	Lauraceae	um.
cumaú	Fabaceae, a fam.	ubum. Sr. Hilaire; myrsaceae
mararubiba	Achras p[illegible] emargin[illegible]	aemin. Mararubiba ia, Lacerda; sapotaceae fam.
[128] forest cacao	Cacao, T[illegible] bulbosa Theobro[illegible] bulbosa	bolbosa cacao, Linn.; cae fam. Wild cacao, a guianensis. Wild. cae fam.
paubá	Hymenaea, Martius, leguminosae	milacarpa, Ducke and Hymenea courbaril, Linn.; a fam.

[illegible]

[illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

/11 men./

*241 The men dig or open a hole in the ground (kudy). He does this with a "digging stick," which consists of a strong rod, about 2 meters long, pointed at the lower end. The man pushes this rod hard into the ground, at an angle of 30 to 45 degrees, and then straightens it to a vertical position. This opens a small pit into which the woman who accompanies him puts two or at most three cheets of bitter manioc (8) (mawk tawahm or mawk ip mauny). Removing the tip

*[191] 244

8. Manioc /bitter manioc/ is the name of the plant and the generic name of this vegetable (Manihot utilissima), while the roots, in the form of large tubercles, are called "manioca." The bitter-manioc stalks, after the harvest, are saved for the next planting, when they are cut into pieces of 20 centimeters at most. These pieces, or "manioc cheets," are planted in the manner indicated above, for manioc does not propagate itself through seeds.

of the stick from the pit, she steps on /the pit/ to close it up and to pack the soil, but in such a way that the upper ends of the manioc shoots stick out in order to grow branches and leaves. Under the influence of civilization, nowadays the Mundurukú are already using spades and even iron digging tools. The distance between the manioc pits is approximately 1 meter on the average.

[177]

*241 There is no doubt that the Mundurukú carry out their horticultural work within a certain system, not only as regards the steps involved in clearing the plot but also in the planting itself. There is a sequence to the planting steps. In the time that elapses between the final burning and the planting, as a rule they sow watermelon, which thrives amazingly in the recently burned ground. Only then

/17 cont./

*241 which they were already cultivating, the introduction of new plants /which have been/ all the more // /. Now, the process may have been even slower.

242 Of even more recent acquisition, especially through the influence of the Franciscan mission founded in 1911 on the Cururu River, are products such as rice, beans, and various other plants which are cultivated chiefly by the religious sisters, but which have been adopted by the Indians on a very modest scale. During the last decades, the following fruit trees have reached them: the mango tree, the orange tree, the lemon tree, the coffee shrub, and a certain type of cacao tree. They were already familiar with other products such as maize, pumpkins, etc., but cultivated them on a very small scale.

*241 8. Weeding or cleaning. We have described the planting. A few facts remain to be given concerning the garden tasks after planting. It is obvious that, once the planting itself has been done, the plot still requires a certain amount of care. Not right away, but after several weeks or months. /Sic/ This is the weeding. Between the planting and the harvest, two weedings of the garden are usually carried out, the entire plot being cleaned. They speak of the first and second cleaning, or of the first and second weeding. This is done almost exclusively with the machete. There is no specific time set aside for this, because it depends to a large extent on the weather (rains) and on the need. The first weeding is called tip ogn, the second karit ogn.

244 9. The harvest. The Indians generally use the regional term, "tearing up the plot," or "pulling up the bitter-manioc roots"—mauk ta ogn. Within a year, the garden has matured and may be torn up. The manioc roots are pulled up by hand. The entire plot is not harvested at one time, but according to need. In order to pull up the manioc roots, a certain amount of strength and ability is required. Often, when the tubercles hold firm to overly hard ground, 245 the Indian digs with the machete around the roots in order to loosen the soil and pull out the manioc root /18/ with greater ease. This same technique of using the machete as an auxiliary tool in the extraction of manioc roots is also used in gathering other tubercles, such as yams, sweet potatoes, etc.

In the afternoon I nearly lost my way among the roads leading to the village. The blind Indians who accompanied me, as well as the guide and the interpreter, had forged ahead, leaving me behind with two companions, and had already reached the malocca while I still attempted with difficulty to find my way, guided only by the sound of a horn which I could hear somewhere ahead of me.

It was a Mundurucu Indian from Necodemus, who had generously come to meet me, and who blew on his instrument to guide me.

My satisfaction was great when at nightfall I came upon this savage, who was about thirty-five or forty, and who was short, fat, dark and ugly, but so happy and cheerful that he seemed like a child. [81]

I arrived in Necodemus at seven o'clock in the evening.

I was finally realizing one of my fondest wishes, namely, to see a savage tribe in its primitive state, exactly as it must have been before the discovery of Brazil, living according to the laws of nature and lacking all contact with the ideas of other peoples that might serve to alter its beliefs and traditions.

There are thinkers who do not acknowledge biblical tradition and who hold that mankind began its earthly journey in darkness, in the state of nudity and savagery I saw before me, and guided by the light of reason and by Providence climbed to the present state of civilization. This doctrine is more comforting than the one which represents man as fallen from a paradise of light and bliss, fallen, for minor sins that were not his own, into the extreme misery of these unhappy savages.

When I arrived, some eighty stout Mundurucu awaited me on the village grounds and received me with a display of open curiosity.

To me, the appearance of these men was no less curious, painted as they were with such identical designs that they looked like uniformed soldiers. Dozens of fires which burned on the square lent this picture a sinister quality, casting reflections on the broad, naked, bronze-colored chests.

I greeted them, bidding them good evening with one of the few words in their language I had memorized for such purposes: "Chipate." They all answered: "Chipate." One of them addressed

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have 162
the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children.

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madeira and 164
Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below, the plant totems are marked with an "*i*". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *tabi* or *ñ[illegible]and* are embodied [174]
(verkörpert) in the large *ñabuki*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *ñabuki* are blown at the men's [176]
festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mbaiwi*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the [177]
ñabuki from above, is caught in a cuia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot [196]
and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the 114
"Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by 116
Karusakaibé,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karo-ennur*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibé is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become mem- 614
bers of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i harip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly 342
had *Ñac nakat*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last
[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. — Analyst]

a different origin. Since I have already given the essential material about the Apiacas it might, however, be appropriate to repeat here what I reported about the Mundrucus (Reise in Brasilien III. 1368 et. seq., 1327.) for no other traveller has actually observed these remarkable Indians in their native habitat.

The Mundrucus, Mundurucus, Mundurucus, Mutarinas (called by the Apiacas Pari)

132 The Mundrucus are, together with the Apiacas, the ruling tribe in the northern basin of the Tapajos. Their largest aldea de S. Manoel, which has trade connections with the Brazilians, lies about a day's journey below the junction of the Rio Arinos with the Juruena at the Rio negro (vermelho).

152 [307] When I met the first Mundrucus in the Mission Novo Monte Carmel de Canuma I had to admit that I had never before seen Indians like these. Without exception they were athletically built, broad-chested and four-square, plump and well nourished in limbs and torso, and the hard muscles so evenly covered as though these people had never interrupted a life of comfortable relaxation with the hardships [516] of war and the hunt. Their posture and their walk was that of conscious strength. What struck me the most, along with the general physical excellence of every member of the tribe, was the light skin color. 304 They were not so deep a copper red as many other Indians, in particular those living on plains or on large rivers, and this paler color was considerably accented by the tattooing (it was not just painting) which covered almost the whole of the body. * Either the whole face was

*See the illustration in Spix and Martius Reiseatlas. For this painful operation they use a comb made from the thorns of several varieties of palm trees. In all probability there is no other tribe in South America which practices tattooing to the same extent. Rob. Dudley has drawn similar ones from Guyana.

304 tattooed or there was in the middle of the face a semielliptical, blue-black spot from which numerous, parallel lines extended over the chin and lower jaw down to the breast. From the middle of one shoulder to the other, two or three lines half an inch apart run across the broad chest. Under these there are vertically placed diamonds, some filled in, some left in outline to the end of the chest. The rest of the torso is adorned similarly though not so completely and the same lines are repeated on the extremities with or without the diamonds. Variations are introduced according to individual taste. Among women the whole face is rarely blackened, they have only a malha, a crescent shape, the pointed horns of which are turned upward. Their [388] ears are pierced, [301] not in the lobe, but at the top in the first fold and they wear cane pegs 142 in the holes. The face of these people is wide, with a low forehead [302] shadowed by the hair which is cut straight across, the facial features marked, coarse and expressive of good nature. The eyes are always dark and not so slanted as the eyes of Indians of the more southerly tribes. The nose is large, often somewhat curved, not so short and blunt, with flaring nostrils, like those we have noticed among the Indians of eastern Brazil. Their heads are covered with thick, shining black hair which turns gray among the Mundrucus only late and then only in individual cases. I have never seen among them, any more than among any other Indians, an old man who was white-headed. In the 287 wilds they are unclothed except that the men wear a jock strap [Suspensorium] of cotton or a tacanhaoba. The women I saw were wholly naked, even in the mission, and to get an apron on them for 285 church was a matter of some difficulty. The Mundrucus and their neighbors, the Maues, with whom they are friendly, are, like the Apiacas, skilled in the art of spinning cotton thread and weaving hammocks which they hang outside their huts on hot nights. To catch fish [226] they usually poison the water in which the fish are found.* They make

*They do this in ponds or dammed up brooks by stirring the crushed twigs and leaves of the timbo (Paullinia pinnata) into the water until it turns dark and foams. The fish, and even crocodiles, come to the surface belly up, stupefied or dead and the fish are eaten. The water is extremely poisonous.

[79] formed a war-like tribe far in the south along with other fellow tribesman with whom they then grew at odds and fought their way toward the north over the boundaries of their earlier common territory. What strikes me here as particularly remarkable is the contrast between a bodily structure according to all reports remarkably uniform and a very mixed dialect. On the one hand their light skin and the collossally [80] powerful muscular build makes them appear, in contrast to the other Indians, like thoroughbreds among ponies and would indicate that they developed these striking bodily characteristics over a long period of time, unmixed and under consistent external conditions. On the other hand [81] words occur in their language which can be considered to be echoes from tribes living far to the south and the north. *

> "The Mundrucu word for "bird" is nuéssa and among the Guaycurus far to the south it is nioche. Several words belong to the Guch or Coco tribe: "heaven," capi Mundr., capu Tamanaco, apex Chiquito. "Tooth (my)": woi noi M., nuoi Moso. "Body": oi tipit M., pirpeté Tamanaco. "Sun": uiischi M., veju Accawai, Tamanaco, saache Moxo. "River" is described by the Mundrucus better than in the lingua geral, (where the word is yguacu) by the word icuri, or yghouri, which is to say "fast water"; it is called by the Galibis in Cayenne eicourou (or epouliri), by the Chiquitos ogirus. Two color names: white and red in Mundrucu are yuristat and ipacpec, in Kechuan yurac and paco.

The principal elements of their dialect belong without any question to the Tupi and in particular to the speech as practiced in the north rather than to the Guarani dialect, though to this latter it is more similar in hardness and unwieldiness than to the more fluid and vowel-richer sounds of the lingua geral. * In the table which follows [397]

> "Some relevant examples: oca "house," Mundrucu: ócka. T. cururú, "toad,"

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

142
291
304
301

a. Young Mundurucú man. Note tattooed vertical lines on neck and continuing one of ear plugs and arm bands. The houses of Cabruú are in the background.

[343]

b. Mundurucú women gathered in the communal shed in which farinha is made.

[end plate 2]

174 try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional home-
131 land as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 360 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in
177 search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his
[298] first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western
[301] style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is
[415] a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong
• 142 in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the
[304] younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the
171 Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely
361 Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only once in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers of the scattered collector population.

[43] Several days and barely 400 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Mundurucú population. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and das Tropas. A number of Mundurucú villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and an occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually ragged or ill-fitting clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading posts. Racially, the Mundurucú does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes [144] are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes among the local Brazilians.

If one wishes to reach the village of Cabruá, a typical Mundurucú community of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabitutú River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of dawn-to-dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 100 yards away. The house is usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabruá go there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village, one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from the valley of the Cabitutú and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a sun-scorched savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one to the village.

36 The majority of the Mundurucú now live on the banks of the larger streams of the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there. Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 reside on the Cururú River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated part of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River. [173] But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the historic period and, according to Mundurucú tradition, since the creation of man.

178 The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Mundurucú architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each 621 has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a 341 central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance precincts and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbush. And the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

291 Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children -- went altogether naked.

302 619 We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

609 [145] The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadereri to the village of Necodemos on the plains.

487 At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadereri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

609 [231] We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed [342 231] with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

683 nude and bloody, was found in the middle of the grounds at daybreak, and there remained exposed until evening. All passed by it in silence and without a complaint.

There are many other such cases, for unfortunately executions on account of witchcraft are still frequent. It is said that in those times when Caru-Sacaebê lived among the Mundurucu, there existed no witchcraft and no sorcerers.

Indeed, the criminal code of the Mundurucu is based exclusively upon this.

There is no record of one Mundurucu ever being killed by another except on account of witchcraft. When violent hatred erupts between two Indians who inhabit the same village -- and this is extremely rare -- one of the two merely takes down his hammock, goes to some other village which attracts his fancy, chooses a place in the ekçá, and remains there as long as he pleases.

XVI

Social feelings among the Mundurucu -- The family -- The characteristic painting pattern of the tribe.

619 A remarkably strong social spirit, or indeed national spirit, binds the individual members and the villages of this tribe, preserving, if I may say so, the autonomy of the Mundurucu republic in a wilderness which lies beyond the contact and influence of our civilization. [112]

It is no cause for wonder that the Quechua of the Andes, herding as they did vast flocks of llama and alpaca and cultivating in large quantities the potato native to their mountains, should have founded great population centers and established a powerful monarchy. An agricultural and pastoral people, they possessed those elements necessary to live in the midst of plenty and to develop their intellectual and moral qualities under the stimulus of life in society.

Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I believe that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband appeared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are extremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

the clan of the man who manufactured them. If he dies or moves to another village, it is quite possible that no other man of that community will belong to the clan owning the trumpets. It is, therefore, understandable that informants were often vague when asked to explain the connection between clans and instruments. Many people believed that the trumpets had souls of their own and that these were the most important spirits resident within them. And, as has been mentioned, it was commonly thought that the playing of the instruments was pleasing to the spirit mothers of the game. 771 178

The actual function of the trumpets in present-day Mundurucú society has little to do with clanship, but much to do with the maintenance of the sharp dichotomy between the sexes. The instruments are primarily the property of the village men and are expressive of their unity and identity in the face of the women. In this connection it is significant that the villages that arose along the Cururú River have never had either the men's house or the sacred trumpets. As a corollary, the gulf between the sexes in social participation and labor that characterizes the savannah villages is lacking. On the Cururú the nuclear family is the basic social and economic unit. Men eat and sleep with their families and join their wives in tasks that would be considered degrading by a savannah dweller. But the demands of the rubber trade, combined with the covert hostility and factionalism that exist in all Mundurucú villages, are currently promoting migration from the savannah communities either to the Cururú River or to isolated residence along other streams. The end result will be the complete lapse of the sacred instruments and the men's organization.

The only other extant ceremonial is the one devoted to curing victims of soul loss. Since human souls are stolen by the spirit mothers of the game, this rite is also one of the few remaining religious acts that deals with this category of supernaturals. It is most significant that all the important means of obtaining the good will of these spirits and the increase of game have lapsed, although the Mundurucú have clung tenaciously to the technique of defending themselves against the spirits and rectifying the damage done by them. It may be said of the religion of the contemporary Mundurucú that it has retained those items that specifically protect the individual and, to a less degree the society, from harm though dropping those features that were not so immediately defensive in nature and which were more expressive of the integration and central values of the society.

To continue this line of thought, we turn to a consideration of those elements of Mundurucú religion that have maintained greatest vitality—shamanism and sorcery.[1] The two institutions are inseparable in the Mundurucú mind; the shaman cures diseases, which are invariably caused by sorcery, and the sorcerers are recruited from the ranks of the shamans. But disease, its explanation and its cure, has much greater significance than as a system of belief. Kluckhohn has shown for the Navaho that sorcery plays a vital role in the release of aggression,[2] and Beatrice Blythe Whiting's monograph *Paiute Sorcery*[2] shifts emphasis somewhat and stresses the function of sorcery as a mechanism of social control. Both of these fac- 178 771 152 754 578

[1] Kluckhohn, 1944.
[2] Whiting, 1950.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 771 152 754 578

tors, but primarily that of aggression release, play a part in Mundurucú sorcery also.

In a previously published work[9] I set forth the thesis that aggression cannot be tolerated in Mundurucú society because of the combination of a matrilocal residence rule and a patrilineal descent system. Under these social conditions each man has two sets of allegiances, one to his clan and the other to the household and village of his wife. Since the two do not coincide, he occupies social roles that potentially can conflict. That is, a quarrel between households or villages may well pit fellow clansmen against each other, and, correspondingly, conflict between clans can cause internal dissension within villages and even households. Open aggression is therefore avoided among the Mundurucú, and, although interpersonal and interfactional tensions abound within the group, they are generally suppressed. The feeling of horror at the outward display of hostility between men is so strong that informants were unwilling to give data upon its occurrence, although it occasionally happens.

Violence during warfare or the execution of a sorcerer, however, is thoroughly condoned. Attacks upon enemy tribes served to channel hostility upon surrogate objects outside the society and thus promoted social cohesion, but this avenue of release is no longer open. The only remaining catharsis for aggression is the practice of sorcery and the execution of suspected sorcerers. Another alternative, withdrawal from the frustrating situation, has been made possible by the general pacification of the upper Tapajós area and the consequent possibility of flight from village life. In former times it would have been most risky for an individual or family to forsake the mutual security offered by the local group, but today it is common for Mundurucú to live in the midst of the Brazilian rubber-gathering population. Even within the confines of Mundurucú territory, the tendency toward neolocal residence makes isolated or semi-isolated existence socially acceptable.

Mundurucú sorcery has a number of interesting facets. It is impossible to induce any shaman to admit the practice, but the body of detailed knowledge of witchcraft techniques suggests that it indeed exists. Granting that witchcraft is not completely a figment of the Mundurucú imagination, the practitioner undoubtedly derives considerable gratification of his antisocial inclinations. Also, the Mundurucú generally fix suspicion of sorcery upon the more deviant shamans. Thus of the two people known by me to have been suspected of witchcraft, one was a rather humorless, silent, and aloof man, and the other, although more outgoing, far outstripped the other members of the village in rubber production. The threat of sorcery accusation, it may be inferred, tends to enforce social participation and conformity.

These factors of covert release of aggression and social control are, however, applicable only to the ranks of shamans. Persons born without shamanistic powers are unable to practice witchcraft, and sorcerers do not practice on behalf of others. But the dogged persistence of belief in black magic among the members of the society at large suggests that it does perform a very vital social function. It has al-

[9] Murphy, 1957.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ready been mentioned that depopulation, the disintegration of the social structure, and the decline of such highly valued activities as warfare and the hunt have robbed the Mundurucú of much that was vital and positive in their way of life and left them disheartened and apathetic. Frustration, in the classic paradigm, normally leads to aggression, the expression of which is forbidden in this culture. Fear of sorcery among the Mundurucú is a means of embodying and phrasing in understandable terms not only the manifold anxieties of their existence but the latent aggression that nearly all members of the society carry within them. In this connection, it will be remembered that the intrusive objects made by the sorcerer are spread abroad and are not usually directed against any one person. The sorcerer is then, as the Mundurucú say, malevolent toward society in general. This is not only logically consistent with the indiscriminate ravages of epidemic disease, but it also suggests that the accusers of the sorcerer displace generalized aggression to his person and eradicate it through his execution.

That considerable aggression is unleashed upon the executed sorcerer can be inferred from the quality of the executions and the way in which informants report them. Many, if not most, executions take place from ambush, but some are bloody affairs in which the accused is beaten to death with clubs. And the Mundurucú enthusiastically relate these episodes with obvious hatred for the victim. The men of the village of Cabruá derived evident satisfaction by pointing to a brown smear on the posts of their men's house and saying: "That is where we wiped the blood of our last sorcerer from our hands." This emotional intensity parallels that reported by Kluckhohn among the Navaho,[4] and among both peoples this is atypical behavior.

Since aggression is related not only to real interpersonal differences but to frustration and general insecurity, it should be expected that witchcraft accusations would be most common in periods of stress. This is borne out by the Mundurucú practice of refraining from direct action against the sorcerer until illness becomes severe in the community and deaths occur. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient historical material to demonstrate conclusively, as did Kluckhohn, that sorcery troubles are correlated with historical periods of crisis. The best primary source on the Mundurucú, the report of the Brazilian engineer Antonio Tocantins, in 1875, describes sorcery executions as extremely frequent and one of the major problems of the Bacabal mission.[5] But it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this data and to control all the variables in the situation without similarly complete reports from other periods. In 1875 the Mundurucú still waged war and therefore had available a means of expression of hostility which had the obvious advantage of being directed outside the society. But on the other hand, Mundurucú society was then being subjected to its greatest threat since the contact with the whites, for these were the first years of the rubber-extraction period, and the Indians themselves were becoming increasingly involved in the industry. White rubber tappers were penetrating the area in growing numbers, and the mission had just been established. In

[4] Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 56.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 107–111.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756
754
752
578

view of the complexity of the problem and the paucity of data, however, it can only be concluded that sorcery was also common in times past. Whether or not accusations and executions have increased in number or in proportion to the number of shamans cannot be positively ascertained, but it is highly significant that the institution has been perpetuated into the present, a period that has seen the disappearance of much of Mundurucú religious activity.

It has been said that the shaman occupies a most precarious role today. The source of much of the evil threatening the group, he also is the only person who can cope with the harmful forces, and his services are in great demand. The Mundurucú are deeply concerned with illness and frequently sought relief in the medicine afforded by my wife and me and by the mission and Indian Service Post. But given their theory of disease, modern medicines were inadequate for a complete cure and were believed efficacious only in healing the damage done by supernatural agencies. The removal and destruction of the latter can only be accomplished by the shaman. The role thus has a dual function; society purges itself of repressed hostility through the imputation of malevolence to the shaman, and it is also the means by which society protects itself from the believed evil.

This dual function makes shamanism a most ambivalent practice. All but the most powerful practitioners, who usually are called upon to detect sorcerers, are in great and continued danger. The general reduction of the Mundurucú population has proportionately thinned the ranks of the shaman, and executions have further reduced their numbers. Many leave the Mundurucú country in flight from execution parties or in fear of future accusation. Others refuse to practice shamanism in the hope, often vain, that they will thus shield themselves from suspicion. The result is that many villages are without shamans, and their residents accordingly lose another motive for remaining members of nucleated communities.

The involvement of sorcery in repressed conflict may be seen through an examination of a few case histories. The instance already cited in which the village of Missão Velha split on whether to kill the accused Antonio is a case in point. Antonio was the most industrious rubber tapper of the village and was much disliked by the family of the chief. The latter group was, as in most Mundurucú villages, the strongest aggregration of kinsmen in the community, since it included not only the sons-in-law of the chief, but also his sons, who are customarily exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Relations were strained between the chief's group and the men of many other households of the village, for the latter looked upon the chief as the appointee of the missionaries and resented the strength of his family. These dissidents sided with the condemned shaman. They were not, however, willing to court the possibility of open factional struggle by offering physical defense of Antonio, but resolved instead to leave the village.

Another case of sorcery, this time in the savannah village of Cabruá, saw the men of the village determined to kill the stepson of the chief. The latter, supported by his sons and sons-in-law, intervened, and the man's life was spared. In a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

third village, however, the power of the chief's family must have been weak, for both he and his son were slain as sorcerers by the other men of the village. The tendency for villages to fractionate because of sorcery fears and accusations is probably greater now than in the past. Not only is village cohesion in general much weaker, but the disappearance of such leadership activities as heading war parties and trading on behalf of the village as a whole has made it most difficult for the chief to obtain the consensus necessary to carrying out an execution. It must not be thought, however, that lack of unanimity in sorcerer killings indicates a decline in belief in black magic; it rather reflects distrust of the sincerity of the accusers and the existence of latent factionalism that may not be directly caused by witchcraft. But these occasions bring conflicts to a head and open breaches that are in many cases irreparable and can be resolved only by the removal of one party.

This analysis of the Mundurucú data indicates that although the institution of sorcery may be viewed in one light as socially integrative, so far as it acts as a cathartic for aggression, it may also be most disruptive of social cohesion, for it often aggravates tensions.* It would seem that shamanism and sorcery have become complementary to the central direction of social and economic change. The ecological accommodation to increased participation in rubber production calls for the dispersal of the population into ever smaller units in the vicinity of the stands of wild rubber trees. Correspondingly, sorcery conflicts tend to disintegrate larger village units while being integrative for factions within the village, which then commonly establish themselves as small local groups. This is not the only means by which social fission occurs. Latest conflicts that do not involve sorcery sometimes cause families and factions to leave villages; others leave because of the economic expediency of residence near their rubber avenues. But sorcery remains as a contributing motivation for the participants in the process. The Mundurucú example thus suggests that the institution of sorcery may promote the cohesion of a society as a whole, but only where other bases for such cohesion exist.

The close relationship of religion to the social structure can be seen quite as clearly in the context of change as in a synchronic dimension. As the society has become progressively divested of those mechanisms that integrated tribe and village, so also have group religious activities fallen into abeyance. What remains are the essentially individual practices of shamanism and sorcery. This is the same process noted for other parts of South America by Steward, and which he has phrased as part of a change in "level of sociocultural integration."* But beyond the scope of participation in religious activity we have seen another selective factor determining which segments of religion will persist. This, in brief, is the simple question of whether the element serves some social function in the changed setting. By this criterion, the warfare ceremonies have totally disappeared, and the ceremonies for the animal spirits have declined with the shift of a large part of the population from hunting to fishing. Similarly, the

* Kluckhohn (1944, p. 71) has noted the presence of disruptive elements in Navaho witchcraft also, although the analysis of these tendencies were beyond the scope of his treatise.
* Steward, 1952.

476 571 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the participants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the timbó.

[229] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognised.

[794] Dance ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Mundurucú 157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain 554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

●156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Mundurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old men would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their council. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were sufficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was no elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important functions of the village chief were to lead war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

181 Internal harmony within the house-
577 hold and within the village were
476 thought to be a necessary part of social and economic life. The men of the vil-
[562] lage as a whole hunted and cleared forest for gardens in cooperation, and the women of the large, extended family-household carried out their tasks in unity. Foods were shared among house members and by all the people of the village. The individual
[154] and the biological family of man, wife, and children had no independent existence external to their roles within the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in rec-
[554] ognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

534 Although prestige was attainable
156 through the above accomplishments,
577 it was not considered good for a man

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

159 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[141] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

186 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[721] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[754] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

181 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the level of village organization; coöperative endeavors among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social

202 In the afternoon I nearly lost my way among the trails leading to the village. The Maué Indians who accompanied me, as well as the guide and the interpreter, had forged ahead, leaving me behind with two companions, and had already reached the maloca while I still attempted with difficulty to find my way, guided only by the sound of a horn which I could hear somewhere ahead of me.

It was a Mundurucu Indian from Necodemos, who had generously come to meet me, and who blew on his instrument to guide me.

000 My satisfaction was great when at nightfall I came upon
[142 this savage, who was about thirty-five or forty, and who was short,
157] fat, dark and ugly, but so happy and cheerful that he seemed like a child. [81]

I arrived in Necodemos at seven o'clock in the evening.

I was finally realizing one of my fondest wishes, namely, to see a savage tribe in its primitive state, exactly as it must have been before the discovery of Brazil; living according to the laws of nature and lacking all contact with the ideas of other peoples that might serve to alter its beliefs and traditions.

There are thinkers who do not acknowledge biblical tradition and who hold that mankind began its earthly journey in darkness, in the state of nudity and savagery I saw before me, and guided by the light of reason and by Providence climbed to the present state of civilization. This doctrine is more comforting than the one which represents man as fallen from a paradise of light and bliss; fallen, for minor sins that were not his own, into the extreme misery of these unhappy savages.

609 When I arrived, some eighty stout Mundurucu awaited me on the village grounds and received me with a display of open curiosity.

302 To me, the appearance of these men was no less curious, painted as they were with such identical designs that they looked like uniformed soldiers. Dozens of fires which burned on the square lent this picture a sinister quality, casting reflections on the broad, naked, bronze-colored chests.

609 I greeted them, bidding them good evening with one of
576 the few words in their language I had memorized for such purposes: "Chipate." They all answered: "Chipate." One of them addressed

554 and, even among the more acculturated Mundurucú, it is difficult to find out who collects the most rubber. This is [157] linked with lack of ego assertiveness, an important aspect of the Mundurucú modal personality.

Socio-Political Organization

Tribal integration

619
621 Mundurucú society was integrated on a tribal as well as village level. The foregoing section on the subsistence economy has demonstrated some of the economic bases of local cohesion and a further analysis of village socio-political controls will follow. However, to place the village in proper context it would be well to first outline those factors that unified the various Mundurucú villages.

It should be stated first that no permanent tribal or multi-village political controls existed. Each village was an autonomous political unit. However, warfare, patri- [591] lineal sibs, and matrilocal residence combined to unite the villages very closely. The self-conscious cultural unity of the Mundurucú was recognized and described by Tocantins who referred to the Mundurucú as a "republic."[9] The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unit as opposed to the outside world. When speaking of another Mundurucú they said "one of us" or "person" or when referring to themselves as a groups they said "we are many." Everybody else was an "outlander," a category into which were lumped other Indians and white men alike.

9. Tocantins, 1877, p. 85.

476 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the parti-
571 cipants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the timbó.

[224] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

[796] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Mundurucú
157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain
554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Mundurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

726 burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

721 It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú.

[626 A young man who made great claims
[554] of prowess was pushed to the fore dur-
157] ing the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

181 The suppression of individual inter-
577 ests in favor of those of the collectivity
578 of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

754 The execution of sorcerers was the
[689] only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL I: WHAT MAKES BIBOI RUN

Robert F. Murphy

I

Biboi, the young chief of the Mundurucú[1] village of Cabitutú, visited the village of Cabrua with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the ten hour round-trip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Biboi was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Cabitutú, he kept a young and pretty wife in the house of his father, the chief of Cabruá. Whenever he visited his wife, his "followers" in Cabitutú busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Cabruá, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Biboi, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time we lived in Cabrua, Biboi gravitated between the two communities--to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of his fellow Mundurucu.

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Biboi run. But the key questions of why the men of Cabitutú plotted against him and why those of Cabrua pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Mundurucú society and culture and of Biboi's position within it. For Biboi was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reëstablish the normal flow of social interaction. Anthropologically, this is a study in deviancy and social control. Humanistically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

II

Biboi's personality was most deviant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Mundurucú men and their chiefs. I know nothing of the socialization of Biboi, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who traded in the village headed by Biboi's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Mundurucú, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Biboi, he addressed me in backwoods Portuguese and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Biboi, son of Caetano [the chief of Cabrua] and chief of Cabitutú." This contrasted markedly to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Mundurucú addressed me, and

114 each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months
with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset
157 me considerably. Biboi turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He
cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me
for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to
lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of
traditional Mundurucú activity or in their relationships with the outside world.
554 He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of
555 material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this rea-
son our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate
him from his barefoot Indian fellows--shortly after one of his visits, my wife
discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so brash.
157 They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Biboi would demand a
cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we point-
ed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Biboi had other most
unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and
did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal
his hostility and contempt when someone inimical to him was near. But under-
neath this façade, Biboi was a frightened and anxious man. He would often
158 confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be inter-
preted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were
indeed talking about him, and Biboi had every reason to be anxious. Not only
his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

157 Biboi's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucú
183 expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should
behave. Mundurucú society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the prin-
[81] ciple of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are conceived
to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilin-
[61] eal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal
clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move
to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the
villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he
obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the
man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also
acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a
classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-
cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an
578 extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and
181 individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range
along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may
pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a
population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such
stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the
Mundurucú type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only pro-
duces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[2] Given the structure of
Mundurucú society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative,
unaggressive, serene, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity
183 before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Biboi presented a threat
to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered
and acquisitive--all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the coinage of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Biboi's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. He thus violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows. 554 577 177

Biboi not only misconstrued the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Biboi's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Biboi had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role commitments. Hostilities and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully repressed--a requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in disguising aggression and in presenting the bland face of neutrality, but Biboi's own socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any cuckold, he had some cause to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian cuckold but not for a Mundurucú victim. 183 578

IV

Biboi's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabitutú. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftaincy must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader wants increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely counter the patrilineal rule of inheritance of 622 157 554 439 622

village men are ever-watchful and jealous of the chiefly family and would be quick to resist, however passively, what they considered to be high-handedness. Biboi, however, did not have the surrounding group of relatives that may have given even minimal support to his claim to leadership. Rather, he depended upon the trader and his father and relatives in Cabrua to buttress his position. 622 554

Given his delicate status, Biboi proceeded to worsen it through a misinterpretation of the chieftaincy. He had listened to his father's nostalgic tales of the role of the chief in times past, and one might say that he had some knowledge, in a purely cognitive sense, of the traditional culture. It is highly dubious, however, that Biboi had internalized sufficient culture to make him an effective actor within the system of social relationships. Biboi knew that "in the old days, chiefs were powerful men who directed their people and bought goods for them." This view of the past may or may not have been true, but it surely did not apply to the present. Biboi, nonetheless, announced at large that he was eminently qualified to be chief, as only he knew how to deal with the trader and only he had the force to tell the people how, when and where to work. I was a special recipient of this information, for Biboi found it most important to gain stature in the eyes of a prestigeful outsider. But Biboi also told all the others of his importance, and the people of Cabitutú stated that he indeed relayed the demands of the trader in forceful terms. His "followers" saw him solely as an agent of the trader in their village, and they were certain that his only function was to promote their exploitation and defrauding. Their analysis was correct, but I doubt that Biboi thought his role to be at all asocial. There is no evidence to substantiate this, for only he could tell me whether he was aware of the machinations of the trader, and he did not. But I believe that Biboi saw the trader as a father figure, many of whose values he had internalized and subscribed to as legitimate. And he also saw himself to be in the position of a strong and traditional leader. [157] [578]

Biboi had learned something else about the chiefs of times past, and this was the fact that many were polygynous. Polygyny was possible only for chiefs, for the matrilocality that applied to most of the population made it most difficult to have plural wives unless they were sisters. Even for a chief, however, polygyny was a difficult and stormy relationship, and it was evidently never of very great frequency.

Biboi did not have the implicit and unconscious ability to understand the fine points of Mundurucú social structure that a man raised in a village would have, and he made some of his most serious blunders in marriage. Soon after assuming the chieftaincy of Cabitutú, he married a woman of the village, a widow several years older than himself who, through the situational variability of post-marital residence, had a strong nucleus of kin in the village. Though I have no data upon which to make a firmer statement, it is quite probable that he married the woman--frankly a crone--in order to enlist the sympathies of her relatives. But Biboi was a young, handsome and virile man, and he subsequently sought a wife more to his liking. He located a pretty girl of about sixteen years in the village of Decodyem and brought her home to Cabitutú. This enraged the first wife, who berated Biboi, assaulted the girl and complained to her brothers. The latter expressed their disapproval of the polygynous union to Biboi, and the rest of the village supported them. Biboi's general behavior and his exercise of his "chieftaincy" had already outraged them, and this [585] 575 578

who had cuckolded him. The village reacted to his charges ambivalently. They were highly amused at his discomfiture and humiliation, but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of deportment, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village soon became ranged on two sides. Biboi's family supported him, but the majority of the population were ranked solidly against him. Thus, the threat of conflict had spread from Cabitutú to Cabrua. And Biboi ran back and forth between Cabitutu, where they plotted against his life, and Cabrua, where they took more covert measures against him through his wife.

The balance of power and of moral correctness lay with Biboi's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made most difficult by virtue of the fact that Biboi had almost ceased to be a social person--the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the curtain fell on our little drama, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was seen most clearly when, shortly before our departure, Caetano fell from a palm tree and lay seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Cabitutú would kill him as soon as they were assured of his father's death, Biboi came immediately to Cabrua and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Biboi approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tapajós River." I asked him why, and, in fine Biboi style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Biboi knew that his life as a Mundurucu was finished.

ENDNOTES

(1) Mundurucú Indians are a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1952-53 with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Mundurucú social structure and the positive evaluation of male solidarity has already been published in an article entitled "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion" (American Anthropologist 59:1018-35, 1957).

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Headhunter's Heritage (Berkeley, 1960).

114 each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months
157 with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset me considerably. Biboi turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Mundurucú activity or in their relationships with the outside world.
554 He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of
555 material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate him from his barefoot Indian fellows--shortly after one of his visits, my wife discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so brash.
157 They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Biboi would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we pointed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Biboi had other most unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal his hostility and contempt when someone inimical to him was near. But underneath this façade, Biboi was a frightened and anxious man. He would often
158 confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be misinterpreted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were indeed talking about him, and Biboi had every reason to be anxious. Not only his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

157 Biboi's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucú
183 expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should behave. Mundurucú society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are conceived
[81] to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilineal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal
[61] clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an
578 extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and
181 individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the Mundurucú type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only produces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[2] Given the structure of Mundurucú society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, unaggressive, serené, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity
183 before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Biboi presented a threat to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and acquisitive--all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

123 I was seeking through every means to convince them that they would find dedicated friends among us, when they replied that Teiu Burubê had told them H. M. the Emperor was a friend of the Mundurucu.

● 159 Teiu Burubê was a Mundurucu who had left the villages many years previously, and returned after a long absence. He presented himself in the maloca of Cabroá elegantly dressed after our fashion. His kinsmen greeted him with delight.

Then he told them that he had been baptized in Rio de Janeiro, that he had taken the name of Martinho de Alcantara, and that H. M. the Emperor had served as his godfather and patron. He found in the maloca of Cabroá various relatives, and in particular a sister who treated him with great devotion. When he had left his native village, at a very young age, he had been accompanied by a brother, and together they had traveled down the Canumá River.

This Mundurucu painted a vivid image of the advantages of civilized life, without moving his kinsmen to renounce their savage existence.

Eventually the change in his way of life made him ill, and he came down with violent fevers.

It was said in the maloca that his elegant clothes had cast an evil spell upon him, so his sister angrily gathered them on the village grounds and set them ablaze.

As he recovered from his illness he met even greater distress, for now he was naked.

He finally died; his sister, who had not forsaken him for an instant, buried him under her own hammock. [100]

XII

Population of the central Mundurucu malocas.

161 It is very difficult, indeed impossible, to furnish an exact
361 census of these Indians, living as they do in malocas situated in inaccessible stretches of bush country.

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

all Mundurucú still believe firmly in the supernatural causation of illness. Thus, the drugs of the white man are considered efficacious in the repair of the damage caused by the sorcerer's evil objects, but this in no way circumvents the necessity for the shaman to extract them. A corollary of the continued belief in native explanations of disease is the persistence of accusations of sorcery and the occasional killing of witches.

The only shaman in recent practice in Missão Velha was executed as a sorcerer in 1950. It is now necessary to call a shaman from another village or to bring the sick person to him. The lack of an actively practicing shaman has not prevented another case of sorcery from arising in the village, for the accused in this instance was a shaman by descent. The case will be described in some detail, for it illustrates how political factionalism, sorcery, and general disaffection have combined as fission elements in the loosely integrated Cururú River villages.

Several months before we stayed in Missão Velha, a great deal of illness caused the chief's son-in-law and sons to seek the services of Pedro, the most renowned of all Mundurucú shamans and a resident of the mission. Pedro, without the knowledge of the priests, of course, went to Missão Velha and performed the necessary acts to destroy all evil objects in the vicinity of the village. He then informed the others that the man responsible was one Antonio, a resident of Missão Velha whose father was a shaman, although he himself never practiced. The chief wanted no trouble and planned for a time to move away from the supposedly malignant Antonio, but the younger men of his family were determined to kill the sorcerer. Certain other men of the village, however, were not fully convinced of Antonio's guilt and opposed his condemnation. Their doubts were not a reflection of skepticism in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 754 756

supernatural belief, but arose from hostility to the chief's group, Antonio's most persistent persecutors. The fact that they would also doubt the accuracy and integrity of the most powerful shaman in the tribe is indicative of the intensity of this animosity. Some of the men opposed to the execution felt, on the other hand, that Antonio was in all probability guilty, but expressed revulsion at the idea of more bloodshed and would have rather preferred to let him depart in peace. In any event, no unanimous community action could be taken.

The split in the village was exactly along the lines of the two village political factions. Favoring the execution of Antonio were the chief, his two sons, his two sons-in-law, and the brother and brother-in-law of one son-in-law. The opposition consisted of the brother-in-law and former co-resident of a shaman killed at Missão Velha two years earlier, the brother-in-law and house mate of the accused Antonio, and a household whose men were related affinally to the chief's group. The position of the latter house in the dispute is of particular interest, for it included the brother-in-law, brother, and nephew of that son-in-law of the chief who was the moving spirit of the other faction. The people of this household had originally moved to Missão Velha to be near the latter kinsman.

The dilemma was finally resolved when the frightened Antonio decided to move completely out of the Mundurucú country to the relative safety of the Tapajós River. Those who defended him, however, were completely alienated from the village, and all had made plans to move. The man whose brother-in-law was killed two years ago was ready to settle permanently near his rubber avenue, the brother-in-law of the accused contemplated his departure, and the members of the third household wanted to move farther upstream. We left Missão Velha before the shifts

occurred. If all the planned moves took place, however, the net loss to the village would be 38 out of 90 people, the residents of three of the ten occupied houses. As a footnote to this episode, Antonio fled shortly after our departure, but he made the fatal error of settling in a Mundurucú hamlet on the lower Cururú River. His reputation was, of course, widely known, and he was slain by his new fellow-villagers. 159 578 754 756 [683]

To our knowledge the dispute never flared into an open display of aggression. On a few occasions the accused man was seen to talk to one of the men who wished to kill him and, more rarely, there was mutual visiting. Hostility between Mundurucú is generally more open on the Cururú than in the savannahs, but violence is still suppressed. Here, too, the only escape valve consists in killing suspected sorcerers; otherwise, one may move away from the object of hostility. The latter is easily done in the socioeconomic framework of the Cururú settlements, for interpersonal and interfamilial dependence is low, and individuals have correspondingly greater mobility than on the savannahs.

Although no personal violence attends these disputes, the facts of conflict and withdrawal are socially disruptive beyond their effects on village membership. In the above-described conflict, two brothers were ranged in opposite factions, because one had chosen to follow the stand in defense of the accused taken by the oldest member of his household. And the position of the latter placed him in conflict with one of his wife's brothers, who favored killing Antonio. An even more interesting split occurred in a household whose inhabitants were absent from the village during my research. The oldest man and head of the house wished to avoid strife by taking no action against the condemned man, but his son, who resided with the father, was

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 754 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a neighbor and his family will visit briefly. [574] Visiting is almost always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 578 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

123 I was seeking through every means to convince them that they would find dedicated friends among us, when they replied that Teiu Burubê had told them H. M. the Emperor was a friend of the Mundurucu.

159 Teiu Burubê was a Mundurucu who had left the villages many years previously, and returned after a long absence. He presented himself in the maloca of Cabrot elegantly dressed after our fashion. His kinsmen greeted him with delight.

Then he told them that he had been baptized in Rio de Janeiro, that he had taken the name of Martinho de Alcantara, and that H. M. the Emperor had served as his godfather and patron. He found in the maloca of Cabrot various relatives, and in particular a sister who treated him with great devotion. When he had left his native village, at a very young age, he had been accompanied by a brother, and together they had traveled down the Canumã River.

This Mundurucu painted a vivid image of the advantages of civilized life, without moving his kinsmen to renounce their savage existence.

Eventually the change in his way of life made him ill, and he came down with violent fevers.

It was said in the maloca that his elegant clothes had cast an evil spell upon him, so his sister angrily gathered them on the village grounds and set them ablaze.

As he recovered from his illness he met even greater distress, for now he was naked.

He finally died; his sister, who had not forsaken him for an instant, buried him under her own hammock. [100]

XII

Population of the central Mundurucu malocas.

161 It is very difficult, indeed impossible, to furnish an exact 361 census of these Indians, living as they do in malocas situated in inaccessible stretches of bush country.

161 Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of
[321 families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the
312] woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and
161 most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny
187 hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

115 In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

621 Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim
161 Caetano Corrêa.
105

NAME OF THE MALOCAS	POPULATION
Daiapone	1,500
Caiucupi	2,300
Dairi	2,600
Capipique	2,000
Necodemos	2,100
Aiki (Samauma)	1,500
Acupari	800
Areucé	700
Arebaduri	400
Teiu Curupi	500
Ipanauri	600

621	Cererepçá	500
161	Cabroá	500
103	Imburariri	350
	Macapá	360
	Ucuberi	250
	Cabetutum	350
	Chacorão	700
	Airi	300
	Bacabal (Mission)	500
	Boburé	100
	Total	18,910

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these malocas may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacorão, for example, is now abandoned; that of Boburé is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the numbers of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 18,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the banks of the Upper and [191] Lower Tapajoz, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

XIII

Maloca of Necodemos -- Plan of Mundurucu malocas

361 Necodemos is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

In the center of the maloca stands the ekçá or warriors' 342 quarters.

361 The ekçá consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PRIMITIVE MAN

Quarterly Bulletin

of the

Catholic Anthropological Conference

Vol. VII October, 1034 No. 4

MUNDURUCU MOIETIES

REV. ALBERT KRUSE, O.F.M.

Kururú Mission, Correio de Santarém, Estado do Pará, Brazil

INTRODUCTION

101 THE warrior tribe of the Mundurucú is divided into four chief groups: the Tapajós, the Madeira, the Xingú, and the Juruéna Mundurucú. The Tapajós Mundurucú, numbering about [161] 950 souls, inhabit the Tapajós river country from the Cururu to the Rio das Tropas, these two rivers being affluents of the Tapajós flowing in from the east. According to native tradition, the [197] Wiaunyen, who are related by language to the Tapajós Mundurucú, should be included with them; they live in the region around the source of the Rio Mutum, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing in from the right. I have no data on the population of the Wiaunyen. The Madeira Mundurucú came from the Tapajós in the second half of the eighteenth century and acquired territory for themselves in the State of Amazonas. They were visited by Martius. 101 Nimuendajú estimates their strength at approximately 800 souls. 161 The Xingú Mundurucú are the Kuruáya. They live in small groups of from one to four houses along the uppermost left tributaries of the Igarapé da Flecha, a large easterly tributary of

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101 [[6]] the middle Rio Curuá do Iriry. According to Nimuendajú they number about 120 souls. The Juruéna Mundurucú are also called Njambikwáras.

From the Mundurucú are also supposed to be descended the Guajajára. They were settled on the Rio Gurupi near Cerzedello in 1818. So says Martius.

Tribal Names

[619] a. What do the Tapajós Mundurucú call themselves? A designation for the whole tribe does not exist. When a Mundurucú speaks of his fellow tribesmen, he simply calls them *weidye'nye*,[1] "our own", "our people". The word is compounded of the absolute inclusive pronoun *weidye*, "we", and the plural suffix, *nye*. Thus it has the meaning: "A great many of our own", "a plurality of our own". The Mundurucú language seems to have no word for homo, human being. Expressions like the following are used: "I belong to the Red Arara sib"; "he belongs to the Seringueira-itaúba sib"; "there come the Japu [people of Japu sib]"; "we met people of the *Ikupi*-wasp sib"; "some of the Mutum sib". For the list of sibs, see infra under social organization.

The Madeira Mundurucú, and the Kuruáya, that is, the Xingú Mundurucú, are held by the Tapajós Mundurucú to be relatives

126 [1] The following phonetic symbols are used: *ö* = German *ö* (palatal); *ü* = German *ü* (palatal); vowel with tilde = nasalized vowel; *ẽ* = nasalized *ö*; falling diphthongs in which both vowels are pronounced distinctly have small superior second vowel; *c* = German *sch*; *ñ* = *ng* (guttural nasal); *r* = dental *r*; *s* = always voiceless; *w* as in English but pronounced with lips closer together; *w* as in English "water"; *x* = German *ch*; *y* as in English "yes". The spiritus lenis (stimmloser Kehlkopfexplosivlaut) occurs always between two vowels, and often before words beginning with a vowel; in these cases it is not indicated in transcription; in other cases it is indicated by *q*. Weak sounds are enclosed in brackets. Colon after vowel = long vowel. Accent is on last syllable, except where otherwise indicated by accent mark (') following vowel.

The palatal vowels *ö* and *ü* are acoustically related to German *ö* and *ü*, but they are not identical with them. Nimuendajú writes me (personal letter, 1931): "A genuine ö and ü, such, for example, as occur in German, are found in none of the more than seventy Indian languages which I have heard with my own ears. Up to the present, I have heard these two sounds only in Urupá; but they do not occur even in Torá, which is most closely related to Urupá".

171 But they
881 do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Maues. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

244 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[161] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[439] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Würzschilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajoz now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
361 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[127] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from motumun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the thief [Mitnchmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

726 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

175 turned on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintins
448 (Paráraustes or Uauvrivait), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajoz with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. *

* Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas
Diccionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca
do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 206.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajôz, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several [197] of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on [161] the Tapajôz 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Mauhe 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,000. **

438

** This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajoz produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1.05 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Mauhé 1,500 and those of Canomá 800. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canamá gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

174 A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucûs originally

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101 though related linguistically to the *Mundurucú*, are to be regarded as an independent tribe (this volume, p. 221), and that the *Njambikwara* (see *Nambicuara*, p. 361) are not properly classified as *Mundurucú* on any basis.

Martius (1867) reported a group related to the *Mundurucú*, known as the *Guajajara*, who were settled on the Gurupí River near Cerzedello in 1818. The writer has found no further reference to this name in the literature dealing with the *Mundurucú*. (The *Guajajara-Tembé* are a tribe near the east coast of Brazil, page 137.)

According to native tradition, the *Wiaunyen*, at the headwaters of the Mutum River, should be classed as a subtribe of the *Mundurucú*.

The *Mundurucú* refer to themselves as *Weidyénye* (our own, our people) (Kruse, 1934). *Mundurucú* (*Mundurukú*, *Mundurucû*, *Mondurucû*, *Mundrucû*, *Moturicû*, etc.) is the name applied to them by the *Parintintin*, in whose language it denotes a species of ant (Strömer, 1932). A nickname widely used by Neo-Brazilians is *Paiquizé* (*Paikyce*) (Martius, 1867) or *Paikise*, meaning "father knife" or "head-cutter." They are sometimes called *Caras Pretas* ("black face"), in reference to their facial tattooing. (See Kruse (1934), who gives an extensive list of names used by other tribes to designate the *Mundurucú*.)

POPULATION

161 In 1887, Martius estimated the *Mundurucú* at 18,000 to 40,000, but Strömer believes that, on the basis of known settlement sites, a maximum population of 10,000 at the period of Contact is indicated. Tocantins (1877) listed 21 villages with populations ranging from 100 to 2,600 and a total population of 18,910. According to Campana, there were at the turn of the century about 1,400 individuals in 37 communities in the Tapajóz area. The largest village had 700 inhabitants, and the smallest less than a dozen. Strömer (1932) found 19 settlements with a total of 1,200 to 1,400 inhabitants in 1931, and fewer still in 1937. Both Campana's and Strömer's figures refer only to the population of the main area of concentration. Kruse gives a population of 950 for the Tapajóz group and 800 for the Canumá group.

HISTORY

175 796 The first reference to the *Mundurucú* was published in 1768 when Monteiro Noronha[2] listed the "*Maturucu*" among the tribes on the Mauées River. In 1769, according to Manoel Baena (1885), the *Mundurucú* began to move northward along the Tapajóz River, forcing out or exterminating the *Jaguain* (*Javaim*, *Hy-au-ahim*), a warlike, cannibalistic tribe then occupying the middle Tapajóz. A "*Mondruci*" settlement a day's journey below the mouth of the Arinos was reported by Almeida Serra in 1779. The *Mundurucú* reached and made unsuccessful attacks upon

[2] The writer has not seen all of the sources mentioned in this sketch of *Mundurucú* history; the material here summarized has been in part provided by Dr. Nimuendajú (personal communication).

619 [796] Tribal integration was also aided by the ceremonial cycle, which in nearly all cases brought people from a number of villages together in a host village. Despite the lack of central political controls the Mundurucú can be called a tribe in that they were united by interpersonal connections and were able to act as a political entity under temporary political controls.

The village

361 At present there are eighteen Mundurucú villages having an average population of fifty to sixty people. The [161] balance of the population of 1200 are living in isolated groups usually consisting of one small extended family or, at times, only one nuclear family. It is impossible to judge exactly how many villages there were in earlier times or what their populations were. The shifting settlement pattern makes a plotting of old villages indecisive and the climate and vegetation destroy all vestiges of abandoned villages after about twenty years. The sources are next to useless on this point. Tocantins, one of the few men who reported on a trip to a 19th century Mundurucú village, states that the village of "Necodemus" (Dekodyem is the correct transcription) consisted of five houses and a men's house.[12] He had previously cited the statistics of one Joaquim Correa, then Director of the Indians of the Tapajóe River, to show that this village had a population of 2100, a patent absurdity.[13] The best estimate based on informant data gives a maximum population

12. Tocantins, 1877, p. 103.

13. Ibid., p. 101.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

1757 ajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the ites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

361 [161] At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

619 The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separa-
609 tion of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

578 While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

726 Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy,
476 warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participa-
182 tion. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

1 [ie, The middle of the nineteenth century.--Analyst]

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestizo colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Uxituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

I. HABITAT AND HISTORY

101 THE MUNDURUCÚ INDIANS are a tribal group of some 1,250 people living on the
131 Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. The remnants of a formerly much more
[161] numerous population, they have maintained a considerable part of their native culture despite more than one and a half centuries of contact with Brazilian society.
197 Linguistically, the Mundurucú are Tupian-speaking, but their language is not
101 mutually intelligible with the so-called classical Tupian of the Brazilian littoral. Rather, they appear to form a Tupian substock in company with the near-by Shipaya, Curuaya, and Juruna Indians of the Xingú River drainage. Other cultural characteristics indicate some discontinuity between the Mundurucú and the bulk of the Tupian-speaking peoples and suggest that Mundurucú history had a relatively independent course from that of the coastal groups. Some of these differences are manifest in mythology and religion.

HABITAT

133 The Mundurucú habitat is rather different from what might commonly be expected in the Amazon Valley. Although stretches of flat jungle terrain abound, the area is in a northward-reaching finger of the Planalto de Mato Grosso; the topography is characterized by low hills, and the forests are interspersed with rock outcroppings and large stretches of grassy savannah. Actually, the northernmost extension of these central Brazilian highlands overlooks the Amazon behind the city of Santarém at the mouth of the Tapajós River.

131 The traveler en route to the Mundurucú country usually ascends the Tapajós River from Santarém; recent completion of an emergency landing field some 300 miles upstream can shorten the weeks-long trip to a matter of two hours flight.[1] During the first 150 miles of the water route the steamer or launch carries one up the deep blue and usually tranquil stream between shores that are at first more than 10 miles apart, but which narrow to a width of about one mile. The hills on either side rise to a few hundred feet and are covered with the vegetation characteristic of most areas of terra firma in the Amazon. At the point where the more elevated country and the banks of the river finally merge to form a narrow gap, the Tapajós River plunges furiously over the almost impassible rapids called the Cachoeira de Maranhão. These rapids form an effective block to navigation, and the traveler must debark and by-pass them by truck or on foot. The truck and the road, which are frequently not usable, are the property of a rubber-trading concern that maintains warehouse and commercial facilities at the lower end of the rapids. The company town has a population of less than 1,000, but it is the metropolis and entrepôt of the upper Tapajós; one can continue for 1,000 miles farther upstream without finding a settlement one-fifth that size.

The next stage of the trip is made in a shallow-draft diesel launch, especially built to negotiate rapids. The shores of the lower Tapajós River are lined with pleasant sand beaches and are broken by occasional villages, but the upper reach

[1] The reader will find it convenient to consult the maps on pp. 2 and 3 during the following discussion.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

797 rise in rubber prices in the latter part of the 1920's was partly responsible for
175 causing the people of some savannah villages to migrate to the rubber-yielding
[161] forests along the Cururú River. Today, some 200 Indians reside at the mission, and another 300 are also clients of the priests.

797 Although this is not a study of changes in Mundurucú religion consequent upon proselytization, it is necessary to survey briefly the effects of the mission
771 upon native belief in order to interpret the data to be presented. Catechization is most actively pressed among those Indians on the Cururú River with whom the mission has trade contacts. The other 200 residents of the Cururú River have their closest relations with the local post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios and only occasionally encounter the priests. The residents of the Tapajós River are far too scattered to be accessible with any frequency to the missionaries; these Mundurucú receive Christian influences through prayer sessions and religious fiestas held at the trading posts and through informal discourse with their Brazilian neighbors. The residents of the savannah villages maintain trade relations with the traders of the Tapajós River, but they are visited once a year by a priest who performs baptisms and remains for two or three days in each village to give religious instruction.

The personnel of the mission have proceeded with some degree of tact and restraint in their conversion of the Mundurucú population. All Mundurucú are technically Catholic, having been baptized, but only a minority have received all the subsequent sacraments. Children in residence at the mission school are administered Communion, and at intervals of several years the Bishop of Santarém visits the mission to hold Confirmation rites for those ready to receive them. All Indians in the villages under mission influence are married in religious ceremonies. These rites generally are the result of considerable pressure by the priests and follow a period of marriage according to native custom. The Indians themselves look upon the public marriage ceremony as most embarassing and shame-provoking and make every effort to avoid it. The sacrament of Extreme Unction is administered only to people who die at the mission itself. Otherwise, the customary funeral rites are followed and the body is interred under the floor of the dwelling.

Each Sunday a number of Mundurucú arrive at the mission for the primary purpose of trading and with the secondary intent of visiting; they are strongly urged to attend Sunday Mass, and most do as a means of keeping in the good graces of the prestigeful and respected missionaries. The superior of the mission has spent more than thirty years among the Mundurucú and speaks the language fluently. All of the Mass except the part universally recited in Latin is given in the Indian tongue. The Mundurucú observe the social division of the sexes while attending church. The front pews are occupied by the nuns and the 40-odd children usually resident at the school, and the remaining seats are occupied by the men. Most remain in a rigid kneeling position throughout the service, with the exception of one or two old men who imitate and even anticipate the ritual postures of the nuns. The women sit cross-legged on the floor of the center aisle; many nurse their children during the rites.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

patrilineal clans, ranked loosely into unnamed phratries and divided almost 178
equally between exogamous moieties, persisted, but the residential basis of patri- 174
lineality disappeared. Males formerly remained in the house and village of their 105
birth, but now they were dispersed by the new marriage rule. Clans lost their lineage nucleii and correspondingly suffered a loss of function. Bride service had in a sense become permanent, and the men's house, formerly the dwelling of village bachelors and young men in bride service, became a permanent dwelling of the men.

That is essentially the situation in the contemporary savannah villages. But the social organization of the Cururú River settlements marks a further change from the savannah pattern. Matrilocality is still rather vaguely regarded as the ideal residence rule for all but the sons of chiefs, and the custom is followed in a significant number of cases. Actually, however, many marriages are patrilocal, and there is an increasing tendency for couples to become neolocal eventually.

Furthermore, family life and the social division of the sexes has been drastically modified on the Cururú River. The Cururú villages are the result of migrations by nuclear and extended families from near-by savannah villages and do not represent the simultaneous moves of entire villages. The men's house was never instituted on the Cururú and dwellings were characteristically small. Thus, the Cururú River houses are the residences of one to three related families, whereas those on the savannahs, even under present conditions of depopulation, have an average number of about four families each. Men reside in the same houses as do their wives and children on the Cururú River, and the nuclear family approaches being an independent social and economic unit. Under these conditions the village has little cohesion, and recurrent factionalism results in the proliferation of new and smaller villages. Among these units there are individual ties of marriage and kinship, but the mission provides almost the only context in which the residents of different villages interact in a group.[13]

Other factors have modified Mundurucú social structure and religion. The 178
population is probably about one fourth of what it was 100 years ago;[14] this has resulted not only in greatly reduced villages and households, but it has decreased the number of shamans. Other influences have aggravated this decline. The end of warfare did much to devitalize the Mundurucú and to promote the growing disinterest in the native culture. It also eliminated a whole range of religious ceremonies that formed part of the head-hunting complex. Finally, [184]
there has been a profound shift in subsistence base among those Mundurucú
who have moved to the shores of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers. In contrast [262]
to the savannah dwellers, who are vigorous hunters, these Indians depend primarily upon fish for protein. This has significance for the religious concepts and activities centered on the animal world and hunting.

[13] The respective social and economic organizations of savannah and Cururú River villages are compared and analyzed with reference to the ecology of rubber collection in another work. (Murphy, 1954.)

[14] According to some sources, this decline has been even greater. Martius (1867, p. 390) estimated the Mundurucú population to be 40,000 in 1819, and Tocantins (1877, p. 101) calculated [161]
their number to be 18,910 in 1875.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE SETTING

The Mundurucú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Assú, Secundurý, and Abacaxís rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River. 131

The Mundurucú are usually classified as a Tupian-speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Mundurucú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Mundurucú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identification of the Nambikuara as the "Juruena Mundurucú" are erroneous.[3] The Mundurucú originally were an autonomous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact. 197 [101] [114] 101 131 166

The present-day Mundurucú population consists of about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea 161

[1] Nimuendajú, 1938, p. 975.
[2] Kruse, 1934, p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

161 of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Mundurucú in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantini's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Mundurucú population of the upper Tapajós River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Mundurucú should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Mundurucú in the upper Tapajós area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

648 The Mundurucú enjoy a solid position of importance in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and [181] docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of attacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter the Mundurucú were the friends and military allies of the whites. The capitulation of the Mundurucú was a recognition of both superior force and the material advantages to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Mundurucú continued their pursuit of warfare against other tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colo- [727] nists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of the major goals of their wars.

171 Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that distinguished the Mundurucú from their Tupian neigh- [273] bors. The Mundurucú have never manufactured any of the common intoxicants of the region, although they are now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken. 175 648

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cuparí River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[16] Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343; [182] [361] [177] 175 182 648 [161]

[16] *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 240.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 182 [161] 1889, 100; 1895, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurúcú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirím and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses [797] with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians [191] spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[22] [249] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco [384] and the collection of *guaraná*, sarsaparilla, and *copaiba* oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[20] Agassiz, 1869, p. 308.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 434.

is usually used, because it is navigable to a point only five 361
hours from the village. From the Cabitutú River port of 487
Cabruá which consists of a house and clearing on the river bank, the path to the village winds through a belt of gallery forest of several miles depth. After crossing a few minor streams that flow into the Cabitutú, the path emerges into an open savannah and gently climbs for about three miles until the crest of the height of land between the Cabruá and Cabitutú rivers is reached. Cabruá is at this point surrounded by a belt of underbrush and low trees that have grown from cast-off seeds and have been fertilized by human waste.

Three hundred yards away at the base of the hill on 312
which the village is built is a small stream and a strip of bordering gallery forest only two hundred yards wide. The stream rises from springs a few miles away and its waters are clear, pure, and cool. People draw their water here, wash clothes, and bathe—the Mundurucú are personally [515]
very clean and perform their ablutions at least twice daily.

The village is in open country, but large expanses of 361
deep, virgin forest are nearby. Paths radiate outward in 487
all directions from the village, leading to the stream, the port, other villages, and to the forest. The forest itself is criss-crossed with trails used for hunting; others lead to the gardens. The latter are generally no more than 45 minutes walk from the village. This is considered a rather long [482]
trip, because the women must carry their harvest in burden baskets back to the village. Land is not unlimited in 311
the environs of Cabruá; stretches of forest are subject to minor inundation in the rainy season, and large areas are sandy and horticulturally worthless savannah. The village, 361
then, must be moved at long intervals. Since contemporary Cabruá has only 67 inhabitants, there is no great pressure [161]
on land. Houses age and fall into disrepair rapidly, how-

/2 cont./

*241 resettled on the Maué-assú River /Maués-Guassú?/ and in the former
[195] mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantita-
[249] tive development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens
• [161] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de-
[248] pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton
[251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and
[434] large palm leaves ...., they have been selling to the boatmen of the Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

Tocantins states that many Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[24] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[25] All these scattered Mundurucú were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[25] Coudreau, 1897, p. 188.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

175 797 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose somewhat as a result of export restrictions imposed on the plant-
175 439 797 ers of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a greater return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to grow up on the river banks. This population shift proceeded so rapidly that by 1950 there were only about 360 Mundurucú left on the savannahs, whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

[361] [166] [162]

Of less importance in attracting a permanent population to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the
175 439 657 Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadiriri rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

3

economic life

Until about 1925, the bulk of the Mundurucú population of the Tapajós area lived in the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest that begins some twenty to thirty miles east of the upper Tapajós River. The population of about 360 living in seven villages in this area today is constantly diminishing. The villages and their approximate populations are: Arö, 90; Cabitutú, 45; Cabruá, 67; Aipka, 50; Dekodyem, 50; Cauí, 25; and Parawaröktiká, 30. The last-named village is in the traditional savannah area and has some antiquity, but in recent years the organization of village life has shifted to the characteristic pattern of the Cururú River. Cauí was established in recent times by conservative Mundurucú who became dissatisfied with their new way of life on the Cururú River and wished to revert to more traditional practice. How-

131
162 ●
361
184
361
[p.51]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. These events provide the grist for conversation for weeks. 521 578

Relations between the women of the savannah communities are subjected to an extra, situational strain because of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages, marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern. But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured by the support given by the matrilocal extended family. 162 578 [837] [166]

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber season, when village and extended family break up to exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy and from being even a co-resident group. And the thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers the nuclear family from any primary responsibility in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa- 594 [462]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

lages and easy transportation is lacking. But on the Cu- 439
rurú, even the man who has a separate dry-season resi- 461
dence has direct access to his village by canoe.

THE CURURÚ VILLAGE

The Mundurucú population of the Cururú River has for 162
several years maintained an average figure of 700. This in- 361
cludes 200 Indians with permanent residences at the mis-
sion and 70 to 80 who live at the Indian post. Part of these
latter two groups spread out every summer to collect rub- [221]
ber while the others work for the two agencies as garden-
ers, general workmen, fishermen, and crew members on
the launches. The post and mission Mundurucú settle-
ments are in no way autonomous villages, and all general
economic and political direction is provided by the Indian
agent and the priests.

The rest of the population is principally distributed in eleven settlements ranging in size from hamlets of two or three houses with populations of 20 to 25 people to the largest settlement, Missão Velha,[1] with eleven houses and 90 inhabitants. In addition there are many scattered dwellings along the banks which are the all-year residences of one or two nuclear families. In 1942 there were only about seven villages on the Cururú and practically no isolated dwellings, although the population then was substantially the same. The increase in number of villages and of families living in isolation is the result of a fission process in which segments of villages split away to form new communities. The Cururú River settlements are in this sense more unstable than the contemporary savannah communities. Thus, the average population of the five traditional savannah villages, excluding Parawaröktiká, which has no

[1] Old Mission. So named because it is near the site of the first mission, abandoned in 1921.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

162 men's house, and the newly formed Cauí, is 60. On the
361 other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

361 Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east, [312] but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest. [311] There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage [136] of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one [342] of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the [177] Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal [343] dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds [177] adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctively Brazilian trait.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the Cururú and are found near its mouth on the Tapajós. Not all fission arises from factional splits such as that described. Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the move from one village to another or to permanent residence in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal conflicts.

These disputes are frequently over women, who are scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow but continuous emigration of the more mobile young males, which results in hostility and competition between the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself. At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long concealed in small villages. Extramarital sex relations are common in the savannahs also, but there are enough unmarried girls to make female adultery less frequent and competition over women less intense. Correspondingly, there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs caused by sex.

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fission. When one's village house gets old it is often more convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.

* /21 cont./

241 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these
192 two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko
462 as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does this, but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

*241 It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected
621 in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Mundurukú who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those
[178] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate
[591] nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

● [162] 1. Between the Mundurukú Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Mundurukú who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc. rivers.

*241 /22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or
476 less the primitive or traditional form of the Mundurukú agricultural
621 system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance. Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Mundurukú/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

361 of 250 to 300 for the old Mundurucú villages.

The aboriginal Mundurucú village consisted of three to five dwelling places and the men's house, or oksa.* The average population was about 250 people. Commonly, these villages were located on stretches of high savannah. Such a site was easily defensible as its open location protected it from the surprise attacks always used by Amazonian Indians. Also, these locations were relatively free of insects. The [517] Mundurucú say too that "it is beautiful here for you can see far."

342 The houses were oblong with rounded ends and had steeply pitched thatched roofs. Some houses were 80 to 100 feet in length. The eaves of the roofs terminated at about five feet from the ground and the house was closed by vertical bark walls. Doors made of the center stalks of palm fronds were used.

344 The men's house was a large lean-to type building, the open end of which always faced east. It was up to 100 feet long and had a roof that gently sloped from the east end, at which point it was about fifteen to twenty feet high, until it met the ground at the west end. The front and both sides were open. Adjoining the south side of the west end [778] of the men's house was the small room in which the sacred trumpets, forbidden to female eyes, were kept. Three horizontal beams, one in the middle and one on either side of the house, ran from east to west at about five feet above

164 * The phonetic system used above and throughout this work is, with a few exceptions, that of English. The exceptions are: ö is pronounced like the German ö; i and u are pronounced as in Portuguese isca and usar, respectively.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

721 wars. The necessity of ever having to defend their home territory was denied, and provocation by other groups was not remembered as a cause of war in Mundurucú tradition. It might be said that enemy tribes caused the Mundurucú to go to war simply by existing, and the word for enemy meant merely any group that was not Mundurucú.

Despite this seemingly undirected aggressiveness, it was possible to establish through direct questioning and by analysis of field data that certain individual and social goals were realized through warfare. The more important of these goals will be analyzed and their significance as causes of the institution of warfare will be evaluated in the following section.

721 The Mundurucú were partially motivated to war by the quest for manufactured goods, which, as noted earlier, were obtained from the Brazilians in
648 return for service as mercenary warriors against unpacified tribes. The symbiotic relationship that became established was noted by Chandless (1862:276) who wrote that the Mundurucú were "honest and faithful," and "very friendly toward white people, warring only against unpacified Indians while protecting those friendly with the whites."

175 The scope and importance of Mundurucú mercenary activities is impres-
726 sive. In the early 19th century, the whites urged them to attack the trouble-
648 some Mura Indians of the lower Madeira River, and so great was their success that the Mura were scattered as far as the vicinity of Ega, hundreds of miles up the Amazon River (Bates 1863:168–9). Ayres de Casal (1817:237–8) reported that many of the victims of the Mundurucú, among them the Mura, were forced to seek the protection of the white settlements. The traders who employed the Mundurucú thus obtained a dual advantage; the hostiles were not only quelled but were driven into the arms of the labor-hungry whites.

Later references also attest to the alliance with the Brazilians. The Mundurucú were enlisted by colonial officials during the Revolution of the Cabañas in 1835–36, and one of their leaders in the war was given an honorary commission in the army in recognition of his services (Hartt 1885:132). Bates (1863:162) reports that in about 1853 the Mundurucú were instrumental in helping the Brazilians of the Madeira River to suppress the Arara Indians, and Tocantins (1877:140) states that shortly before his journey to the Mundurucú, the latter struck at a marauding group of Parintintin Indians at the behest of the Brazilians. Coudreau (1897:39–40) relates another case of mercenary service by the Mundurucú, whom he characterizes as a people "known for selling their military valor to whoever wants to pay for it." On this occasion, three traders of the Madeira River had been killed by hostile Indians, and their colleagues went to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River and offered merchandise in return for a retaliatory expedition. The offer was accepted but
[164] the sortie was a failure, for most of the 60 men and 40 women who took part in the raid died of illness before contacting the enemy.

175 Although mercenary service is one of the more interesting aspects of
721 Mundurucú warfare during the 19th century, contemporary informants hardly thought it worthy of mention. They acknowledged their alliance with

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 Tapajós in 1779, which located the "Mondruci nation" on
175 the "Rio Vermelha," probably either the Cadirirí or Cururú River.[4] Also, although Martius was personally acquainted only with the Mundurucú living between the Tapajós and Madeira, he confirmed the upper Tapajós to be their area of greatest strength in 1819.[5]

175 The Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River remained
648 relatively isolated during the early contact period, al-
[166] though large numbers of migrants from these villages moved north to the proximity of the white settlements. This population shift, caused by the lure of manufactured articles, was facilitated by the rapid decimation of the intervening Indian tribes. The complementary, and frequently identical, agencies of colonization and catechization had broken and absorbed those groups, such as the populous Tapajó, which had occupied areas near the Amazon, and disease had reduced the ranks of the surviving
[165] societies. Mundurucú warfare aided the process. For example, Serra located the Hiauain tribe in an area several days' travel above the first rapids of the Tapajós in 1779,[6] but in 1817 Manoel Ayres de Casal placed them on the east bank of the lower Tapajós, to where they had fled from Mundurucú war parties.[7] The net effect of these demographic changes was to provide the Mundurucú with uninterrupted avenues of access to trade facilities.

175 The Mundurucú who moved into the lower Tapajós val-
648 ley soon entered into close relations with the whites. The
797 mission of Santa Cruz was established in 1803 and was followed by other missions to the Mundurucú at Boim and Pinhel, all on the lower Tapajós.[8] The inhabitants of these

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 3–5.
[5] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[6] Almeida Serra, 1869, p. 3.
[7] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 232.
[8] Martius, 1867, p. 395.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE SETTING

The Mundurucú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, 131
in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Assú, Secundurý, and Abacaxís rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River.

The Mundurucú are usually classified as a Tupian- 197
speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has [101]
been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Mundurucú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Mundurucú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identifi- [114]
cation of the Nambikuara as the "Juruena Mundurucú" are erroneous.[3] The Mundurucú originally were an auton- 101
omous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their 131
first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of 166
the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact.

The present-day Mundurucú population consists of 161
about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea

[1] Nimuendajú, 1938, p. 975.
[2] Kruse, 1934, p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 Tapajós in 1779, which located the "Mondruci nation" on
175 the "Rio Vermelha," probably either the Cadirirí or Cururú River.[4] Also, although Martius was personally acquainted only with the Mundurucú living between the Tapajós and Madeira, he confirmed the upper Tapajós to be their area of greatest strength in 1819.[5]

175 The Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River remained
648 relatively isolated during the early contact period, al-
[166] though large numbers of migrants from these villages moved north to the proximity of the white settlements. This population shift, caused by the lure of manufactured articles, was facilitated by the rapid decimation of the intervening Indian tribes. The complementary, and frequently identical, agencies of colonization and catechization had broken and absorbed those groups, such as the populous Tapajó, which had occupied areas near the Am-
[165] azon, and disease had reduced the ranks of the surviving societies. Mundurucú warfare aided the process. For example, Serra located the Hiauain tribe in an area several days' travel above the first rapids of the Tapajós in 1779,[6] but in 1817 Manoel Ayres de Casal placed them on the east bank of the lower Tapajós, to where they had fled from Mundurucú war parties.[7] The net effect of these demographic changes was to provide the Mundurucú with uninterrupted avenues of access to trade facilities.

175 The Mundurucú who moved into the lower Tapajós val-
648 ley soon entered into close relations with the whites. The
797 mission of Santa Cruz was established in 1803 and was followed by other missions to the Mundurucú at Boim and Pinhel, all on the lower Tapajós.[8] The inhabitants of these

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 3–5.
[5] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[6] Almeida Serra, 1869, p. 3.
[7] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 232.
[8] Martius, 1867, p. 395.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the establishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Tapajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to protect the Indians from the traders and is said by Tocantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for yourselves, your women, and your children." [10] The priest's technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were powerful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon complaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Bacabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of commerce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was extended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little, although the violence of the boom days has subsided and the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant, poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client system and they also came into closer proximity to the whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian population remained in the savannah villages and collected rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

[10] Tocantins, 1877, p. 149.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

Tocantins states that many Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[84] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[85] All these scattered Mundurucú were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[84] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[85] Coudreau, 1897, p. 186.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 797 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose somewhat as a result of export restrictions imposed on the planters of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a greater return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to grow up on the river banks. This population shift proceeded so rapidly that by 1950 there were only about 360 Mundurucú left on the savannahs, whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

175 439 797 [361] [166] [162]

Of less importance in attracting a permanent population to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadiriri rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

175 439 657

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

 175 439 657

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling. 175 166 361 [177] [342]

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other 175 184 361 175 184 186 [797]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

hand, refers to the people living on the Cururú as *pariwat*, or "foreigners," because they live like the Brazilians. However, his feelings toward the Cururú people are not inspired by the fear and alienation felt by the latter. Rather, he is puzzled and chagrined that they remain aloof from him and will not accept him, although they are all Mundurucú.

The split within the tribe occurred only during the past three decades, but it has contributed to a decrease in migration from the remaining savannah villages to the Cururú. People are still leaving the savannahs, but usually to move to the Tapajós or to the lower reaches of the streams on the headwaters of which they live. The ambivalent attitude of the Cururú people makes that river decidedly unattractive to them.

CHRONOLOGY

For purposes of greater clarity, the history of the contact between the Mundurucú and the whites can be conveniently divided into four distinct periods. These are based on significant changes in the structure of Brazilian-Mundurucú relations.

1770–1795.—During this period, the warlike Mundurucú came into contact with the Portuguese colonists and directed attacks against them in the region along the Amazon River between Gurupá, on the east, and the lower Madeira River, on the west. The first Mundurucú settling of the latter area took place during these years and was probably motivated by the desire to obtain trade goods. In 1795, a punitive expedition against the villages of the east side of the upper Tapajós River, the original Mundurucú territory, ended hostilities.

1795–1850.—The Mundurucú, at peace with the whites,

241 311 themselves and yield for several years in abandoned gardens. Other plants, such as timbó and some fruit trees are also productive long after the garden goes out of regular cultivation. The reason for planting a field only twice is obvious when one considers that bitter manioc matures in about eight months on the first planting and in more than a year on the second in the already "tired" soil. A third planting would yield little and, also, as the local Brazilians say, "the jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there is adequate virgin forest or old second-growth forest available to meet the needs of the population, and they simply clear new gardens. The usual system is for each man to clear land annually and thus have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting. But men often feel that they have adequate crops and let a year pass without clearing forest; this is especially common if a housemate has a new garden.

The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of [423] forest land explains the absence of concepts of private or corporate property in land among the Mundurucú. When the best forest soils within a convenient range are exhausted, the village moves a short distance to the prox- [361] imity of fresh soil. But the Mundurucú build new villages every ten years whether nearby garden land is scarce or [166] not, and the present depleted population may shift within a one-mile radius over a forty- to fifty-year period. When conveniently situated forest is exhausted, they merely move out of this orbit to a new locale a few miles away, near which they remain for another long period. Villages probably moved somewhat longer distances in time past, when their populations exceeded two hundred people and pressure on the land was correspondingly greater.

423 The same causes that operate to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village

361 ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

[311] [166]

166 361 The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

[688]

622 592 621 The household of the chief included 17 people, and the largest house unit of the village had a population of 26. The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. These events provide the grist for conversation for weeks. 521 578

Relations between the women of the savannah communities are subjected to an extra, situational strain because of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages, marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern. But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured by the support given by the matrilocal extended family. 162 578 [837] [166]

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber season, when village and extended family break up to exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy and from being even a co-resident group. And the thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers the nuclear family from any primary responsibility in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa- 597 [462]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The
439 quest of the Mundurucú for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi-
[166] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens
[241] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

Individual nuclear families sometimes move immedi-
182 ately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of
166 course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the
361 desire for sociability and economic coöperation commonly
621 motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Mundurucú who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together.
182 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gar-
476 dening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their
621 resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

canoe and firearms. Fishing is easier with watercraft and solitary hunting more effective by firearms. Both may be bought by the individualized labor of rubber production, and both further free the individual of his dependence on a larger group.

The net effect of the social processes currently affecting the Mundurucú is to scatter the population into semi-isolated and economically independent units. When the now middle-aged and old people die, the process will probably accelerate and the savannah villages will pass out of existence. The families will presumably settle, as all now do in the dry season and several throughout the year, on the waters of the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. Those on the former two rivers will no doubt be customers of the post of Sae Cinza and the residents of the latter will be clients of the patrons of Caroçal and São Martinho. Trips to the trader's store and increased use of canoes will allow the residents of each river to maintain frequent relations with each other, but the long distances between the streams will propably inhibit similar communication between their inhabitants. Beyond the membership of the hamlets in which small groups of nuclear families congregate, the only more inclusive form of economic interdependences will be that between patron and client. This relationship will probably grow in importance, and the Indians will become more firmly integrated into the loose communities, typical of the Amazon, composed of the trader and his customers.

These predictions are not entirely conjectural, for the projected way of life is essentially that of the Mundurucú who have already migrated to the Tapajós River and its tributaries. The nature of the migration and the following life by the river prohibits the reconstitution of savannah-type villages.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative 182
isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the 578
Cururú and are found near its mouth on the Tapajós. Not all fission arises from factional splits such as that described. Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the move from one village to another or to permanent resi- [166]
dence in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal conflicts.

These disputes are frequently over women, who are 162
scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah 184
villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow 578
but continuous emigration of the more mobile young 182
males, which results in hostility and competition between the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself. At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long concealed in small vilages. Extramarital sex relations are [837]
common in the savannahs also, but there are enough unmarried girls to make female adultery less frequent and competition over women less intense. Correspondingly, there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs caused by sex.

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and 182
sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land 578
near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fis- 311
sion. When one's village house gets old it is often more 166
convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

166 182 It does not require a particularly strong motive to induce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 602 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weakening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same [835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the [594] nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship [551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 621 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-

*241 361 [182] [621] ● [166]

/29 cont./

From this relationship of garden and village, and also, of garden and community, there results the relatively slight local stability of the tribal groups, which, however, does not reach the stage of nomadism, and perhaps not even that of seminomadism in the strict sense of the term. In fact, there is a certain amount of group migration resulting from the agrarian situation, since it is the soil that forces the Indian to keep moving on. But these migrations are a slow process which is not strikingly noticeable because the moves from one location

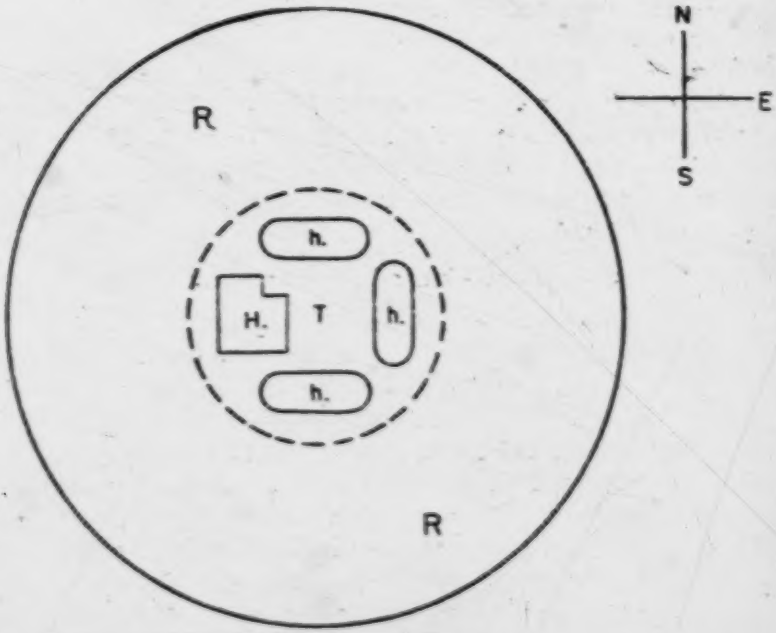


Figure 3. Plan of a Mundurukú village
T: plaza; H: hoksa; h: hok-a; R: Garden plots.

/29 cont./

*241 361 166 to another only occur at long intervals, within decades, and because they occur within a certain well-defined area which is precisely the habitat of the tribe. When these moves overshoot the boundaries of the pertinent territory, the causes must usually be sought in other spheres: in wars, pressure by other tribes, or, as is noted among the present-day Mundurkú, in the influences of trade and of rubber gathering. But, in their original and usual sense, these "internal" migrations, that is, these displacements and movements of groups within the area peculiar to the tribe, are based solely on the agrarian conditions mentioned above. Martius had already said of the Tupi of the upper Tapajós, as quoted earlier: "They practice a primitive agriculture, and therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (16) He had, thus, already noted these moves

16. Martius, 1857: 201.

[182] and had recognized the fact that agriculture was responsible for the greater or lesser stability of the Indian within his territory. In fact, the same thing may be said in a concrete way of the Mundurukú. They are not nomads, precisely because of their agriculture. But neither are they entirely stable within their habitat for the same reason—agriculture—which, owing to soil exhaustion, forces them into repeated moves which, in the last analysis, result in slow internal migrations which I have termed intra-territorial /tic/.

/30/

*241 104 IV. Native terminology referring to garden plots and cultivated plants

1) Referring to the garden. (17)

17. The phonetics have been adapted to Portuguese whenever possible. Note the following, however:

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

7

the mundurucú of the cururú river

167 K64 361

The Cururú River was permanently settled by the Mundurucú in the 1920's and 1930's through much the same processes that are observable today along the Cadirirí, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. The people who moved to the Cururú came largely from the southernmost savannah communities, and they settled on this particular stream because their dry-season residences and commercial bonds were there. When people move from the more northerly, contemporary savannah communities today, their choices of particular streams are dictated by the same reasons. There is no other cause for the differential migration that has split the northern and southern villages than proximity to certain rivers and corresponding ties to

[p. 154]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

particular patrons. Two or three decades ago, all savannah communities were much alike and, except for differing places of dry-season residence, the populations of all maintained frequent contact through intermarriage, visiting, and joint participation in ceremonies. The cultural and social differentiation of Cururú and savannah dweller is thus quite recent. 167 184 361 [628]

There are two major points of difference between the migration to the Cururú and that to the more northerly rivers. First, in the former large numbers of people moved in a comparatively short period. Secondly, the patrons on the Cururú River were not Brazilian rubber traders, but a group of German Catholic missionaries who were deliberately attempting to attract the population and modify their culture. The missionaries achieved little success during their first ten to fifteen years of activity and attracted large numbers of Indians only after the price of rubber rose. On the other hand, the astuteness of this example of applied anthropology should be given recognition, for the missionaries offered high rubber prices and low-cost merchandise, and thereby accelerated the migration process. 167 797

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRATION

The population move to the Cururú occurred in piecemeal fashion, for, as in the contemporary savannahs, nuclear families or segments of extended families shifted and not whole villages. Co-resident groups of Indians who commonly collected rubber and fished on the banks of the Cururú during the dry season were lured into setting up permanent residences there by the attraction of trade goods and the persuasion of the missionaries, who sought thereby to bring the Indians more directly under their influence. Other rubber-season residents perceived the economic advantages of all-year occupation of the Cururú, 167 361 178 [797]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

167 and they too abandoned the annual return to the savan-
361 nahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured
178 more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the
182 people of Cabruá today, to choose avenues near their close
361 kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with
621 their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails; other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farinha-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting, and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry summer. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water
501 transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe,
439

172 I shall offer no conjectures as to the origin or meaning of these
[171] characters. I shall only point out that Humboldt found characters of the same type similarly located on the banks of the Orinoco [105] at a height inaccessible to human hands.

If I remember correctly, this famous scholar is of the opinion that in remote times the level of Orinoco waters rose to a much greater height than today.

I believe that the same deductions reached by the famous German scholar about the Orinoco would apply to the characters of the Upper Tapajoz.

I made a sketch of the characters on the Upper Tapajoz; I do not know whether they are symbolic.

When I showed them to the Mundurucu of Necodemos and Samuuma (Aikã), they all told me that similar characters are to be found in greater numbers on the hills of Areucrẽ, in the midst of the plains which stretch between Acupari and Necodemos. I had no opportunity to see them.

173 Mundurucu tradition holds that Caru-Sacaebẽ, after destroying the maloca of Acupari to punish its inhabitants for their ingratitude, went on to found Necodemos, which thus became the cradle of the human race. It was then, according to the same tradition, that he drew those characters between the two villages, as a monument to recall this memorable event. When Caru-Sacaebẽ left Necodemos, which had become wealthy and powerful, he went down the Tapajoz River and left some further characters on its banks to preserve more vividly among the Mundurucu the memory of his deeds and of his stay among them. [107]

XV

The Mundurucu pronounce sentence of death against sorcerers.-- Some of the more recent applications of this sentence.

174 As late as the beginning of this [19th] century, Portuguese law burned alive in public squares those unfortunate victims accused of being sorcerers by the credulity and superstition of the

192
193

[English]	Mundurucu
to give--unheme	
I give	une unheme
you give	ene unheme
he gives	inhedhe-ate unheme
they [masc.] give	inhedianhe unheme
to be a man--anhocate dhẽ	
I am a man	une dhẽ anhocate
you are a man	ene dihẽ [sic] anhocate
he is a man	inhe dhẽ anhocate
they are men	inhedianhe anhocate
to eat--uchecune	
I eat	une uchecune
you eat	ene edhuũ
he eats	inhedhẽẽ udhuũ
they [masc.] eat	inhedianhe udhuũ

[128]

[English]	Mundurucu
I'm coming [eu já vou]	udhebeque
regards to yourself [?] [lembranças para ti mesmo]	ecatu dhe euẽ bẽ
all Mundurucu are kinsmen	Mundurucus [sic] nheẽn dhu anhum umain
my soul goes to heaven	ubiumbé cabi cahi dhe
I miss my mother	nheben nexi cahi
I miss my son	nheben opute cahi
I am your friend	une ubei xixi
I shall not see you again	nhan sẽn ehuame dhei une

197
171

The following table will facilitate comparison of the Mundurucu dialect with the three principal American languages:

[129]

COMPARATIVE OUTLINE

[English]	Quechua	Aymara	Tupi	Mundurucu
man	runa	hake	apgaua	aikocate
woman	huarmi	marmi	cunhã	aiatiate
head	uma	ppekeña	akanga	uiaã
face	ceaklla	Nauna	rua or çuã	ueirupd
eye	nahui	nayra	teçá	uetá
ear	rinri	ñuchu	apiçaqua	oembembde
hand	maki	ampara	mbó	uharanã
sun	inti	inti	guaraci	caxi
moon	killa	phakhi	jacy	caxi-ãte
I	noca	na	ixé or xé	une
water	jacu	uma	y	irihi
he	pay	hupa	abé	iubendhe
to eat	micumi	manhatha	u	uhecne

[171] But they
[181] do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Maues. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

[24] In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[164] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[62] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Wibrachilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajos now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
[26] each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[92] minion I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
[20] It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondurucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moruricus, from momum moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the chief [Mitschmer]." [301] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquisé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III, 108) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Otopias already mentioned (p. 204, 363) who are also found on the Madeira river.

[76] Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II, 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

591 terms, despite combining matrilocality and patrilocality. Contemporary in-
179 formants claim matrilocality to be the normal rule since ancient times, but historical data suggestive of antecedent patrilocality among the Mundurucú comes from the German explorers Spix and Martius, who encountered elements of the tribe near the lower Madeira River in 1819. The reader should be warned that these observers are not completely reliable, and several obvious errors were encountered in their works. We can only verify their information by comparing it with what is reliably known of the structure of Mundurucú society.

604 According to Martius (1867:393), the Mundurucú were apparently patri-
179 local, for a man could eject his wife from the household. Every young man,
591 however, had to go through a period of bride service lasting several years (*ibid*:393). The same writer claimed that when there was no other potential husband available for a young woman, the mother's brother could marry her (*ibid*:393). This is of some significance, not only because it gives historical confirmation for the previous analysis from kinship terminology (and Martius was not aware of the "sociological" interpretation of kin terms), but also because it tends to bolster the hypothesis of antecedent patrilocality. The practice of avuncular marriage is quite widespread in the Amazon basin and in northeastern South America and the Islands (Lowie 1949:317). In all cases, it is correlated with a period of bride service followed by permanent patrilocality. Both Kirchoff (1932:58) and Metraux (1948:111-12) state that avuncular marriage serves to liberate men from the period of temporary matrilocal residence. Whether or not avuncular marriage had this function among the Mundurucú is not known, but its wide distribution in the Tropical Forest region in combination with initial bride service and patrilocality argues for its former existence among the Mundurucú where, according to Martius, the same pattern was in existence.

604 The reader will remember that contemporary Mundurucú informants
521 specifically and vehemently deny the contemporary or past practice of avuncu-
591 lar marriage, and this form of marriage was not reflected in genealogies. This is understandable in the matrilocal framework because, although the mother's brother was a member of the opposite moiety to that of his sister's daughter, he was nonetheless a member of the same household until his marriage. In a patrilocal society, the sister's daughter would not reside in the same household and might not even be a resident of her uncle's village. The disappearance of avuncular marriage due to a change from patrilocality to matrilocality would be consistent with much anthropological theorization on the origins of incest prohibitions, whether explained as a result of the necessity to deny sexual access to one's familial intimates, which would disrupt the household (Malinowski 1930:630), or as a result of the need to marry out of the ingroup in order to extend its ties with the larger society (White 1948:425). Titiev (1943:516) has noted the importance of residence in the definition of incest in other cultures:

> "... there are numerous cases in which exogamy is enforced among co-residents even when there is no demonstrable or putative genealogical connection."

 721

Coser (1956:156-7) has considered the relationship between conflict and the rigidity of the social structure, which he defines as "the degree to which it disallows direct expression of antagonistic claims," and concludes: 182 578 121

> Our hypothesis, that the need for safety-valve institutions increases with the rigidity of the social system, may be extended to suggest that unrealistic [i.e. cathartic and not oriented toward the frustrating object] conflict may be expected to occur as a consequence of rigidity present in the social structure.

Mundurucú warfare was clearly "unrealistic" and the social structure was rigid in Coser's sense. It is possible to broaden our example to include a larger category of rigid social structures and to consider their functional concomitants. I would propose as a statistically testable hypothesis that matrilocal societies must repress open aggression in order to insure cohesion and continuity. If we take any matrilocal and matrilineal or bilateral society as our model, the system of residence tends to disperse males at least throughout the local community. Thus, any male will have close ties of kinship and economic interdependence with his housemates, his natal household, the households of his maternal uncles, and the households of his brothers. The same is true of patrilocal societies from the viewpoint of the women, but males are the principal political role-players in all human societies. Any conflict involving men therefore becomes a matter of deep community concern. As among the Mundurucú, if the lines of allegiance in a conflict situation are drawn according to kinship in any matrilocal society, bonds of local contiguity will be sundered; if primary loyalty is given to bonds of residence, the ties of kinship will be broken. In short, when the residence and kin groups of the male do not coincide, he acquires multiple commitments that may come into conflict. Also, the individual male will more readily repress his grievances if he cannot rely upon the full support of a solidary group. 721 182 121 578 591

Brief reference to the ethnographic literature suggests that the social solidarity of matrilocal groups is not restricted to my model. Writing of the Apinayé, Nimuendajú (1939:129) says: 182 171

> I have never heard of a case of rape nor witnessed anything of publicly scandalous adultery, larceny, or slander. Only when intoxicated do these natives inflict damage on property and bodily maltreatment on persons or commit manslaughter. Compared with any Šerente settlement the village of Bacaba, at least, is a model of internal peace and harmony, and this would hold for Gato Preto, too, in the absence of alcohol.

The Šerente and the Apinayé are Gê-speaking groups of eastern Brazil and are culturally quite similar. The principal difference between them is that the fractious Šerente are patrilineal and patrilocal, while the harmonious Apinayé are matrilineal and matrilocal. Turning to North America, we have the classical example of the matrilocal and "Apollonian" Pueblo Indians. Ellis (1951:199) has noted of Pueblo warfare:

> Beyond protection, warfare served to provide legitimate outlet for the frustrations and aggressions arising from unpermitted competition or suspicions thereof among peoples of the same general culture.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

171 The repression of open conflict among the Pueblosans accounts for the latent
182 hostility that many ethnologists have seen seething below surface relations. Under modern conditions this often results in community fission, and the same process can be noted among the contemporary, nonwarring Mundurucú. Lacking adequate safety-valves for the release of aggression, the Mundurucú now tend to withdraw from the frustrating situation.

721 Not all matrilocal groups repress aggression to the same extent as do the
578 Mundurucú, nor are they as warlike. The greater emphasis of the Mundurucú
182 upon social cohesion and external aggression stems from the persistence of patrilineal clans in a matrilocal society. This factor, combined with intervillage matrilocality, made hostility even more explosive and internal release systems less workable. It oriented the group toward warfare and provided the organization for its effective pursuit. Some deviation from our model is expectable, for there is no fixed and unvarying reservoir of aggression in society; it has its roots in the social structure, as does its expression. Our thesis states only that matrilocal societies must repress the open expression of intrasocietal conflict and that this repressed hostility, variable in intensity, will be released through acceptable and nondisruptive means within the society, or through warfare, or through both. But warfare, it can be concluded, is an especially effective means of promoting social cohesion in that it provides an occasion upon which the members of the society unite and submerge their factional differences in the vigorous pursuit of a common purpose.

NOTES

122 [1] The field research upon which this article is based was conducted by my wife and me during 1952–53, and was supported by a Research Training Fellowship, granted by the Social Science Research Council, and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. Grateful acknowledgement is made to these institutions.

The present article was read in manuscript by David M. Schneider and profited greatly from his suggestions.

[2] This seemingly incredible sortie was still remembered by the Urubú Indians of the upper Gurupí River in the state of Maranhão, according to a personal communication from the Brazilian ethnologist, Dr. Darcy Ribeiro.

[3] A fuller description of the ceremonies held subsequent to a successful raid will be published in a forthcoming monograph (Murphy n.d.).

REFERENCES CITED

113 ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO
1869 Navegação do Rio Tapajós para o Para (1779). Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro 9:1–16.

AYRES DE CASAL, MANOEL
1817 Corografia brazilica. Rio de Janeiro.

BATES, HENRY W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazons. London.

CRANDLESS, W.
1862 Notes on the rivers Arinos, Juruena, and Tapajós. Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 36:119–128.

COSER, LEWIS A.
1956 The functions of social conflict. Glencoe, The Free Press.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NM

Reprinted for private circulation from
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE
Vol. IV, No. 4, July 1956
CHICAGO: U. OF C.

TAPIRS AND TRAPPERS: PARALLEL PROCESS IN ACCULTURATION[1]

I. The Problem

The purpose of this paper is to show how two cases of acculturation exemplify parallel processes of culture change, that is, cross-cultural regularities of function and causality, even though differences in inherent form and substantive content are such that the acculturation might also be considered as convergent development.

As subsequent sections will show in detail, the Mundurucú of the Tapajós River in Brazil and the Northeastern Algonkians in Canada differed during pre-contact times in social structure, in the general nature of their culture, and in their cultural ecological adaptations. The first were tropical forest hunters and horticulturalists, living in semi-permanent villages and given to warfare. The second were hunters of large migratory game and were loosely organized in nomadic bands. Despite these differences, however, both represented roughly the same level of sociocultural integration. That is, individual families were related to one another through certain sexual patterns—village activities in the one case and band functions in the other—but the local unit in each instance was politically autonomous.

Since this paper is essentially an illustration of methodology, it is important to stress that the concept of level does not classify cultures according to concrete and substantive form and content. Different cultures may be wholly unlike in their particulars in that they are the products of distinctive area histories or traditions and of local adaptations to environments. At the same time, the largest integrated and autonomous social units may be of a similar order of inclusiveness. While, therefore, similarity of level must underlie formulations of cross-cultural regularities, such similarity alone does not at all imply typological identity. The Mundurucú tropical forest hunters and the sub-arctic Algonkian hunters were wholly unlike in most cultural particulars and in social structure, although both were integrated on comparable sociocultural levels.

They were alike, however, in the acculturation processes to which they were subjected and in the final cultural type which is now emerging in both populations. The processes were similar in the special manner in which outside

---

1. The acculturational phenomena described in this article were apparently found among many, although not all, Northeastern Algonkians, including native groups of New England as well as Canada. Speck, Steward, and others have considered this problem for many years. They were also found among certain Athapaskan Dene, as Jenness has shown. A very comparable case of acculturational process was studied by Steward among the British Columbia Carrier. These cases will be cited in the concluding comparative section. The Montagnais are taken as our principal example because Eleanor Leacock studied them in detail from this point of view.

The Mundurucú of Brazil are analyzed on the basis of a year of field research by Yolanda and Robert Murphy during 1952-53. The research was conducted under the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, and was made possible by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mu
121
171

commercial influence led to reduction of the local level of integration from the band or village to the individual family and to the way in which the family became reintegrated as a marginal part of the much larger nation. The resultant culture type was similar in each case in that the local culture core contained the all-important outside factor of almost complete economic dependence upon trade goods which were exchanged for certain local produce and because the functional nexus of local production, the family, and other features were directly related to this new element. The common factor postulated to have caused importance as a kind of economic activity--the collection of wild produce--which entailed highly similar ecological adaptations. While rubber production differs as greatly in particulars from fur trapping as the tropical forests differ from the sub-arctic barren-lands of Labrador, the result of the acculturative processes in the two cases was the independent emergence of the same type of culture, as defined in terms of level of integration and culture core. We shall use the latter term to denote the structural interrelationships of the basic institutions of the culture.

This case study should also help clarify the heuristic concept of cultural ecology, and especially to illustrate how fundamentally it differs from environmental determinism. It will be shown that total environment is in no way the decisive factor in the culture-environment relationship. In analyzing the creative processes in the adaptation of culture to environment, it is necessary to determine the crucial features in the environment that are selectively important to a culture of a particular level and a particular area tradition. In this sense, it does not matter how different the subarctic and the tropical forests are in their totality. The primary fact is that each environment afforded a resource for trade purposes which could best be exploited by individual families controlling these products within delimited territories. These products did not achieve importance until the native populations became parts of larger sociocultural systems and began to produce for outside markets in a commercial pattern.

The process of gradual shift from a subsistence economy to dependence upon trade is evidently irreversible, provided access to trade goods is maintained. It can be said, therefore, that the aboriginal culture is destined to be replaced by a new type which reaches its culmination when the responsible processes have run their course. The culmination point may be said to have been reached when the amount of activity devoted to production for trade grows to such an extent that it interferes with the aboriginal subsistence cycle and associated social organization and makes their continuance impossible.

II. Northeastern Algonkians

Mo
119
177
423

Our discussion of the acculturation of the Northeastern Algonkians assumes that the family-owned fur-trapping territories widely reported among these Indians were post-white in origin. The supposition of Speck [1923; 1928; 1942], Cooper [1939], and Eyerdam [1939; 1942; 1947] that such territories were aboriginal lacks support in early historical documents. Moreover, indisputable cases of post-white formation of family territories have been reported by Leacock among the Eastern Montagnais [1954], Jenness among certain of the Malecite Basin Athabaskans [1932, p. 29], and Steward among the British Columbia Carrier [1941]. Leacock's study [1954] deals with the processes of development of trapping territories in greatest detail and consequently provides the most illuminating material. We shall constantly refer to it in the following delineation of the aboriginal culture core and the subsequent changes in it.

Mo
621

According to Leacock, the Eastern Montagnais formerly possessed very loosely integrated bands. The basic aboriginal social unit was the "multi-family" winter hunting group consisting of ten to five families. These groups were seasonally

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1958].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-borne enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the foes surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and permanent. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

439 Mundurucú traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Mundurucu of the upper Tapajós "trade in salsa and soil provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 131-134], rubber was the most important Mundurucu product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucú acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "lessening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

221 314 Work in the rubber seasons in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their gardens sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonquian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-28].

[71]

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucú, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the communal hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucú. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Mundurucu villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucu, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

[224]

[291]

A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucú dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, firearms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucú barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour.

[46] 323

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Mentagnais 1946

to the disorganization of Curuá River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Curuá River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber grounds or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucú. Over one-third of the Curuá River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

IV. Comparative Summary

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which a collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while incurring new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by unbearing traders. Second, the growing ties of dependency upon the traders arose at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon become necessities—a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Mentagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Mentagnais chief. Mentagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

[text continues on p. 349]

Mu 178 621
Mu [578]
Mu Mo 177 171 431 452
Mu Mo 171 177 431 [434]
Mu Mo [453]
Mo Mu 171 177 431 622

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NHL

Mo
M4
171
177
105

Tabular Comparison

Mundurucú

1. Pre-rubber

Village consists of men's house, matrilocal extended family households; population divided into patrilineal clans and moieties.
Village males form collective hunting and garden-clearing group.
Household females form the horticultural unit.
Intensive warfare for headhunting and as mercenaries allied to whites; partial dispersal of villagers in dry season for fishing and war.
Chief the war leader and representative of village in trade of manioc flour.

2. Marginal involvement

Chief continues as mediator with trader, but is now often trader-appointed—trader gains influence.
Dry season population dispersal for rubber production rather than fishing and war—war continues, but lessened in importance.
Basic pre-rubber economy and settlement pattern unchanged.
Continuing displacement of aboriginal crafts.

3. Transitional

Further displacement of native crafts, increased need of trade goods, increased dependence on trader.
Chieftainship undermined due to new type chiefs who now represent the trader.
Agricultural cycle and village life inhibit larger rubber production.
Trend toward individual trade.

4. Convergence and culmination

A. Intermediate
Move to new villages in rubber regions.
Chief now intermediary with Indian agent and missionaries.
Individual trade, individualized subsistence economy—end of men's house and traditional village—

Montagnais

1. Pre-fur

Nomadic composite band hunts large migratory game animals.
Frequent band breakup during winter scarcity.
Amalgamation of several winter groups for summer hunting and fish-fishing.
Chieftainship weak and shifting—leader of winter group; no summer band chief.
Residence bilocal, frequent shifts of winter group membership.

2. Marginal involvement

Trade by family heads—leaders do not trade for followers.
Trapping secondary to subsistence hunting—subsistence still gotten traditionally, basic social patterns persist.
No trapping territory.
Linkage to trading posts.

3. Transitional

Further displacement of native crafts, increased need of trade goods, increased dependence on trader.
Increased fur production interferes with subsistence hunting.
Individual trade conflicts with group solidarity.

4. Convergence and culmination

Fur trapping now predominant; winter provisions purchased
Winter groups not necessary with end of collective hunt—family or individual hunting gives greater efficiency, allows conservation.
Shift of economic interdependencies from group to trader.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

Mundurucú (cont.)

village held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability. Mo
Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B, below. Mu 171
B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A) Leadership no longer integrative. Individual trade undercuts kin obligations. 177
Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by serving to rubber avenue—family now in isolation except for trade bonds. 105

Montagnais (cont.)

Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries.
Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year.
Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.

Mo
Mu
171
177
[434]
622]

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

Mo
Mu
[603]

The Brazilian rubber tapper—the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and connected in the mercantile economy—usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucú who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become colonies, or new Brazilian 'outposts'.

Mu
177
434

The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total group they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Mo
Mu
171
177
593

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

Mo
Mu
177
621
622

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NHL

Mo
Mu
177
S94
621

The culmination of the long acculturative processes shows a high degree of structural parallelism. Both Mundurucu and Montagnais populations are divided into loosely integrated and dispersed communities centering about particular trading posts with which the individual families have ties. The Indians still recreate, associate, and intermarry with one another, but the nuclear family is now the stable socio-economic unit. It is the highest level of integration found among the native population itself, but it is linked to the nation through the intermediary of a regional economy. The integration of the family with the national level is highly specialized and limited. These families do not yet share a substantial part of the common denominator of the national culture or even of the regional sub-cultures of their non-Indian neighbors.

Mo
Mu
177
184

There is a final phase, which, though occurring at different dates in the different localities, is characterized by assimilation of the Indians as a local sub-culture of the national sociocultural system and virtual loss of identity as Indians. At this point, the acculturational processes and results diverge, since the Indians participate to a much greater extent in the national culture. So long as the families maintain their marginal relation with the national society, they are quite unlike the basic populations of the nations in which they lived and much more like one another. When, however, they learn the national language, intermarry extensively with non-Indians, and acquire many of the non-Indian values and behavior patterns, they have to be classed with the special regional sub-cultures that have developed in portions of these nations.

It can be predicted that the drastic shift in mode and level of integration will do much to hasten the loss of cultural distinctiveness. Fortes has cogently expressed the relationship between social structure and formal culture content in such a situation:

> "I would suggest that a culture is a unity insofar as it is tied to a bounded social structure. In this sense I would agree that the social structure is the foundation of the whole social life of any continuing society.....The social structure of a group does not exist without the customary norms and activities which work through it. We might safely conclude that where structure persists there must be some persistence of corresponding custom, and where custom survives there must be some structural basis for this" [Fortes 1953, pp. 23-24].

V. Further Comparisons

Mo
Mu
171
177
121

We can delimit and refine the Mundurucu-Algonkian parallel by the cross-cultural examination of structural changes caused by acculturation in other areas. We will not seek further parallels, however, but will discuss cultures in which divergence appears manifest. One instance of such apparent divergence is the Northwest Coast, where the fur trade at first strengthened or intensified rather than weakened the aboriginal social structure. The florescence of the potlatch and class system on the Northwest Coast as a result of new wealth in trade goods is a thesis which has been ably expounded by a number of students [cf. Barnett 1938; Drucker 1939; Collins 1950; Codere 1950]. It would be very misleading, however, to consider any trade in furs as the crucial factor. What really matters is individual trapping of fur-bearing animals. The sea otter was the principal fur bartered by most Northwest Coast tribes, and collection involved neither individual effort nor delimited territories. The amount of land trapping was probably fairly limited and in any event did not effect the cultural effects of the great salmon wealth which created surpluses rarely if ever paralleled by hunting, gathering, and fishing people.

The trapping activities of the Skagit of Puget Sound were nearly paralleled those of the Northeastern Algonkians, according to Collins description [1950, p. 338]:

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Munduruçu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

Mo
M4
171
177
121

"The [trading] posts played an important part in altering the economy of the Indians. First, they encouraged a shift in their hunting habits. The skins in which the traders were most interested were beaver and land otter. These animals had small value in the aboriginal economy, since they were less desirable for food than deer or elk, for example. At the traders' behest, however, hunters pursued these animals eagerly. Another economic shift took place when the hunters, instead of killing game for meat, began to exchange skins for food."

The result of this trade was, however, quite different from its effects in Eastern Canada.

"The effects of these changes upon Skagit social organization were pronounced. Distinctions in social rank began to be more marked--a shift made possible since, though social mobility had always been within the grasp of any person of good descent who could acquire the distinction of wealth, new sources of wealth were now available" [Ibid., pp. 337-338].

The new wealth acquired by the Skagit was funnelled into the class structure and ultimately the potlatch. The difference, then, between the processes of change which occurred among Northwest Coast and Northeastern Canadian groups is that the former integrated the new wealth into a pre-existent class structure created and perpetuated by a fishing economy. Among the latter, since there were no cultural means or goals promoting the concentration of surplus wealth in the hands of a select few, the benefits redounded to all persons. The same was true of Munduruçu society which also was unstratified. The differences between the Skagit on one hand as opposed to the Munduruçu and Montagnais on the other are attributable to the stratification of society among the former, which in turn is partially explainable by the greater aboriginal resources of the Skagit. In effect, this constitutes a difference of level of socio-cultural integration.

The impact of trapping upon a pre-existing social structure can be even better appraised among the Carrier of the interior of British Columbia, where the wealth in salmon was far less than on the coast. The fur trade among the Blackwater River Carrier involved intimate interaction with Northwest Coast groups, especially the Bella Coola. Goldman summarizes the effects of this contact upon the simple, bilateral Carrier hunting bands [1941, pp. 416-417]:

"Undoubtedly the Bella Coola, like all Northwest Coast tribes, became relatively wealthy as a result of this trade. And in Bella Coola where wealth was the decisive factor in building rank, the fur trade must have been particularly welcome. And the lowly interior Carrier who hunted for furs in order to trade with the Bella Coola, who traded them to the whites, became an important part of the scheme of elevating one's rank. Although a Bella Coola did not gain valuable prerogatives from a Carrier son-in-law, if he could get a monopoly upon his furs he could make enough wealth to purchase new prerogatives. And so the Bella Coola benefited by this trade, so did the Alkatcho Carrier. The latter took up products obtained on the coast and traded them to the Carrier villages eastward on the Blackwater River drainage. As they obtained guns and steel traps, economic productivity soared so that they were able to build up the necessary property surpluses for potlatching. Potlatching obligations in turn stimulated economic activity, and the degree to which they were able to potlatch made possible the full integration of crests as honorific prerogatives.

Given our previous hypotheses, developments more or less parallel to those in Eastern Canada might be expected. But these Carrier did not trade with European traders; they dealt instead with stratified Northwest Coast tribes in the context of an economic system, the rationale of which was the validation of rank by potlatch. As the following example of the Stuart Lake Carrier suggests,

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mu
121
171
177

direct trade with the whites and the end of potlatching result ultimately in the family trapping territory system.

The effect of the fur trade among the Carrier of Stuart Lake to the north of the Blackwater River ran a similar course to culminated in family trapping territories, according to Steward's research. In pre-white times, the wealth of salmon fisheries, although far less than those of the coastal tribes, had provided some surplus, while contacts with the Tsimshian of the Skeena River had introduced a pattern for channeling this surplus to nobles who controlled the fishing rights of large territories in the name of matrilineal societies. This wealth circulated through small-scale potlatches. The fur trade, carried on directly with the whites more than through coastal contacts, created a new source of wealth and intensified the native pattern. Although furs were trapped by individual society members, a noble had rights to certain percentage of the furs taken in his society's territory.

In the course of about 50 years, however, several processes combined to bring about individual trapping territories as among the Indians of eastern Canada. Most importantly, the new wealth in trade goods brought hardward that was of value to individuals. Pressures mounted to force the nobles to divide the trapping territories among their own children other than to pass them on intact to their sister's sons, who had traditionally inherited their titles and rights. This process was aided by the activities of the Catholic missionary-ethnologist Father Morice, who effectively undermined the native religious sanctions of the class of nobles, and by the government, which banned potlatching. The older pattern survives only in isolated localities, where it is carried on clandestinely. At Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, where there is located a Hudson' Bay Trading Post and some few hundred whites and Indians, the processes have reached a culmination almost identical to that of the Montagnais.

> "Present-day Carrier society at Stuart Lake consists of individual families that have exclusive rights to certain trap-lines that are registered with and protected by the Provincial Government. The family is the kinship and economic unit" [Steward 1941, pp. 502-503].

It seems likely that the Blackwater River Carrier have not yet reached the final stage of acculturation. The same may be true of the Sekani. The critical consideration is whether wealth in salmon among these tribes was so great that it offset the importance of trapping. This was not the case at Stuart Lake. On the lower Skeena River, salmon are so important that canneries have been built, and the Tsimshian and Tlingit have given up for trapping to become commercial fishermen and cannery laborers.

Certain Plains Indians in North America also engaged in the fur trade but developed in distinctive ways. This is another illustration of the need to examine specific features in the taking of furs. There is a significant ecological difference between the collection of fur on the Great Plains and in the coniferous forests of Canada that lies essentially in the difference between hunting and trapping. It is incomplete and misleading therefore to make comparisons simply on the basis of "fur trading". In the Great Plains, buffalo hides were the chief item traded, whereas in eastern Canada, small, non-gregarious and non-migratory animals were trapped. The trade on the Plains resulted in an emphasis upon the buffalo hunt beyond the needs of subsistence and served to strengthen the collective and cooperative techniques traditionally used in the pursuit of migratory herds. Moreover, band cohesion in the Plains was enhanced by acquisition of the horse and gun and by intensification of warfare, the latter carried on in part to obtain horses.

It is possible that a non-stratified society which acquires surplus wealth may develop a class structure, but this involves special conditions not ordinarily

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6
Behavior Theory W3

Mo
Mu
121
171
177

found among collectors of wild products. Some of the North American Plains Indians showed an incipient development of a class society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the tribes were decimated by epidemics and overwhelmed by the advancing frontier when intensified wealth and significant prestige differences had begun to emerge. A parallel between the Plains and the Mundurucu can be found in the increased authority of chiefs owing to their functions as intermediaries between the traders and the Indians. Jablow notes such a florescence of political controls among the Cheyenne [1951, p. 86], and Lewis specifically states of Blackfoot trade [1942, p. 42]:

> "In periods of monopoly [of the Indian trade by one company] the fur trade has a positive effect, that is, it increased the prestige and authority of the chiefs. In periods of competition it has a disruptive effect, that is, it weakened the power of the chiefs."

The Plains band chief traded a commodity which was obtained by collective effort. The Mundurucu chief served as middleman in the pre-rubber period when trade in manioc flour, which was also communally produced, was of primary importance. But he eventually lost his position when individually produced rubber became predominant. The Bororo Indians of northeastern Brazil have been in contact with civilization longer than the Mundurucu, but, according to Wagley and Galvão, the village chiefs and extended family heads still have a central role in the trading of collectively produced manioc flour and palm oils [1949, pp. 26-31]. It seems apparent that, lacking some other basis for political authority, it is difficult for leaders to maintain control over trade in individually-produced goods.

W
121
177
435

Our formulations, in effect, state that when certain acculturative factors, defined functionally rather than formally, are present, the core of a culture will change in expectable and predictable ways. These formulations assume the concurrency of certain other preconditions, which, though well worth investigation of themselves, can be regarded as given factors for methodological purposes.

This can best be exemplified in our present cases by reference to the basic, though inccompletely explained, acculturative factor common not only to the Mundurucu and Montagnais but to most primitive peoples throughout the world. This factor can be stated simply as follows: When goods manufactured by the industrialized nations with modern techniques become available through trade to aboriginal populations, the native people increasingly give up their home crafts in order to devote their efforts to producing specialized cash crops or other trade items in order to obtain more of the industrially made articles. The consequences of this simple though world-wide factor are enormous, even though they vary in local manifestation. The phenomenon is of such a high order of regularity that special explanations must be sought for the few departures from it.

The main hypothesis arising from the present study is that: When the people of an unprivileged, native-society begin with this product trade to participate in the nation and economy through individual effort, the structure of the native culture will be destroyed, and the final culmination will be a culture type characterized by individual families having delineated rights to marketable resources and linked to the larger nation through trading centers. Trappers, trappers, and no doubt other collectors come under this general statement.

Robert F. Murphy

University of California
Berkeley

Julian H. Steward

University of Illinois

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

stone and alive and strong. The *wirakú* is evidently a rather abstract notion of a mystic force that is an attribute of many classes of beings. But beyond this minimal explanation there is a degree of permissible deviation in interpretation. Some informants said that the *putcka ñi* was a *wirakú*, but others said that it was merely found in a *wirakú*. Another body of conflicting information pertained to the belief that there was only one *putcka ñi* but that it could simultaneously be found in many places. Again, a minimal explanation was given that there is but one *putcka ñi*, but it is divided into many. Deeper questioning drew rather different answers from different informants. In this, and elsewhere, I have given the most common explanation. It is to be understood, of course, that a range of variant belief and practice is to be found in all aspects of culture.

Evil Spirits

In spite of the great power to do harm possessed by the spirits associated with the animal world, the Mundurucú do not look upon these supernaturals as inherently evil or malignant. They attack people only when unjustly provoked and are beneficial when properly propitiated. Since man knows the rules that must be followed to maintain the benevolence of the spirits of the animal world, their vengeance is due to human frailty and not to supernatural caprice or malevolence. The proper attitude toward this class of supernaturals is one of respect and caution, and not of intrinsic fear.

However, the Mundurucú believe in other spirits, some of which are dangerous at all times and which attack humans without provocation. The most powerful of these is the class of spirits called *Turupari*, belief in which is extremely widespread among the Tupian-speaking peoples of South America. The Mundurucú recognize three types of *Turupari*. The first is said to be composed of the real *Turupari* and includes the souls of people who have been killed by attacks of the *Turupari*. Another type of *Turupari* is that created by sorcerers to accompany their souls on predatory journeys. These *Turupari* are neither as prevalent nor as powerful as the first type, but they are, nonetheless, greatly dreaded. The last category of *Turupari* includes the fresh-water porpoises that inhabit the Amazonian rivers. The porpoises are believed to swim in the rivers only by day; at night they are transformed into handsome men or beautiful women who dress in white clothes and travel on land. These are believed to be the least dangerous of all the *Turupari*, although they are still considered malevolent and capable of attacking humans.

Mundurucú shamans report that the porpoise class of *Turupari* frequently complain to them that the other *Turupari* are the real demons and that they themselves suffer from their assaults. This third class of *Turupari* is distinguished from the first two types by other characteristics, also. Only the porpoise-spirit travels on land; the others travel through the air. The porpoises are visible to all people in their nocturnal human form, and their beauty frequently leads the unwary to approach too closely. The sorcerer-created *Turupari* and those whose lives and souls were taken by the *Turupari*, however, are invisible to all but the shaman.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 These *Yurupari* make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air.
925 Though the porpoise *Yurupari* are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other *Yurupari* is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 All types of *Yurupari* travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peri-
753 pheries of villages, and, consequently, few Mundurucú venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the *Yurupari* is a magical stone that it throws at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the *Yurupari* is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 There are no means by which attacks of the *Yurupari* can be prevented, but
755 Mundurucú shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the *Yurupari* while
791 in the field because the Mundurucú informants hesitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Mundurucú. The priests translated the Devil as *Yurupari*, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the *Yurupari*." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of *Yurupari* beliefs shared by the Mundurucú and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 One of the commonest beliefs of *Yurupari* in the Amazon Basin is that of the
925 fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian caboclos, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to ensnare victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Itá the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Mundurucú *Yurupari*, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Mundurucú also believe in
776 the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept
171 of the porpoise type *Yurupari* was borrowed from the civilized population. If
177 this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

* Wagley, 1953, p. 340.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

phenomenon is not at all unusual in South America; Wagley and Galvão report the Tenetehara belief in the demon, Zurupari, to have been borrowed by the Indians from the local Brazilian population.[7] Similarly, the Tupinambá culture hero, Tupan, became a mythological figure in many Brazilian tribes through the active agency of the Jesuits. 776 171 171

Another instance of this type of diffusion and syncretism may exist in the Mundurucú belief that the *Turupari* take the souls of their victims in order to recruit their own ranks. This may well be an aboriginal idea, but it corresponds suspiciously to the classical missionary teaching that the souls of sinners are taken by the *Turupari*, or Devil.[8] The absence of any concept of sin in the Mundurucú belief is not surprising, for missionaries have labored for generations without noticeable results, to inculcate the idea of sin and punishment among them. 776 177 797

The *Turupari* attack all people regardless of age or sex, but a class of spirits known as *ahk* is dangerous only to infants. There are hordes of *ahk* wandering over the earth, for the shadows of all people turn into this spirit upon death. Only the transformed shadows of little girls are dangerous to infants, however. The Mundurucú believe that these *ahk*, like all little girls, want to take the children for themselves, and they rob the child of its life to do so. 776

Like the *Turupari*, the *ahk* kills its victims by throwing a magical stone into them. The *ahk* is clearly visible to the shaman as a little person no more than a foot high; its skin is either black or white, and it is always very beautiful. To ordinary people unendowed with shamanistic powers, the *ahk* is visible only as a fleeting shadow. It is not at all remarkable, therefore, that anxious Mundurucú mothers often see *ahk* on the paths between the villages and the bathing places. These paths are considered to be especially dangerous, but the *ahk* also attacks in the village on days when most of the people are abroad, and only one or two women or girls remain in the village to tend the infants. 776

As a rule, the Mundurucú believe that safety from all supernaturals can be gained by numbers; the various malevolent beings are always especially dangerous outside the village and to the lone person. This idea functions to provide supernatural support for sociability and cooperation, and few Mundurucú hunt, fish, or garden alone, nor does any woman willingly go to bathe or draw water by herself. To be sure, there are other, more concrete and persuasive reasons for Mundurucú gregariousness, but supernatural concepts rationalize and support this aspect of the social structure. 776 571

The shaman must be called to cure an attack by the *ahk*, but there are also means by which such attacks can be prevented. Children are made immune by frequent baths in a solution of water and the crushed leaves of an unidentified shrub, and a piece of ginger root is almost always hung on the child's *tipoia*, or carrying sling, as protection against the *ahk*. Also, mothers bite off and spit out pieces of the ginger root as they walk along the paths between the villages and the bathing places in the belief that this will avert molestation by the spirit. 776 751

[7] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 102.

[8] It is equally possible that this represents a modification of an aboriginal concept of the Turupari. Métraux (1928, p. 16) notes the antiquity of this belief among Tupian groups, and the Mundurucú might well have shared this element.

vine in hot water and applying the mixture to the stomach. The other consists of the trunks of very young buriti palms crushed in water. Part of this mixture is drunk, and the rest is applied externally to the torso of the sick person.

8. *Ok pipé*, or intestinal pain, is caused by the same *cauã* as *ipon pipé*, or stomach-ache. However, the term *ok pipé* is in reality reserved for dysentery, for it is always accompanied by severe diarrhea. The medicines used for stomach pains are considered effective in the relief of intestinal pains also, but two additional cold remedies are used as specifics for the diarrhea. The roots of a certain shrub are boiled in water, part of which is taken internally and the rest allowed to steam below the hammock. The leaves of this shrub are also applied to the abdomen as a poultice. The same use is made of the leaves of the muriri pagé, a water plant. The local Brazilians also boil the leaves of this plant and place the steaming pot below the hammock of a bewitched person. The vapors are believed to cause an evil object to fall out of the victim's body.

9. *A pipé*, or headache, is treated by mixing *envira de castanheira* in water and applying the solution to the head. Unripe Brazil nuts are also grated into water and similarly applied. Both remedies are considered cold. The nature of the *cauã* that causes headache was not known by the informants interviewed.

10. The tenth and last ailment is a three-stage sickness generally known by the name applied to its first stage, called *ajowaõ*. In this primary phase, the afflicted man or woman becomes unhappy and listless and eats mud, soap, and other inedible substances. The symptoms increase in severity in the next stage, or *pushá*, and the victim becomes thin, yellow, and "bloodless." Finally, the patient passes into the state known as *tashokot*, at the end of which he usually dies. During the final illness, the person's soul sometimes becomes one of the dreaded wandering souls. The symptoms are descriptive of the chronic forms of a number of illnesses, such as malaria, dysentery, and jaundice. The Mundurucú attribute it to a *cauã* made of roasted earthworms rolled into a ball and spread in the air. No remedies were known.

A person can be afflicted by more than one *cauã* at a time, and the shaman often recommends a number of herbal preparations. The shaman does not himself administer these remedies, but instructs the kinsmen of the sick person in their use. They then collect the proper herbs and apply them.

The techniques used by the Mundurucú shaman are so widely distributed throughout eastern South America that any attempt to trace their provenience would be overly lengthy. The shaman's use of tobacco smoke and the techniques of sucking and massage are almost universal in the Amazon area. Of equally wide distribution are the use of herbs and the various methods of applying them. Infusions, external applications, and steam baths are, as Lowie indicates,[7] known among a number of tribes of the region.

One aspect of Mundurucú herbal medicine worthy of further discussion is the division of remedies into hot and cold categories. This distinction is made throughout most of Latin America with regard to both medicines and food. The Mun-

[7] Lowie, 1946, pp. 33-42.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

279 171 durucú, however, do not classify their foods in this manner, suggesting that the concept was perhaps borrowed from their Brazilian neighbors together with certain medicinal recipes. Furthermore, although the list of diseases and remedies is undoubtedly incomplete, it is significant that only twenty-four herbal medicines were reported. A much longer list could be collected among rural Brazilians of the area, who also use most of the same herbs employed by the Mundurucú.* This leads immediately to the question of whether the civilized inhabitants of the Amazon borrowed the medicinal preparations from the Indians or whether diffusion operated in the reverse direction. Although the use of herbs by the Indian population of the Amazon is undoubtedly a pre-Columbian practice, and although diffusion probably operated in both directions, it is very possible that the greatest borrowing was by the Indians. This is probably true for the Mundurucú, although we cannot be so certain for the first Indian groups encountered by the Portuguese. The herbal knowledge of these coastal tribes is, of course, crucial to the question.

753 The Mundurucú theory of disease exists side-by-side with certain sound empirical observations on the subject. They are well aware that epidemics are contracted through contact with white people. For example, when either my wife or I caught a cold, the Mundurucú avoided close proximity to us. Even on those occasions when we fell ill after an epidemic had already developed in the village, they were inclined to blame us. Also, they recognized that residence along waterways or near swamps was often accompanied by fevers (malaria), and they knew that the savannah villages were therefore more salubrious. Both contagion and the unhealthfulness of certain locales were loosely connected with the prevalence of the sorcerer's evil objects, or *ewaíi*, despite the contradiction implied. However, in this as in many other lines of thought, the Mundurucú do not push logic to its conclusion, for the roots of the supernatural concepts are social and not intellectual. The empirical observations and supernatural concepts coexisted with little effort on the part of the Mundurucú to integrate them, if, indeed, they were aware of the mutual antipathy of the two.

757 755 Moreover, despite their supernatural explanation of disease, the Mundurucú freely sought the rational medication, that we provided. Every day, a number of people came to our house for treatment, some from other villages; in only a very few cases did we have to seek out the sick and persuade them to accept our aid. Our experience in this matter was not unique, for both the mission and the Indian Post dispensed large quantities of medicine to Mundurucú patients. Not even the shamans resisted treatment; many were, in fact, our most faithful patients.

There are a number of reasons for this lack of resistance to Western medicine by the Mundurucú. Through long contact with the whites, they had come to recognize the efficacy of the white man's medicines, especially in the treatment of diseases they knew to be associated with the civilized population. Some even knew the names of specific remedies; I had the unusual experience of having a tattooed, semicivilized Indian ask me for "*vaíli*."

* Note also the many herbal remedies reported by Wagley (1953, pp. 341-352) from the Amazon River town of Itá.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Perisuit, the young man who makes an incredible journey through the forest and returns home more animal than human. The Mundurucú visualize themselves as hunters and voyagers of the forest, and the odyssey of Perisuit has deep meaning for them. They are also warriors, and several of the tales abound with head-hunting episodes and warfare. And some are tales of interminic strife, which, to a Mundurucú, is one of the most horrible eventualities imaginable. 538 773

The reader familiar with European mythology will recognize many thematic similarities, either independently invented or diffused, in Mundurucú tales. And the student of lowland South American mythology and folklore will see in the Mundurucú another example of the widespread dissemination of tales, in whole or in part, throughout the area. No attempt has been made toward any exhaustive distributional analysis of this material, and only a few of the more interesting parallels have been noted.

The Karusakaibi Cycle of World Creation

The major creation legends of the Mundurucú revolve around the figure of the culture hero, Karusakaibi. Métraux has made the apt suggestion that this personage merits the title of "transformer" rather than "creator" and compares him to Maira, a figure widespread in Tupian mythology.[1] But apart from this rough similarity of roles of the two culture heroes, the Mundurucú creation legends seem to be quite divergent from those of most other Tupian groups. The Tupian grandfather personage, subsumed under the names of Monan, Mira-Monan or Sumé, is absent, as are the twins commonly found in Tupian creation myths.[2] Despite these points of difference in the structure of the tales and in the main actors, there are numerous parallels of episode and theme between the Mundurucú creation cycle and the oral literature of Tupian and other South American groups. 773 538 171

The first story of the Karusakaibi legend shows a marked resemblance to a Christian-influenced tale collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara and entitled by them, "Creation of Wild Pigs."[3] In both Tenetehara and Mundurucú versions, a culture hero imprisons a group of people in a wall of feathers and converts them into peccaries. Other Tenetehara resemblances include the widespread emphasis on the tapir as a symbol of virility, as derived no doubt from the size of the genitalia of the male of the species. In one Tenetehara story, a woman marries a tapir,[4] and in the corresponding Mundurucú tale the culture hero transforms his sexually precocious son into that animal. Another widely distributed theme is found in the discovery of humans in the underworld. Nimuendajú relates an Eastern Timbira story in which the discovery is made by a man digging for an armadillo,[5] whereas in the Mundurucú episode the armadillo

[1] Métraux, 1950, p. 87.

[2] The Mundurucú denied all knowledge of episodes concerning twins and even claimed that twins were an unknown phenomenon in their own society. It is interesting to note that though other forms of infanticide were freely admitted, they specifically disavowed the killing of twins. They are not and were not a genetically isolated population, and I assume that the practice exists but that there was very strong resistance to giving this information.

[3] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 134.

[4] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 140-142.

[5] Nimuendajú, 1946, pp. 247-248.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

773
538
171

himself makes the find. In the further development of the Mundurucú story the culture hero pulls a number of peoples out of the underworld, but his cord breaks and many are left behind. This theme is distributed beyond South America, as in the Magic Flight passage found in the first tale of the Karusakaibi cycle.

3. KARUSAKAIBÍ AND THE WILD PIG

*539

In times long past, Karusakaibi lived in the village of Uacupari. This settlement was not at the site of the modern Uacupari, but was near by.

During one dry season Karusakaibi and all the people of the village were out hunting in the forest, where they lived in temporary bean-tos. That of Karusakaibi was separated from those of the other people, and he stayed there alone with his son Korumtan. The people killed a great deal of game, but in that time there were no tapir, wild pig, or veado capoeira; the only equivalent of the wild pig was the catitú. Karusakaibi, however, hunted the sambú bird to the exclusion of all other game, and every day he sent Korumtan to the bean-tos of his sisters to trade his kill for game that their husbands had taken. On the first three days that Korumtan went to the bean-tos of his aunts, they said to him, "We do not have any meat, but we will get you some." On the fourth day the aunts became angry with the boy and said to him, "Your father hunts only sambú which is no good to eat, and we always have to give you food. We do not have any." Korumtan began to cry and went away. The sisters called him back, offering him food, but he would not return.

The boy returned home crying, and Karusakaibi asked him what had happened. He replied that the aunts had scolded him because the sambú did not please them. Karusakaibi said, "They will pay for this," and sent his son outside to gather the feathers of the parrot, the mutum, the jacú, and the sambú and to bring them back to him. There were many feathers outside, for Karusakaibi had killed many birds, and the boy gathered them and brought them back. The father then transformed his son into a small bird, the *tuakirwajajat*, and sent him out to surround the bean-tos of all the other people with the feathers. In this disguise, Korumtan flew around the bean-tos and planted the feathers in the ground, quills first. As he went about his task, he sang the song of the bird. He was nearly out of feathers when someone in one of the bean-tos called out, "Who is that singing out there," and threw a piece of burning firewood at him. The boy flew away and returned to his father.

Karusakaibi asked the returned son, "Did you put all the feathers in the ground?" The boy said that he had not finished, and his father sent him out for more feathers. He replenished his supply and finished his task in two more days.

Upon completion of his chore, Korumtan reported to Karusakaibi, and the latter told him, "Now go back and tie the feathers together at the top." For this purpose he transformed the boy into a frog and made the feathers grow to a great size. The boy, in the guise of a frog, returned to the encircled bean-tos and climbed a tree, singing the song of the frog, "pik, pik, pik . . ." as he tied the tips of the feathers together. When he finished, the bean-tos and their environs

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

multitude of other beasts of every species who were also pursuing the woman and her daughter, intent upon eating them. 539x

After the frog had shot and killed all the animals, he ordered the woman to skin them and to put their meat on the bakeriest and their hides in the fire. She did this, and there were so many that she was completely blackened with soot when she finished. Then the frog told her, "Go take a bath, but look only upstream and do not look behind you." He did not explain this order to her. The woman went to the stream and bathed, and the dirt from her body turned the stream black. This dirt was acting upon the fish like timbó, and they began to come to the surface, betting their tails three times before dying. The woman heard this sound and turned around to see what it was. All the fish immediately came back to life again and swam away. At this point the frog came down to the stream to collect the dead fish. When he saw that there were none, he asked the woman if she had looked around. She admitted that she had, and the frog told her that if she had not done this people would not have to go into the forest in search of wild timbó. Instead, fish would have been killed by the dirt from the bodies of backing women.

35. THE MAN WHO LIVED ON SMOKE

There was once a man whose only food was tobacco smoke. Without tobacco smoke he would die. He was so dependent upon tobacco that, when he ran out of it, he filled a gourd with smoke and drank from it.

One day he went to the forest to get Brazil nuts and brought along some tobacco and a gourd full of smoke. He smoked all the tobacco during the journey and began to drink the smoke from the gourd. He drank sparingly, but still he consumed all the smoke when only halfway up the tree. Since he could not live without it, he fell down to the ground dead. However, his body disappeared.

To this day people must plant tobacco only among the burned pieces of wood that lie about in the garden.

TALES OF ANIMALS AND PEOPLE

This last group of legends includes a somewhat varied assortment of stories that concern animals or people or, commonly, the two in interaction. The first story explains that dogs originated from a union between a girl and a dog in human form. Two other stories also deal with the domesticated dog. In tale 37 two dogs burst out of the eyes of a burning demon, and tale 38 tells how the inhabitants of the Land of Dogs took revenge upon a Mundurucú by feeding him human [illegible]. 538

Tales 37 to 40 are united by the common theme of hostility between father-in-law and son-in-law, an antagonism that seldom erupts into open quarrels in Mundurucú society. The story entitled "The Origin of the Alligator" tells of a man who eats his son-in-law, but who is finally outwitted by a son-in-law who escapes a series of traps. The structure of the tale bears a strong resemblance to a Tenetehara legend about a vulture father-in-law* and to two Tukuna myths 538 171 606

* Wagley and Galvão, 1948, pp. 150-151.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

538 collected by Nimuendajú.[a] "The Man Who Married the Guariba Monkey" is in
171 many respects almost identical with a folktale of the same name reported by Roth
606 from the Arawak of British Guiana.[b] An interesting note in the Mundurucú version is an incestuous union between the monkey-woman and her son. Tale 39 deals with the mucura father-in-law's attempts to imitate the feats of his nonhuman son-in-law and his consequent death. The story is clearly linked to the Tenetehara "Opossum Takes a Son-in-law."[c] Another variation of the theme of union between two species is found in tale 40, in which the deer unknowingly marries a jaguar-girl. A similar story is reported from the Tukuna;[d] both Mundurucú versions include an episode in which the son-in-law must maintain a normal demeanor in the face of the wife's family.

Included in the following collection are four stories about the land tortoise,
538 a notorious prankster in the folklore of the Amazon. Tales about the land tortoise are well represented in collections of Brazilian oral literature, and Charles F. Hartt devoted an entire volume to these stories.[e]

Three stories concern humans who made love to animals. Although this is a common theme in the region, it is worth while to note that the Mundurucú story of a man's love for a sloth has parallels in Cavina[f] and Guiana Arawak[g] folklore. Also, stories of a liason between a woman and a snake are found among both the Mundurucú (tale 49) and the Tenetehara.[h]

The last two stories in this section are of great interest. Tale 57 is an obvious rendition of the story of Hansel and Gretel, although the actors are spiders, and the wicked witch appears as a Yurupari. It should be noted that the cruel stepmother is missing in the Mundurucú version, as she is in the legend "Babes in the Wood," collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara.[i] Finally, it is fitting that the last Mundurucú myth (58) to be related should be the one that explains their acceptance of the whites. Although the idea that the Mundurucú once owned the present site of the city of Belém has no basis in truth, it is quite accurate to attribute their involvement with the whites to their desire for manufactured articles. This realism is consistent with the common recognition of the modern Mundurucú that needs are cumulative.

36. ORIGIN OF THE DOG

X539 Dachekorú had arrived at her first menses. She therefore stayed in the house alone when her mother went to the garden and her two brothers set out for the hunt. After they had all left, a young man entered the house. His name was Karupitabí, and he was not a human at all but a dog in human form. However, at that time there were no dogs in the villages of people as there are today.

[a] Nimuendajú, 1952, pp. 145–146.
[b] Roth, 1915, p. 71.
[c] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 131–134.
[d] Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 150.
[e] Hartt, 1875.
[f] Nordenskiöld, 1924, p. 290.
[g] Roth, 1915, p. 204. This story is slightly variant in that a woman loves a male sloth.
[h] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 149.
[i] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 163–165.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

161 of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Mundurucú in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantini's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Mundurucú population of the upper Tapajós River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Mundurucú should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Mundurucú in the upper Tapajós area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

648 The Mundurucú enjoy a solid position of importance in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and [181] docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of attacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter the Mundurucú were the friends and military allies of the whites. The capitulation of the Mundurucú was a recognition of both superior force and the material advantages to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Mundurucú continued their pursuit of warfare against other tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colo- [727] nists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of the major goals of their wars.

• 171 Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that distinguished the Mundurucú from their Tupian neigh- [273] bors. The Mundurucú have never manufactured any of the common intoxicants of the region, although they are now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

In the sphere of material

culture, the planting and use of cotton were introduced [171] after their contact with the whites, and their only water- [299] craft were bark canoes of the type the German ethnologist [92] Karl von den Steinen saw in the upper Xingú.* The moiety- phratry-clan system of Mundurucú social organization is [61] considerably more complex than most Tupian societies, and the system of kinship nomenclature is correspondingly divergent. Mundurucú religion follows the broad [171] outlines of supernatural beliefs and rites of the area, but there are significant differences in mythology.

These are only a few points of dissimilarity between the Mundurucú and the other Tupian tribes of the coast and lower Amazon region, but when considered with the linguistic data, they are sufficient to suggest a considerable period of independent development. There are also fundamental points of similarity: subsistence techniques are much akin to those found throughout the tropical-forest region of South America, and the Mundurucú are a village-dwelling people. And in common with other tribes of the area, class stratification is absent, political controls are simple, and the fundamental organization of the society is established along lines of kinship.

Certain characteristics lead me to suspect that the Mun- [174] durucú may have originally dwelled south of their present habitat. Their lack of cotton and the dug-out canoe and the absence of cannibalism and alcoholic beverages suggest that they may have come from the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Also, although they were and are industrious horticulturalists, their supernatural beliefs and ceremonies are only marginally concerned with cultivation; their major emphasis in ritual is on hunting. One other factor suggests a more southerly origin. The traditional Mundurucú villages were situated in the northernmost savannah coun-

* Steinen, 1894, pp. 323-325.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

174 try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

181 Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional homeland as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 300 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in 177 search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his [298] first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western [301] style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is [305] a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong 192 in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the [309] younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

• 171 The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely 361 Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

4

kinship and marriage

One of the major points of discontinuity between the Mundurucú and other Tupian-speaking peoples lies in the realm of social organization. The existence of exogamic unilineal descent groups was first reported by Mrs. Louis Agassiz, who visited the Mundurucú of the lower Madeira waters in 1865 and wrote: "The tribe is divided into certain orders or classes. . . . Marriage is forbidden . . . between members of the same order." [1] Farabee, who traveled on the Tapajós in 1915, confused the picture somewhat in his report that the Mundurucú were divided into two classes of "war chiefs" and "peace chiefs" that intermarried.[2] The actual situation was clarified in a paper written by Albert Kruse, O.F.M.,[3] one of the priests of the Cururú

[1] Agassiz, 1868, p. 220.
[2] Farabee, 1917, p. 127.
[3] Kruse, 1954.

dependence from each other that is not conducive to marital stability. The husband may leave with little difficulty, and frequently does. The wife's lack of mobility makes it more difficult for her to break the marriage on her own initiative, but if the groom incurs the displeasure of the father-in-law, he is often told to leave. The divorced man either returns to his native village or wanders in search of another wife.

That the stability of Mundurucú marriages depends primarily upon the growth of affective bonds between the mates and a common interest in their children gives us a certain insight into the workings of the social system. There has recently been some discussion on the relation of marital stability to mode of descent and types of social unit, as revealed by comparative analysis of some selected African societies.[14] These have shown that marriage tends to be more enduring in patrilineal than in matrilineal groups and that this tendency is even more pronounced when the bride is incorporated into the membership of her husband's kin group. The Mundurucú are interesting just because they do not conform typologically to the African examples. Despite formal patrilineality, marriage is matrilocal and the man is thrust into affiliation with a cohesive unit of related kinswomen. His wife's primary loyalties are to her household; the husband's remain with the relatives of his natal household. The husband initially has no deep commitment to the wife's household and is under no strong influence to remain if he experiences difficulties with his wife or her kin. Thus far, the Mundurucú approximate the Hopi, for example, with the important exception that the latter are matrilineal also. In matrilineal-matrilocal societies of the Hopi type, every man maintains continuing rights and duties within his matrilineage, and these ties

[14] Cf. Gluckman, 1950; Schneider, 1953; Fallers, 1957.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

582 604 Mundurucú kinship terminology indicates the custom of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter.[18] This avuncular form of union was frequently reported by early chroniclers in South America,[19] and is said by Oberg to exist among the contemporary Kamayurá of the upper Xingú River.[20] Martius specifically reported it to be practiced by the Mundurucú when the sister's daughter had no other prospective husband.[21] Avuncular marriage is nowhere in evidence among the contemporary Mun-
[835] durucú, however, and its practice, past or present, is vigorously denied. Informants regarded such a union as incestuous, despite the obvious fact that a sister's daughter is always of the opposite moiety from that of her uncle.

174 582 604 171 Since there is no reason to doubt the mutually corroborating distributional, documentary, and kinship-terminological evidence for sister's daughter marriage, we must assume that it has not only disappeared but has lapsed under such circumstances as to be absolutely proscribed. James Watson has noted a similar disappearance and taboo of sister's daughter marriage among the Cayuá Indians of southern Mato Grosso.[22] Although his evidence for its former practice is rather tenuous, he assumes it to have existed and to have fallen into abeyance due to the breakdown of the patrilineal extended family organization, and the union's consequent loss of function as a means of cementing relations between such units. Also, he assumes that marriages with the sister's daughter were commonly second unions, and the contemporary absence of polygyny would militate against the practice. Such rea-

[18] See pp. 85-86.

[19] Kinkaid (1932) presents the most complete discussion of this practice and contends that it was a common means of avoiding bride service.

[20] Oberg, 1953, p. 44.

[21] Martius, 1867, p. 383.

[22] Watson, 1958, pp. 118-121.

soning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucú situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates. 179 582 604 711

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often an incest taboo between co-residents, whatever their genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in residence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal. 179 582 604 835

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured. 601 602

[24] Cf. Titiev, 1943, p. 318.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.
[26] White, 1948, p. 28.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

we lit sister; father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters 601
da ã ã father's sister's daughter
we ñi mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
o pit son; brother's son
o ra lit daughter; brother's daughter
ralemyebit grandchildren (all categories)

The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, bears certain points of resemblance to the Tupí-Guaraní type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão.* It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both of whom are subsumed under the term *adjung*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, can be the same person as the father's sister. 582 601 [711]

Further support for this view comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *we ñi*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To classify

* Wagley and Galvão, 1948.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."*

That the patrilineality of Mundurucú society has been of some significance in structuring the terminological system may be inferred from the fact that the identical marriage practices have been found in South America in societies lacking unilineal descent groups and having ordinary bifurcate merging kinship systems.* Thus, the classification of the mother's brother's and sister's children as *we ñ* follows in part from their membership in the moiety opposite to that of Ego. Similarly, the application of the referential term *o djorit* to the sons of the father's sister and the mother's mother recognizes their moiety affiliation and, also, the fact that both are sons of women classified as *adjung*. The latter term, it will be noted, is applied to all older women of Ego's own moiety.

Extension of kin terms is complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety are addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bat*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation are either "older" (*uen yé*) or "younger (*o kit*) brother." On the descending generations there are only "sons" (*bokit*) and "grandsons" (*tapé*). Females of one's own moiety are called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety are addressed as "daughter" (*da ñ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú have "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapé*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety are addressed as

* *Ibid.*, p. 120.
* Cf. Oberg, 1953, pp. 44, 90; Gillin, 1938, pp. 95-96.

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

459 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their ex-
448 cursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main busi-
577 ness is with their own patron, they often make side trips
648 to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

• 171 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent,
648 and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves, but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the
[123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural
648 interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual
649

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study. For it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock * is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

* Ibid., pp. 301-302.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

determined comparatively: cross-cultural studies of social and cultural change may well use the factors of ecological adaptation and types of relationship between social systems as constants. This is a different common denominator than the genetic one suggested by Fred Eggan as a means toward controlled comparison,[8] but it has been used by Steward and myself in a comparative analysis of the rubber-tapping Mundurucú and the Indian trappers of Canada.[9] In the latter study, we attempted to demonstrate that the two populations experienced similar relationships with mercantilist, extraction economies, which entailed similar ecological adaptations. Both groups underwent disturbances of traditional patterns of postmarital residence; and both eventually underwent transitions in which the population became reorganized into loose aggregations in which larger bonds of economic dependency were transferred to patrons.

Finally the relevance of the present work for the study of "acculturation" must be considered, for I have given little attention to the borrowing of the symbolic forms of Western culture by the Mundurucú. The term "acculturation" has had a varied history and much ink has been spilled over its definition. It is generally defined as comprising those changes that take place as a consequence of culture contact. Its application in the past, however, has usually referred to the absorption of the content of European culture by a primitive group. Acculturation studies have been characterized by a concern with the phenomenon of diffusion, although on a large scale, and with the processes through which the content of other cultures is accepted and incorporated. Although such studies are interesting and valuable, I have not chosen acculturation as

[8] Eggan, 1954.
[9] Murphy and Steward, 1956.

/4 cont./

|4 Tocantins appears to have provided some additional material on Mundurukú agriculture. But his work is not available to me at the moment.

*24| [22] The Handbook of South American Indians summarizes the subject in these few lines: "The Mundurukú subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugar cane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in Mundurucu economy." (6)

6. Hawes, 1948: 272.

*24| 12| [71] And this is all, more or less, that is known of these Indians' agriculture. The present article, therefore, attempts to amplify this knowledge, although the author is well aware that in many respects, and especially regarding garden methods, the Mundurukú system does not differ materially from that of other tribes in the region, or in the Amazon basin in general. /5/ Practical experience in the matter teaches us that agriculture among the Indians of the Amazon forest allows for slight variations, but not for basic differences.

II. Garden methods

If we regard the agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians as a culture complex, we can easily single out two distinct elements. One is the purely material, manual, or technical element, which will be discussed here. The other is made up of various social factors which render agriculture not a lifeless task or factor, lacking all influence, not an isolated complex within the tribe, but something vitally integrated into tribal life, something upon which the well-being of the community and of the family now depend. In this sense, [82] agriculture itself becomes a social element in native life. (7)

/15 cont./

*241 Also:

192 pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties

262 banana—aku, 11 varieties

cotton—kuru, two varieties

urucú—tyuku, tyuku a

papaya—aiku a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Mundurukú also have a certain number of vegetables which back-

[302] woodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor.

[157] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet

[189] are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 From this list, it becomes clear that the Mundurukú must have

177 had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Mundurukú are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (?)

• [271] 16. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation

/18 cont./

241 177 [171]

of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Mundurukú.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the [36] Mundurukú, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Through this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Mundurukú and were, for the most part, adopted [197] by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquisitions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grasslands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour exemplifies this process. In the old days, the Mundurukú were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not [50] know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which sometimes they even roasted on stone (slab)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Mundurukú of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Mundurukú of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial pur- [49] poses. Martius, Spix, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Mundurukú of the Tapajós carried on with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the more usage of a plant

241 177

/18 cont./

241 10. Replanting—yabi kudn or waraben yup maum. Once the garden has been torn up, that is, when the harvest is completed, the plot is abandoned and lies fallow. When the soil is very good, a replanting is attempted. The ground is again weeded and cleared, and if the need exists, the refuse of the field—branches or small shrubs—are burned. The new planting is done. This replanting process is also used in urgent cases, when the Indian is unable because of illness or some other circumstance to prepare a new plot. When a replanting is done with the sole purpose of taking advantage of the soil, a new plot is almost invariably cleared, although it is small and sometimes adjacent, merely enlarging the old one. The Indian knows perfectly well that the yield of a replanting is much smaller than that of a new garden. Because of this, he must supply the portion which the replanted ground will fail to produce. Frequently, the fallow or newly turn-up field is used merely to plant banana trees, if the soil is appropriate.

Nowadays, gardens are indispensable to the Mundurukú's existence. He is still a hunter, a fisherman, and a gatherer of wild fruit. But without the gardens, he could not survive. He himself would regard as absurd the thought of subsisting merely on hunting and gathering. He knows how to utilize his gardens and the plants he cultivates, extracting from them a series of by-products which contribute to his subsistence. (10)

241 171

10. It is rather interesting to compare the native agricultural methods with those of the peasants on the lower Amazon. Wagley, in his study of "Uma comunidade amazônica /An Amazonian Community/" (1957: 100 pp.), describes, in more general terms, the same procedure of garden clearing, planting, and cultivation, in short, of horticulture, among

/19 cont./

*24/ 191

the peasant population of "Itá." Let us note here /19/ merely some key terms: choice of the site and use of fallow plots (:101), clearing and felling (:102), burning and planting (:104), chief cultivated plants (:102), secondary cultures (:104), replanting (:104). This comparison, in fact, corroborates the statement by the same author that in the lower Amazon "the basic agricultural methods have changed little since aboriginal times" (:101). The Tenetehara, a Tupi tribe of Maranhão (Wagley and Galvão, 1949), also use agricultural methods and processes which are in many respects actually identical to those observed among the Mundurukú.

III. Social factors

*24/ Since agriculture is one of the bases of Mundurukú subsistence, it is not surprising that it should also be reflected in the social life of the tribe. Certain social factors /19/ are determined or influenced by the garden-agriculture complex. I shall allude chiefly to the threefold relationship of:

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor;
2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance;
3. Garden and tribal group: non-seminomadic migrations.

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor between the sexes:

422 462 Among the Indians, there is ordinarily a rule or agreement whereby each person is the owner of what he acquires, makes, or produces.

/22 cont./ This cooperative labor

*24/ 42/ exists in fact up to a point in the villages, and must be understood within the framework of the division of labor and its juridical bases, which apply first and foremost to the right to private or individual property. As regards garden matters, we are dealing with the joint task of two social elements, male and female, and their respective cycles of labor. Men and women, however, even after they marry and form a family, do not lose, through marriage, their individual property rights to their part of the garden, for the Indian is basically an individualist and does not recognize communal property rights. To compensate for this, they have recourse to a concept which we might call "right of indemnification" and which refers to the communal usufruct of the plot by the man, the wife, and, of course, the children for whom they are responsible.

*24/ 42/ It is well to explain this matter of plot ownership in greater detail.

I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between the owner of the plot, and the owner of the labors performed on this plot and of the results obtained.

The land, in the forest and even within the area occupied by the tribe, has no owner. Anyone may clear a plot wherever he wishes. But once the site has been chosen, it becomes a property for the entire period while it is producing: it is then the man's property. After it has been abandoned, however, it becomes once more anybody's and everybody's land, unmanured land. /23/ (12) There only

12. Among the Tenetehara, also a tribe of the Tupi group, a similar phenomenon is observed. "Garden lands, that is to say, lands on which people have expended labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But as soon as he has

/13 cont./

*241
423
[171]

harvested all his crops and abandoned the land to the secondary growth which begins to cover it. It may be used by anyone." /Cited in English/ (Wagley and Galvão, 1949: 50).

exists, therefore, a temporary property right, while /the plot/ is being used: a right that might more aptly be termed of usage or usufruct.

This concept is complemented by the other facet of the matter, involving the labors /expanded on/ and the products of the plot. Included here is the aggregate of the men's and women's tasks (in accordance with the cycles of labor); and the family, which in itself forms a small community, asserts its rights.

*241
421
462
594

The concept of this right to seemingly communal property derives from the division of labor between men and women. By individual right, each is the master and owner of what he produces, makes, etc. The man prepares the field, the clearing (kat), and is the owner of it. Strictly speaking, therefore, the woman plants on alien property (i.e., the man's or husband's) and pays him for the usufruct of this right, later on, with the produce of her planting. In other words: as indemnification for his preparation of the plot, the man or husband may share in the produce of her planting. On the other hand, the woman is the owner of the planting, and the man or husband cannot, according to the right of private property, enjoy the fruits of someone else's planting, even if it be his own wife's. He does, however, acquire a certain right to the planting, not of property but of usufruct, because his clearing labor made its existence possible. The woman thus has the obligation to allow her husband the usufruct of her planting, within the framework of the division of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with reciprocal rights (or, inversely, duties) which are normalized and counterbalanced by the right of "indemnification." Indeed, in terms of the division of labor, this right of indemnification is absolutely necessary. What would the man do with the plot since he cannot plant, this being the woman's

/24 cont./

*241
476
421

assistance, on compensation for the labor rendered to the community. Aside from this statement about a collective garden, the informants also mentioned private family gardens, where they chiefly (but not exclusively) cultivated supplementary, accessory foods, such as bananas, pepper, etc. The data gathered, however, give no clear evidence as to whether this collective garden served for the communal, daily use of the group, or whether it merely existed as a reserve in case of need, in the assistance of the old and incapacitated, in the sustenance of guests, or as a ceremonial garden to contribute to important festivities. Regarding a type of garden among the Tenetehara, used communally but owner privately, see Wagley-Galvão (1948: 139).

•[171]

*241
476

members help each other; and each must assist the others, when their turn comes to prepare their plot. Thus there exists, with reference to this collective work, an elaborate system of revenue and compensation on an egalitarian basis. Days of labor are received, and later this assistance is repaid in kind with days of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with a broad system of mutual assistance. Naturally, the owner of the new plot finds his chief support among /25/ his own kin: adult children, brothers, brothers-in-law, sons-in-law, etc. This mutual assistance, however, is not obtained spontaneously, but through personal invitations proferred individually rather than collectively. The manner of doing this is

[809]

/25 cont./

*241 476 very simple: the assistance is requested and the day and other circumstances are set. There are no invitation dances or things of that sort. It is important for the owner of the plot to set the days of assistance, because he has to provide the mess for that day: meat, fish, tapioca cakes, drink. The continuity or interruption of garden labor depends on the acquisition of this food. When the men are many and the owner of the plot cannot get sufficient food, the work is done in shifts. The site is cleared for a day or two, and then the work is interrupted to hunt or to fish. The felling is done later in the same manner, "as the food comes," as they say. The breaks, or, inversely, the days of work, thus depend on the existing victuals or supplies. (14)

476 171

14. The custom of inviting neighbors and relatives to communal tasks and of setting the respective days also exists, in this same sense of mutual assistance, among the peasants of the lower Amazon. In the area of Santarém, Alenquer, Óbidos, etc., this is called puxirum, "to set a puxirum," "to go to a puxirum," etc. Undoubtedly, this custom has deep roots and originated in ancient times, when the lower Amazon still belonged to the Indians and their villages. In other areas, the puxirum is called ajurí (Negro River) or else mutirão (in the south of the country). Wagley (1949: 106) also reports this cooperative venture as putirão or "invitation." See also Caldeira, 1956.

*241 476 This explains also why men and women, in turn, prefer to work in groups: because they work at the invitation of the owner of the

773 Now it so happens that a large cave actually exists near the
[123] present site of Acupari. The Mundurucu say that even today the grunts of wild pigs and cries of agony may be heard there.

Others state that women's ornaments such as bracelets made of chestnut shells may be found near the cave entrance, as well as other vestiges of the tremendous catastrophe. The Mundurucu dare not enter the cave of Acupari.

Then Caru-Sacaebẽ left with Rairu, the only survivor of the disaster.

Arriving at the place where Necodemoi stands today, he stamped his foot upon the ground, and from the large fissure that resulted he drew one pair of Mundurucu, one of white people, one of Indians, and one of Negroes.

[302] Caru-Sacaebẽ painted the Mundurucu couple in the same fashion as he himself was painted, and this was the origin of the maloca of Necodemos and the beginnings of the tribe, which grew so large and powerful that the earth shook when they marched off to war.

The white people, the Indians and the Negroes set off to populate other lands.

In Necodemos, Caru-Sacaebẽ laid out a field and sowed it, and when the first rains fell there sprouted manioc, maize, sweet potato, yam, cotton, and other food-yielding and medicinal plants.

He taught how to build ovens and how to make manioc flour.

He made a small wooden statue, gave it life, and named it Hanhu-Acauãte; this was his second son.

To provide Hanhu-Acauãte with a mother, Caru-Sacaebẽ took as consort a maiden of the tribe by the name of Chicrichá. [88]

Hanhu-Acauãte grew; some women eluded the vigilance of Chicrichá and seduced him.

Caru-Sacaebẽ changed Hanhu-Acauãte into an ant, and Chicrichá and the guilty women into fish.

Necodemos was already strong and powerful.

773 Caru-Sacaebẽ drew on a high rock between Acupari and
172 Necodemos those symbolic characters which are still to be seen

773 on the hills of Aracuã. He had Rairã snatched away by the clouds,
172 and he himself disappeared from Necodemos, following the course of the Tapajoz; on the left bank of the river, at a height no human hand can reach, he also drew some characters on the cliff of Camagain.

773 And since then no one has known where he is. The Mundurucu faithfully preserve the memory of his deeds, and paint themselves, their wives and their children in exactly the same fashion as Caru-Sacaebẽ was painted.

VI

Appearance of the dog in Necodemos -- Legend

Among all peoples, the dog is looked upon as a faithful friend. The Mundurucu, who are hunting savages, picture the [85] dog in their legends as descended from a maiden of their tribe and from an unknown warrior, who appeared in the maloca and disappeared again without anyone finding out who he was, whence he had come, or where he had gone. He was a deus ignotus.

The story ran as follows. After Caru-Sacaebẽ had disappeared, the Mundurucu of Necodemos continued [89] to hunt, searching every part of the plains and forests. One day, while they were out hunting, an unknown warrior by the name of Caru-Pitubẽ appeared at the maloca.

He went to the ekcá, climbed into a hammock, seized a horn from the roof, and proceeded to blow upon it in a peculiar way. A maiden of the maloca, Iracheru by name, responded to [262] the call and offered the warrior dag [food prepared from Brazil [574] nuts] as a sign of good hospitality.

Caru-Pitubẽ had arrived almost at nightfall.

There was no one else in Necodemos.

Whenever I had the opportunity to enter one of those houses, I always found the women working: some wove hammocks, some made flour, others smoked meat, some cooked, some prepared banana mush, etc.

They never failed to offer me something to eat: now cooked sweet potatoes, now banana mush. [104]

A cheerful and merry Indian woman, her face all painted up with urucu dye in addition to the usual designs, offered me a tremendous caterpillar which she held on her finger. It was a repulsive thing which contracted and stretched convulsively, and the woman insisted upon transferring it to my own hand, telling me that it was something to eat: "Cobi-cobi."

XIV

Symbolic characters drawn on the cliff of Cantagalo, on the banks of the Upper Tapajos, and on the hills of Azeu-cô between Acuperi and Necodemos.

On the left bank of the Upper Tapajos, in the place known as Cantagalo, fifteen figures are to be seen, drawn on the face of a cliff which is about one hundred meters high and which was carved perpendicularly by the stream.

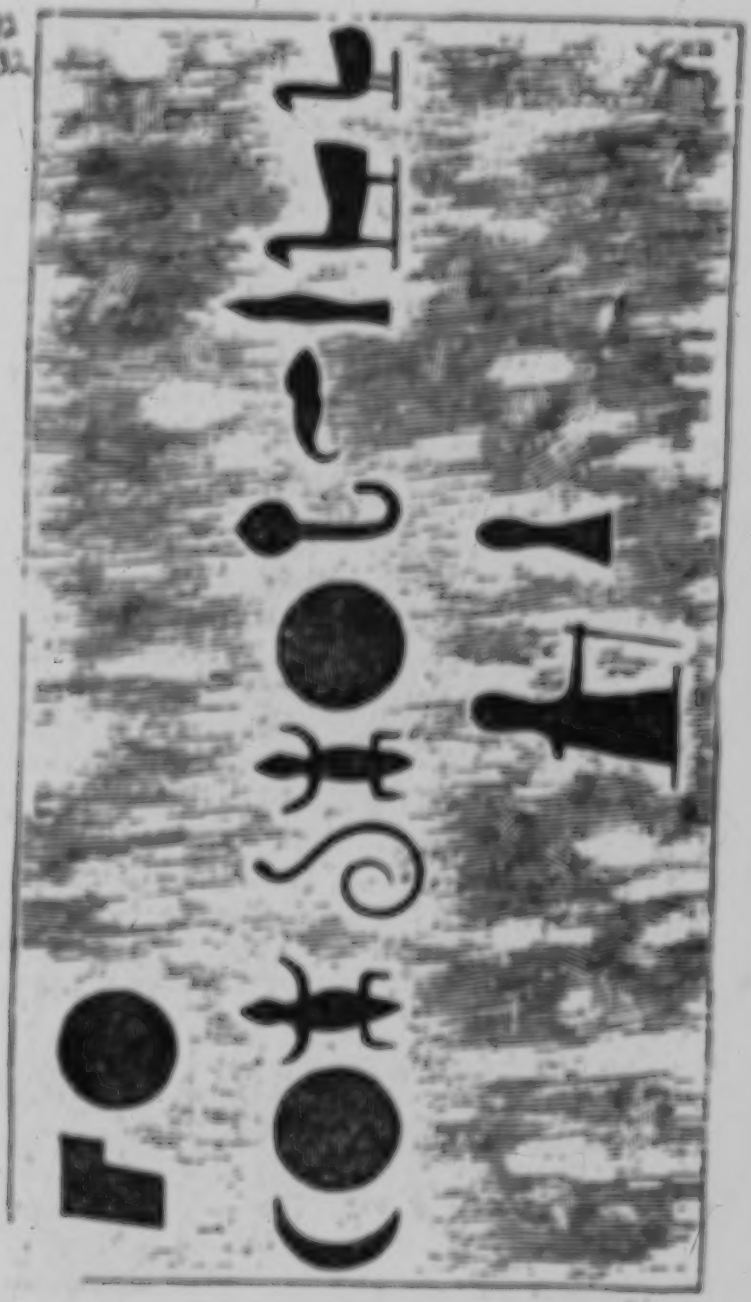
These figures have been there for ages untold: the oldest frontiersmen who explored the Upper Tapajos, and the oldest Mundurucu, found them just as they are but do not understand their meaning.

They are dark red, like ocher, and stand about eight meters above the highest level of the water at the time of its maximum winter swelling.

At the present time it would be impossible for a man to draw them at this height, even with the help of scaffolding, for the current is fierce where the river curves in at the base of the cliff, expecially at the time of year when the water level reaches its maximum height.

1: Tocantins--38 C-6 (1870) 1877 SQ13 Manaharwa SQ13

172
532



172 I shall offer no conjectures as to the origin or meaning of these characters. I shall only point out that Humboldt found characters of the same type similarly located on the banks of the Orinoco [101] at a height inaccessible to human hands.

If I remember correctly, this famous scholar is of the opinion that in remote times the level of Orinoco waters rose to a much greater height than today.

I believe that the same deductions reached by the famous German scholar about the Orinoco would apply to the characters of the Upper Tapajoz.

I made a sketch of the characters on the Upper Tapajoz. I do not know whether they are symbolic.

When I showed them to the Mundurucu of Necodemus and Samuuna (Aikai), they all told me that similar characters are to be found in greater numbers on the hills of Arucuñ, in the midst of the plains which stretch between Acupari and Necodemus. I had no opportunity to see them.

173 Mundurucu tradition holds that Caru-Sacaeñ, after destroying the maloca of Acupari to punish its inhabitants for their ingratitude, went on to found Necodemus, which thus became the cradle of the human race. It was then, according to the same tradition, that he drew these characters between the two villages, as a monument to recall this memorable event. When Caru-Sacaeñ left Necodemus, which had become wealthy and powerful, he went down the Tapajoz River and left some further characters on its banks to preserve more vividly among the Mundurucu the memory of his deeds and of his stay among them. [107]

XV

The Mundurucu pronounce sentence of death against sorcerers. -- Some of the more recent applications of this sentence.

174 As late as the beginning of this [19th] century, Portuguese law burned alive in public squares those unfortunate victims accused of being sorcerers by the credulity and superstition of the

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

304 Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [301] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

312 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 285 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [280] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of murití palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katerer (1901) has published illustrations of a [172] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone [324] objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, munioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 616 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajós River *Mundurucú* have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

much but stood until recently upon the Ituribi, a plain not far from our Curuzu mission.

I shall now give the names of the moieties and of the respective sibs under each moiety:

A. Moiety of the Whites, *i ruiiya'aye*

1. *Ari* tree (m). 2. Cotton bush (m). 3. *Dutye* sparrow hawk. 4. Sloth. 5. Fish otter. 6. *Ikii* sparrow hawk. 7. *Ikupi* wasp. 8. Jahuti [Land tortoise]. 9. Japim [?]. 10. Toad. 11. Macaco de cheiro [Chrysothrix ?]. 12. Macaco prego [Cebus fatuellus]. 13. Piabu [a fish]. 14. Seringueira-Itauba (m) [rubber tree]. 15. Spider. 16. Swamp deer (Sumpfhirsch). 17. Taperibaxeiro (m) [genus Spondias ?]. 18. Wild cat (Wildkatze). 19. *Tara* tree (m).

B. Moiety of the Reds, *i pugiita'aye*

20. Corica [a bird ?]. 21. Cutia [aguti, Dasyprocta]. 22. Jacu [guan, Penelope]. 23. Japu [Cassicus, Ostinops or Xanthornus]. 24. *Kabubum* bird. 25. *Kapak* (Red Jurai ? *Ii'arimuryu pukpak-ruiat*?]. 26. Mãe da lua [a nocturnal bird]. 27. Mutum [curassow, Crax]. 28. Roe-deer (Reh). 29. Red Arara [red macaw]. 30. Saúba [an ant, Oecodoma cephalotes]. 31. Black Arara [black macaw]. 32. *Uyu* wasp. 33. *Ii'aru* tree (m). 34. Cricket (Zirpe).[2]

Traditional Origin of the Sib System

The sibs are supposed originally to have been independent tribes. "Os *sinaes* foram primeiro nações," was told me without my inquiring into this fact. The tribes had been at war with one another. Then came Karusakaibé and united them into one large nation, the Mundurucú confederacy. This great Indian event is supposed to have taken place where the Tapajós Mundurucú now live.

"Who told you this?" I asked my informant, a man who was in his best years. "An old man of the plain told me that," was the answer. In order to be more certain, I had the story repeated later in Mundurucú. This is the translation:

[2] The identifications, given in angular brackets in these two paragraphs, have been added by the editor,—in some cases tentatively only,—from more readily available sources in ZE, JSAP, etc.—Ed.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A -- Analyst

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

"In olden days the *ribu, ribur*, lived very far apart from one another. They warred among themselves. Then they became brothers.[1] Karusakaibe said, 'No more killing! Let us just be brothers.' 'Now let us be gay. Now everything is all right,' said he."

In this manner through Karusakaibe there arose the Mundurucú confederacy. The brave "Black-faces" have done quite right in giving this noble Indian the honorable title "*Our Father*". As they express it, *Karusakaibé uey ebai*, "Karusakaibé is our father."

MYTH OF EARLY MATRIARCHY AND OF ITS ABOLITION

This tale was received in two versions. I shall here relate the shorter of the two.

"In olden days the women were in possession of the Men's House, *Jéu*, while the men lived in the Big House, *Ihga*.

"The men had to do all the work for the women. They had to hunt, fetch firewood, and even provide the mandioca roots and bake the meal. All these things they did. They also carried the water.

"Now, at this time three women—namely, Yanyuléri, the ruler of our people, Taibhura and Paraware—found three *kadaki*. They took these wind instruments in a brook: they caught three little Jeju fishes. They tried the instruments. 'They sound good,' said they. Now they played: they played every day in the forest. Secretly they went there. Then the men became suspicious. 'Where can the women be going all the time?' they said. They hid themselves and kept watch. Then it was that they saw how the women played. Said the men, 'What shall we do?' 'We don't know,' they concluded. Then said the youngest brothers of Yanyuléri, that is Marimarebé and Mariburubé: 'Let us take the *kadaki* away from them. Why, the women folk don't even hunt, whereas we have to take this work upon ourselves alone!' So they spoke, and took the *kadaki* for themselves. They tried them. 'They sound good,' they said. Then they played[2]

[1] Wiatnyen of Winéri appeared in October, 1927. From the signs which they left behind them, our Mundurucú concluded that these people who speak a related language wanted to become brothers.

[2] [See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. — Analy.]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Santarém and Cumaru in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Muras* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (Cawahiba). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Ivrinez, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1796). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796.

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajós in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajós region are said to preserve so much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Ivrinez, 1937).

The size of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajós is not definitely known. Kruse (1936) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apinayé* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still farther south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Rio de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1796 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Nazaréno in this area.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 uncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Iririú Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey.

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them.

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush.

of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only once in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers of the scattered collector population.

Several days and barely 400 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Mundurucú population. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadiatéu, Cabituni, and Jun Tropas. A number of Mundurucú villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and an occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually ragged or ill-fitting clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading posts. Racially, the Mundurucú does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes among the local Brazilians.

If one wishes to reach the village of Cabruá, a typical Mundurucú community of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabituni River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of down-to-dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 200 yards away. The house is usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabruá go there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village, one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from the valley of the Cabituni and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a sun-scorched savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one to the village.

The majority of the Mundurucú now live on the banks of the larger streams of the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there. Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 reside on the Cururú River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated part of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River. But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the historic period and, according to Mundurucú tradition, since the creation of man.

The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Mundurucú architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance precincts and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbrush. And the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

2

the contact period

The Mundurucú explain in the form of legendary history how and why relations were established with the white man: 173 648

> In the old days our grandfathers were still wild and fought against the white men. The whites used to come up our rivers in their canoes, and we always battled. One day a group of them came up, and there was a fight and our men were driven off. Two of our young men were wounded and were left behind. They were captured and taken away.
>
> The next time the white men came we were about to attack when the two men who were captured stood up in the canoe and told us not to do anything as these people were our friends. They then came forward and showed us clothes, knives, axes, and many other good things that the whites gave them. They said that if we gave rubber and *farinha* to the whites, we too would receive these things. The elders decided to do this and ever since we have been friends of the white men. [439]

[p 27]

[127] Yet this Mundurucu had gone nearly mad over the Parintintin head. He would not part with it for an instant. When the time came for me to leave Necodemos, as I shall relate below, he and twelve other Indians escorted me on my eight-day journey through the forest to the headwaters of the Cadeveri. In the course of this trip, when evening came and we had to stop for the night, the Indian would thrust into the ground next to his hammock a staff which he carried expressly [85] for this purpose, and on which he would hang the head, as if on a clothes-rack, covering it carefully with a cloth I had given him.

At dawn, his first glance was for the head: he would place it in his lap, run his fingers through its long hair, and caress it as if it were a beloved daughter.

He only handed me this relic at the last moment, when I had already embarked for my descent of the Cadeveri, and then he still said: "But I wanted it for myself!" I must say I had made him a present of a double-barrelled shotgun, some gunpowder, shot-lead, and other objects. Nevertheless, his gaze followed us until our canoe had vanished down the river.

In Necodemos there was yet another mummified head. It had been the head of a Parintintin warrior. The Mundurucu who owned it, already quite old, did not wish to show it to me and would not talk about it. I did not press the issue. Some of the Mundurucu wore necklaces made from the teeth of enemies they had killed.

I saw children said by my interpreter to be captives taken in the last war. The villagers, however, did not even mention the subject; perhaps they feared that we should want to take their prisoners from them.

V

Legend of Mundurucu beginnings. -- Beliefs and traditions. -- Appearance of "Caru-Sacaebe." -- Ingratitude of the inhabitants of Acupari -- Punishment. -- Necodemos as the cradle of the human race.

[174] It seemed to me that I could distinguish traces of an ancient civilization among these strange people. The Mundurucu

live in a strongly organized republic; for a long time they have made war on their enemies whenever it has pleased them to do so; they pronounce sentence of [86] death on sorcerers; they have a legend of their own beginnings; and they possess beliefs and traditions which are handed down from generation to generation.

Could these people, I wondered, be descendants of Quechua or Aymara who came down from the Andes and settled in these parts? I investigated their traditions with the greatest care, and questioned repeatedly the oldest inhabitants of the maloca as to whether their ancestors might have come from the high and distant lands that lie towards the sun's hiding place. But they invariably answered that it had not been so; the first men to appear upon the earth had founded the maloca of Acupari. Caru-Sacaebë appeared among them and taught them how to hunt; until then the game had been poor; Caru-Sacaebë caused larger game to appear.

He had neither father nor mother; he had a son by the name of Carutaã and a companion by the name of Rairu, who acknowledged him as his master.

One day, Caru-Sacaebë had no luck in hunting. He returned to Acupari and sent his son Carutaã to ask the hunters for some of the fowl -- inhambu and partridge -- which they had killed in abundance.

The hunters however, turned him down and mockingly threw Carutaã the birds' feathers, saying: "Your father, too, is a good hunter."

Thrice Caru-Sacaebë repeated his request; thrice the hunters turned him down.

Then Caru-Sacaebë gathered up the feathers which they had mockingly thrown at Carutaã and thrust them one by one into the ground around the maloca. And suddenly, with one gesture, he changed all the inhabitants of Acupari -- men and women, old people, youths and children -- into wild pigs.

The hungry animals roared and threshed about [87] and were about to scatter, when with another gesture Caru-Sacaebë turned the feathers into high hills.

[77] [78] Pursued on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintin (Parikanfuxs or Uauvivais), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajos with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. *

> * Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas
> Dicionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca
> do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 204.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajós, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several [79] of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on [80] the Tapajós 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Maubé 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,600. **

438

> ** This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajos produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1,95 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Maubé 1,500 and those of Canomé 800. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canamé gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

[174] A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [336] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucús originally

● [74 formed a war-like tribe far in the south along with other fellow tribes-
man with whom they then grew at odds and fought their way toward
the north over the boundaries of their earlier common territory. What
strikes me here as particularly remarkable is the contrast between a
bodily structure according to all reports remarkably uniform and a very
mixed dialect: On the one hand their light skin and the collossally
[142] powerful muscular build makes them appear, in contrast to the other
Indians, like thoroughbreds among ponies and would indicate that they
developed these striking bodily characteristics over a long period of time,
unmixed and under consistent external conditions. On the other hand
[47 words occur in their language which can be considered to be echoes from
tribes living far to the south and the north. *

> "The Mundrucu word for "bird" is nuissa and among the Guaycurus far to the south it is nioche. Several words belong to the Guch or Coco tribe: "heaven," capi Mundr., capu Tamanaco, apex Chiquito. "Tooth (my)": woi noi M., nuoi Moso. "Body": oi tapit M., pitpeté Tamanaco. "Sun": utschi M., veju Accawai, Tamanaco, saache Moxo. "River" is described by the Mundrucus better than in the lingua geral, (where the word is yguacu) by the word icuri, or yghcori, which is to say "fast water"; it is called by the Galibis in Cayenne eicourou (or epouliri), by the Chiquitos ogirus. Two color names: white and red in Mundrucu are yuristat and ipacpec, in Kechuan yurac and paco.

The principal elements of their dialect belong without any question to the Tupi and in particular to the speech as practiced in the north rather than to the Guarani dialect, though to this latter it is more similar in hardness and unwieldiness than to the more fluid and vowel-richer sounds of the lingua geral. * In the table which follows [397]

> "Some relevant examples: oca "house," Mundrucu: ôcka. T. cururú, "toad,"

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in 562
the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The 778
three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's 534
house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[4]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trum- 782
pets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the 778
chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the 534
trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual 614
which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor 422
from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Waru* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundur- 591
ucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" 174
to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tems, despite combining matrilocality and patrilineality. Contemporary informants claim matrilocality to be the normal rule since ancient times, but historical data suggestive of antecedent patrilocality among the Mundurucú comes from the German explorers Spix and Martius, who encountered elements of the tribe near the lower Madeira River in 1819. The reader should be warned that these observers are not completely reliable, and several obvious errors were encountered in their works. We can only verify their information by comparing it with what is reliably known of the structure of Mundurucú society.

According to Martius (1867:393), the Mundurucú were apparently patrilocal, for a man could eject his wife from the household. Every young man, however, had to go through a period of bride service lasting several years (ibid:393). The same writer claimed that when there was no other potential husband available for a young woman, the mother's brother could marry her (ibid:393). This is of some significance, not only because it gives historical confirmation for the previous analysis from kinship terminology (and Martius was not aware of the "sociological" interpretation of kin terms), but also because it tends to bolster the hypothesis of antecedent patrilocality. The practice of avuncular marriage is quite widespread in the Amazon basin and in northeastern South America and the Islands (Lowie 1949:317). In all cases, it is correlated with a period of bride service followed by permanent patrilocality. Both Kirchoff (1932:58) and Metraux (1948:111–12) state that avuncular marriage serves to liberate men from the period of temporary matrilocal residence. Whether or not avuncular marriage had this function among the Mundurucú is not known, but its wide distribution in the Tropical Forest region in combination with initial bride service and patrilocality argues for its former existence among the Mundurucú where, according to Martius, the same pattern was in existence.

The reader will remember that contemporary Mundurucú informants specifically and vehemently deny the contemporary or past practice of avuncular marriage, and this form of marriage was not reflected in genealogies. This is understandable in the matrilocal framework because, although the mother's brother was a member of the opposite moiety to that of his sister's daughter, he was nonetheless a member of the same household until his marriage. In a patrilocal society, the sister's daughter would not reside in the same household and might not even be a resident of her uncle's village. The disappearance of avuncular marriage due to a change from patrilocality to matrilocality would be consistent with much anthropological theorization on the origins of incest prohibitions, whether explained as a result of the necessity to deny sexual access to one's familial intimates, which would disrupt the household (Malinowski 1930:630), or as a result of the need to marry out of the ingroup in order to extend its ties with the larger society (White 1948:425). Titiev (1943:516) has noted the importance of residence in the definition of incest in other cultures:

> "... there are numerous cases in which exogamy is enforced among co-residents even when there is no demonstrable or putative genealogical connection."

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society. 571 [21]

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:524–25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located. 614 422 [776]

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs. 174 621

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[74 621] tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

[344] If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and prematrilocal stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1954) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring clanless groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

[74 591] During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the [77 439] female, household work-group. This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

174 adjustment of the male to a new village was and is not difficult. He was not
591 intergrated into a new household but into a men's house in which he would find fellow clan and moiety members from his own and other villages.

174 Matrilocality, once achieved, sets the residential basis for matrilineality.
614 Murdock (ibid:218) admits the possibility of change from patrilineality to matrilineality only with an intervening stage of bilaterality, but then says (ibid:212) that such a stage is also "probable" in the transition from matrilineality to patrilineality. It seems obvious that all aspects of descent will not reverse at once. Thus, if the pressures that produced matrilocality eventuated in matrilineality, it would be academic to debate whether or not it was a "direct transition," despite an intervening period of bilaterality. The question would merely be which mode of change can be accomplished most rapidly and with least stress. I have previously pointed to the ownership of the child by the wife's family and the taboo on avuncular marriage as matrilineal features in Mundurucú society which probably evolved shortly after the change to matrilocality. Whether or not the Mundurucú would have become matrilineal but for the inroads of the rubber trade, I leave as an open question. It is clear that matrilineal influences from other groups might easily have caused such a change, and it is also apparent that the patrilineal clans underwent a change and no doubt a diminution of function due to loss of their local nuclei. By the same token, patrilineality as a mode of reckoning kinship was weakened by loss of its residential basis.

621 If the Mundurucú were indeed transitional, the very rarity of the case
174 argues in favor of Murdock's hypothesis, especially since he "makes no assumptions about ultimate origins or overall priorities among the several types of social structure" (ibid:219). If, however, assumptions of priorities are taken into consideration, the Mundurucú fit into a developmental framework which can be traced in terms of more clearly deducible priorities of cultural evolution. This continuum would range from the patrilineal hunting band (Steward 1936) through the emergence of the localized clan from such bands (Goldschmidt 1948; Steward 1937) to, perhaps, the nonlocalized patrilineal clan (Titiev 1943). Although there is no proof that the Mundurucú went through the latter stage, it may have occurred as a consequence of population increase due to early horticulture. With intensified horticulture, as among the Mundurucú, matrilocal pressures and eventual matrilineality would result. This evolutionary scheme is a model and not an invariant sequence, for local historical and ecological situations influence particular culture continua, as is evidenced by Mundurucú history. The latter variables operate as codeterminants with the factors introduced by the evolution of technology and economy to produce sequences which are multilinear in nature. The very pluralism of the causal process renders any over-all generalizations on the evolution of social structure statements of probability. The Mundurucú example by itself cannot show what is probable, but it does indicate the possible. A change from patrilocality to matrilocality probably occurred in this typical patrilineal, patrilocal society, and a further transition to the matrilineate was therefore possible. More field work, especially in South America, and re-examination of the existing sources with this hypothesis in mind might well uncover additional examples.

The Relations Between the Mundurucu and the Tupi

Kurt Nimuendajú

197 On the basis of the comprehensive study of the language of the Mundurucu, one of the Indian tribes of Brazil, undertaken by the Rev. Father Albert Kruse, the learned Franciscan missionary and indefatigable explorer of Brazil, Mr. K. Nimuendajú [976] traced the relationship between the Mundurucu and Tupi. He established their kinship, which manifests itself "in vocabulary as well as in grammar. With regard to vocabulary, it is striking that precisely the most important nouns from the categories 'parts of the body' and 'natural phenomena' are without exception related to Tupi. In the field of grammar the close relationship of the pronouns is of great importance. [173] These similarities cannot be possibly explained by the influence of the Apiakás and Parintingtings, quite apart from the fact that, while such an influence might conceivably have been exerted on the Tapajós-Mundurucus and Madeira-Mundurucus, it must be ruled out entirely for the Xingú-Mundurucus, who do not even know the names of these tribes. I, therefore, classify the Mundurucu language with the Tupi family, without saying, however, that the Mundurucus are [174] Tupis ... What little information I have at my disposal makes me doubt that the Mundurucus were originally Tupi.." (Lose Blätter vom Cururú, 1938, p. 80)

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

had doubtless begun long before the establishment of the present mission; it is probable that items of Christian belief have diffused to the Mundurucú and been reinterpreted by them for a period of more than 150 years. These items of belief are now, from the viewpoint of the Indians, Mundurucú ideas. They recognize the affinity between Christian concepts and stories and some of their own, but they shrug off the former by saying that that is the way the priests tell the stories. Some informants thought that the priests had learned them from the Mundurucú—and learned them poorly.

The vast majority of Christian teachings have not, of course, been integrated into Mundurucú culture, and the Indians are exposed to these alien beliefs whenever they visit the mission or are visited by priests. Some of these, as the concepts of sin and damnation, are well known to the people, but make no emotional impact upon them. The idea of sin, especially original sin, is predicated upon the type of internalized authority more characteristic of the members of a complex society. Mundurucú social control is not dependent upon a sense of guilt, and the structure of personal relations is adequate to govern individuals. The Indians look upon this central theme of Christianity with mixed views. Some feel that hell is the particular destination of white people, but others barely bother to think about it at all. This summarizes the attitude of most Mundurucú toward missionary instruction. They rarely disbelieve the priests, for the latter are regarded as wise and sincere men. But their teachings are thought to be those of white men and thus to be true only for white men. There is no single and absolute body of unchangeable truth to the Mundurucú mind. Within their own mythology, for example, there are two separate origins of man; logically, this appears contradictory, but the Mundurucú do not put these beliefs to the test of logic. This statement does not imply that the Indians are illogical. Rather, it merely suggests that they, like most primitives, are not theologians. For this reason, the native and Christian beliefs coexist quite easily; but most Mundurucú have little interest in the latter, although they may not actively resist and reject them.

Social and Economic Changes

Although it is doubtful that Christian proselytization has resulted in a large-scale displacement of native beliefs, the fact still remains that many aspects of Mundurucú religion are in full decline. This decadence is not understandable as the result of a conflict of patterns of belief. Rather we must view religion, with Durkheim, as being in some way an expression of the mode of organization of the society. Also we are not concerned merely with belief, but with the closely connected subject of ritual; and the form of ritual is directly related to the structure of the social group that implements it.

With this thought in mind, we can review some of the major changes that have taken place in Mundurucú society since their contact with the whites. First, the Mundurucú were evidently patrilocal, as contrasted to their later matrilocality, until some time in the early nineteenth century.[10] This change in residence patterns revolutionized Mundurucú social structure. More than 40

[10] See Murphy (1956) for a full discussion of the causes and implications of this change.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

patrilineal clans, ranked loosely into unnamed phratries and divided almost equally between exogamous moieties, persisted, but the residential basis of patrilineality disappeared. Males formerly remained in the house and village of their birth, but now they were dispersed by the new marriage rule. Clans lost their lineage nucleii and correspondingly suffered a loss of function. Bride service had in a sense become permanent, and the men's house, formerly the dwelling of village bachelors and young men in bride service, became a permanent dwelling of the men. 178 174 105

That is essentially the situation in the contemporary savannah villages. But the social organization of the Cururú River settlements marks a further change from the savannah pattern. Matriloculity is still rather vaguely regarded as the ideal residence rule for all but the sons of chiefs, and the custom is followed in a significant number of cases. Actually, however, many marriages are patrilocal, and there is an increasing tendency for couples to become neolocal eventually.

Furthermore, family life and the social division of the sexes has been drastically modified on the Cururú River. The Cururú villages are the result of migrations by nuclear and extended families from near-by savahnah villages and do not represent the simultaneous moves of entire villages. The men's house was never instituted on the Cururú and dwellings were characteristically small. Thus, the Cururú River houses are the residences of one to three related families, whereas those on the savannahs, even under present conditions of depopulation, have an average number of about four families each. Men reside in the same houses as do their wives and children on the Cururú River, and the nuclear family approaches being an independent social and economic unit. Under these conditions the village has little cohesion, and recurrent factionalism results in the proliferation of new and smaller villages. Among these units there are individual ties of marriage and kinship, but the mission provides almost the only context in which the residents of different villages interact in a group.[10]

Other factors have modified Mundurucú social structure and religion. The population is probably about one fourth of what it was 100 years ago;[11] this has resulted not only in greatly reduced villages and households, but it has decreased the number of shamans. Other influences have aggravated this decline. The end of warfare did much to devitalize the Mundurucú and to promote the growing disinterest in the native culture. It also eliminated a whole range of religious ceremonies that formed part of the head-hunting complex. Finally, there has been a profound shift in subsistence base among those Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers. In contrast to the savannah dwellers, who are vigorous hunters, these Indians depend primarily upon fish for protein. This has significance for the religious concepts and activities centered on the animal world and hunting. 178 [184] [262]

[10] The respective social and economic organizations of savannah and Cururú River villages are compared and analyzed with reference to the ecology of rubber collection in another work. (Murphy, 1954.)

[11] According to some sources, this decline has been even greater. Martius (1867, p. 390) estimated the Mundurucú population to be 40,000 in 1819, and Tocantins (1877, p. 101) calculated their number to be 16,910 in 1875. [161]

776 224 propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community. Moreover, great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to these spirits lest they strike back at the offender. The major Mundurucú ceremonies functioned mainly to secure the [756] benevolence of the spirit mothers, and one of the chief duties of the shaman was to make periodic offerings to them and thus insure their coöperation.

562 224 This preoccupation with animal spirits reflects certain basic facts about Mundurucú culture. The society is male-oriented; women are by no means passive actors in the social structure, but the major foci of the culture were male values and activities. And to the Mundurucú men, at least those of the remaining savannah villages, few activities are more important than the hunt. The male self-image is that of the warrior and hunter, the wayfarer of the forests,[6] and the Mundurucú are intensely concerned with all things arboreal. Hunting was as important as horticulture in the traditional subsistence economy and may well have been more basic to the diet in earlier times. There is some speculation about [174] a more southerly origin of the Mundurucú,[7] which suggests the corollary hypothesis that horticulture was less important in their former habitat. If this were true, it would help to explain why hunting is so heavily emphasized in Mundurucú religion, and horticulture is almost completely secularized.

776 224 756 The mother of the game, or *putcha ši*,[8] protects the animal kingdom as a whole from human offense. The relation between the *putcha ši* and animals is conceived by the Mundurucú to be a mother-child relationship. It is believed to be a single, unitary spirit, but it can be found in several places and under several guises at one and the same time. Expressed differently, the *putcha ši* is a single power having several manifestations.

The mother of the game is not an anthropomorphic personage; it has no form nor does it exist as a mobile and independent entity. Characteristically, the *putcha ši* is found in two forms; in one it is a very special stone called a *wirakuá*, and in the other it travels in the bodies of the land tortoise and the coatá monkey. The Mundurucú *wirakuá* concept, as many of their beliefs, is not highly conceptualized or rigidly formalized. It is vaguely conceived as a power and is described as a stonelike object visible only to shamans. Thus, the mother of the game and the *wirakuá* are not identical, but the spirit does manifest itself in the latter object. In its *wirakuá* guise, the *putcha ši* is usually found in the deep perennial springs at the headwaters of the streams that issue from the hills of the Mundurucú country. Hunting is invariably good in these locales because of the desire of the game to congregate about their mother, and Mundurucú shamans have techniques whereby they can place the *putcha ši* in springs near their villages. So placed, the *putcha ši* will remain indefinitely unless stolen by a shaman of another village. When the *putcha ši* is moved by a shaman, it emits

[6] See the myth of Perisuat on pp. 187–201 for the expression of this theme in legendary form.
[7] Cf. Martius, 1867, p. 396 and Strömer, 1932, p. 1.
[8] Mundurucú words are italicized throughout the text. The system of phonetic transcription [128] and a complete glossary of all Mundurucú terms used may be found in Appendix A. Portuguese words are not italicized, but Appendix B contains the translations of all terms mentioned and the taxonomic classifications of most flora and fauna for which Portuguese designations have been given.

776 821 The *mambat ii* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Mundurucú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop [789] rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurucú informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *mambat ii*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Karōkō Spirits

534 778 776 614 The *karōkō* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurucú village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karōkō* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*ibiunbōk*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *tubō*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karōkō ejewot*). All three categories of spirit, when propertly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

534 778 776 174 614 The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,[11] but a brief recapitulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals in contemporary Mundurucú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurucú at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karōkō* of certain villages were also the *karōkō* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

[11] Murphy, 1956.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

panion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534 776

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure. 778 174 614

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *ibiunbōk*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *ibiunbōk;* one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *aiuk* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *ibiunbōk* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 774

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karōkō*, go to Karōkōkai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upōtcharō, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

In the sphere of material culture, the planting and use of cotton were introduced after their contact with the whites, and their only watercraft were bark canoes of the type the German ethnologist Karl von den Steinen saw in the upper Xingú.[4] The moiety-phratry-clan system of Mundurucú social organization is considerably more complex than most Tupian societies, and the system of kinship nomenclature is correspondingly divergent. Mundurucú religion follows the broad outlines of supernatural beliefs and rites of the area, but there are significant differences in mythology.

These are only a few points of dissimilarity between the Mundurucú and the other Tupian tribes of the coast and lower Amazon region, but when considered with the linguistic data, they are sufficient to suggest a considerable period of independent development. There are also fundamental points of similarity: subsistence techniques are much akin to those found throughout the tropical-forest region of South America, and the Mundurucú are a village-dwelling people. And in common with other tribes of the area, class stratification is absent, political controls are simple, and the fundamental organization of the society is established along lines of kinship.

Certain characteristics lead me to suspect that the Mundurucú may have originally dwelled south of their present habitat. Their lack of cotton and the dug-out canoe and the absence of cannibalism and alcoholic beverages suggest that they may have come from the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Also, although they were and are industrious horticulturalists, their supernatural beliefs and ceremonies are only marginally concerned with cultivation; their major emphasis in ritual is on hunting. One other factor suggests a more southerly origin. The traditional Mundurucú villages were situated in the northernmost savannah coun-

[4] Steinen, 1894, pp. 222–223.

174 try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional home-
191 land as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 360 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in
177 search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his
[298] first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western
[301] style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is
[415] a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong
142 in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the
[304] younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the
171 Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely
361 Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

komtí, a tree; and *Arú* and *Yurí* find a bond in *ikönip*, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the *Sou* clan may bestow the name *Marí* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kirili* clan of the White moiety and the *Warú*, *Sou*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kokusuet*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan half is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 then it may be surmised that Mundurucú clans have un-
174 dergone a basic process of segmentation. That such a
615 process continued into recent centuries is indicated by the incomplete differentiation of these four clans. If it can be supposed that the four subclans would in time become increasingly independent of the parent group and would eventually assume their own names and tubö while maintaining a more nebulous bond through the common "companion" spirits, the end result would be a phratric alliance. There is no definitive proof for this hypothesis, but such a process is the only unitary explanation of the phenomena of phratries and subclans. The data given by informants on the relation between clans, phratries, and the spirit "companions of the trumpets" are irregular. Certain clans that should logically be linked by common spirits were said by informants to be unaffiliated; others were placed within the same phratry where no grounds for such linkage exist. This unevenness is reminiscent of the problems encountered by students of Pueblo clan and phratry organization. Depopulation and the weakening of broader kin groupings have obscured the intricacies of the system, making reconstruction most difficult. But the Mundurucú data do show a pronounced tendency toward consistency between phratric affiliation and shared "companion" spirits.

The creation of new clans by the internal segmentation
121 of old ones has numerous parallels in other societies. Pat-
591 rilineal clans frequently segment under conditions of an
614 expanding population, which causes lineages to break off
174 and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. The offshoot group in time becomes differentiated from the parent unit and may establish itself as a new clan, although maintaining some symbolic representation of its former connection. Such a budding proc-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7]

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214–215.
[7] Smith, 1903, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 209.
[9] Steward, 1936, pp. 343–344.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 383.
[12] Ibid., p. 382.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

174 591 614 tain, but it probably took place during the mid-nineteenth century. Matrilocality was the only mode of residence that even the oldest Mundurucú could remember, and they had no traditional memory of previous patrilocality. Also, Tocantins reported that, in 1875, quarrels between men were resolved by the departure of one of the parties from the village,[13] suggesting the absence of a local lineage and the high male mobility characteristic of Mundurucú matrilocality.

174 439 178 591 614 The reasons for the shift in post-marital residence rule are far less certain, and no final conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of available data. Certain known changes in productive relations, however, yield inference to the possible processes at work. It will be remembered that before their deep involvement in rubber production, the Mundurucú traded extensively in farinha, or manioc flour. This must have caused a substantial increase in the amount of land under cultivation and a great expansion of production of bitter manioc.[14] The roles of the male and female did not undergo any important shift. Men cleared the forest land for gardens, as they do today, and the women cared for the crops, harvested them, and manufactured the farinha. Women thus became of greater economic importance, because of the increase in gross amount

[13] Tocantins, 1877, p. 111.

[14] The extent of this early trade in manioc flour may be inferred from Martius's account (1867, p. 395 n.): "This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the settlements on the Tapajós prepare 6000 pecks [3.12 litres each] of manioc flour annually, those of the Maubé 1500 and those of the Canamá 800, which for the most part is exported to Santarem and neighboring locales. They readily give abundantly therefrom to the priests as a gift. In the year 1819 the Mundrucús of the Canamá collected and brought to market 900 arrobas [32 pounds each] of cinnamon clove and an equal amount of sarsaparilla. Through such a disposition to homely diligence, the speedy settlement of all the Mundrucús among the whites is to be expected."

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of work performed and the added importance of the co- 174
operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This 178
process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks 591
and a degree of organization among the women of a house- 439
hold. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of 614
the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[18]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú 105
clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of 174
the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized 614
that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Val- 105
ley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the 174
whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured 562
articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female 614

[18] Eggan (1950, p. 131) states that the Hopi remained matrilocal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

105 labor, in general, and the female work organization, in
174 particular, that extended families increasingly sought to
562 keep their daughters, even at the price of relinquishing the
614 sons. The result was a shift, probably gradual, to a matrilocal mode of residence.

This shift modified the nature of Mundurucú society,
105 and its further consequences will be developed in the
174 course of this chapter. The most immediate and obvious
614 change, however, was the destruction of the residential basis of clanship through the dispersal upon marriage of the men, who are the transmitters of membership. This can be illustrated by the census of one village, which shows that eleven clans are represented among nineteen men. In a matrilocal and matrilineal system, men are also dispersed, but since descent is through females a co-resident lineage having a core of clanswomen can be maintained. This is not possible among the Mundurucú, for the patrilineal descent system places a daughter in a different clan and the opposite moiety from those of her mother. Thus, although the women are nucleated into clusters of blood relatives, the clan membership of these units is also eclectic.

The result of this fragmentation has been the severe
614 weakening of the clan as a functional social entity with corporate prerogatives. In the hypothesized localized form, the clan was a co-resident unit having important economic and political characteristics. Its members were in everyday interaction with each other, and bonds of clanship were continuously manifested and exercised. Moreover, the clan, through its possession of sacred musical instruments, had ritual significance that is perpetuated into the present only as empty form. Other than the continued nominal ownership of the trumpets, clans, as social entities, have few prerogatives. They bury the dead of certain clans of

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

582 604 Mundurucú kinship terminology indicates the custom of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter.[19] This avuncular form of union was frequently reported by early chroniclers in South America,[20] and is said by Oberg to exist among the contemporary Kamayurá of the upper Xingú River.[21] Martius specifically reported it to be practiced by the Mundurucú when the sister's daughter had no other prospective husband.[22] Avuncular marriage is nowhere in evidence among the contemporary Mun-
[835] durucú, however, and its practice, past or present, is vigorously denied. Informants regarded such a union as incestuous, despite the obvious fact that a sister's daughter is always of the opposite moiety from that of her uncle.

174 Since there is no reason to doubt the mutually corroborating distributional, documentary, and kinship-termino-
582 logical evidence for sister's daughter marriage, we must
604 assume that it has not only disappeared but has lapsed
171 under such circumstances as to be absolutely proscribed. James Watson has noted a similar disappearance and taboo of sister's daughter marriage among the Cayuá Indians of southern Mato Grosso.[23] Although his evidence for its former practice is rather tenuous, he assumes it to have existed and to have fallen into abeyance due to the breakdown of the patrilineal extended family organization, and the union's consequent loss of function as a means of cementing relations between such units. Also, he assumes that marriages with the sister's daughter were commonly second unions, and the contemporary absence of polygyny would militate against the practice. Such rea-

[19] *See* pp. 93–94.

[20] Kirchoff (1932) presents the most complete discussion of this practice and contends that it was a common means of avoiding bride service.

[21] Oberg, 1953, p. 44.

[22] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

[23] Watson, 1952, pp. 118–121.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

soning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucú situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates. 174 582 604 171

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often an incest taboo beween co-residents, whatever their genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in residence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal. 174 582 604 835

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured. 601 602

[24] *Cf.* Titiev, 1943, p. 516.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.
[26] White, 1948, p. 25.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 amount, and the native social structure was directly af-
182 fected.

That Mundurucú society was not isolated and was not
121 stable, were advantages to a functional analysis rather
182 than disturbing factors. Through observation of change in a component part of a system, it was possible to examine and determine with some degree of verifiability the ramifications and strength of relationship between the changing part and other parts. Functional links of interdependency did indeed exist, and change had repercussions through at least part of the system. As A. R. Radcliffe-Brown phrased it: "It is a corollary of the hypothesis of the systemic connection of features of social life that changes in some features are likely to produce changes in other features." [1] Thus, the functionalist method, when used in the dimension of history, has led to the study of social causality. It further illustrated that the direction of change was profoundly influenced by the structure of Mundurucú society; in this way the social system acted as a field of plural determinants, and social change derived therefrom its order and regularity.

174 At the time when the tribe erupted so violently into his-
182 tory the Mundurucú were patrilineal and patrilocal and
61 appear to have been undergoing expansion in population and territory. Their social structure was well adapted to such growth, because the equivalence of kin and territorial unit permitted a segmentation process whereby small kin-local groups split off from larger ones. The offspring units, composed of residential nuclei of patrilineally related males and their wives, were miniatures of the parent groups, and they maintained a relation with the parent units through the over-all structure of lineage, subclan,

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 7.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

174 the former because the history of a change to matrilocality
182 accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is
241 documented. If no such historical information were avail-
591 able, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and
114 patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the develop-
121 ment of matrilocality.[2] He presents in illustration a model
591 of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit
611 possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquish-
423 ment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant coöperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other pos-
121 sible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The
591
182

[2] Murdock, 1949, pp. 216–218.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

weak corporate character of descent and local groups. The dispersal of male patrilineal kinsmen also attenuates and weakens ties of relationship, and the men's house results in a rather marginal membership in the extended family. There is potential disruption through conflict of roles, but the loyalties imposed by the roles are somewhat weakened, and the danger to social integration accordingly mitigated.

The incongruity of descent and residence makes for a most unstable social system, and one may well ask how it persisted from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In part, of course, it may be answered that persistence has not been perfect. The clans are becoming vestigial, and unilocal residence is now weakening. Moreover, increasing numbers of people are leaving the traditional savannah villages. But the fact remains that the Mundurucú still exist as a social entity after a period of contact that witnessed the virtual extinction or absorption of nearly all tribes of the region.

It might be argued that the weakness and instability of the patrilineal and matrilocal social structure was, paradoxically, a source of its strength during the contact period. The accumulated aggressions generated, and repressed, in the social system were released in the continued pursuit of the traditional institution of warfare. Lacking any strong modes of internal segmentation, social integration was obtained by the opposition of the entire tribe against the outside world. This outward direction of antagonism functioned to demarcate rigidly the boundaries of the social system, and to provide a framework of common endeavor. The cross-cutting ties of residence and descent were the basis of a highly developed sense of tribalism among the Mundurucú males and facilitated the recruitment of war parties from a number of villages. This martial disposition and effectiveness of the Mundurucú

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

made the tribe useful to the whites. It was important to the Brazilians to maintain the friendship and virtual autonomy of the Mundurucú; the group was accordingly spared some of the severe contact traumata experienced by other Indian tribes of the rain forest.

The social system resulting from the first set of changes in Mundurucú social structure of which we have record persists (with some further modifications) in the present-day savannah villages. From one point of view, it might be said that these early alterations had one over-all function: they fulfilled the new social need of accommodation to Brazilian society. Peaceable relations were established through mercenary service and trade in manioc flour, and these were the means through which the Mundurucú acquired trade items. But the fact of a system of interrelations between Brazilians and Mundurucú meant that the social system of the latter had become vulnerable to changes in the former. Thus, when the direction of the Amazonian economy turned to rubber extraction, the Mundurucú were accordingly affected.

The rubber boom was roughly concurrent with the general pacification of the middle Amazon region. The Mundurucú were needed then as workers, and not as warriors. For the most part they turned to rubber tapping to get merchandise. The total lapse of military activity undercut some of the bases of Mundurucú social solidarity and exposed the institution of leadership to the strife inherent in the political organization. Witchcraft and the execution of sorcerers continued—there are no data to indicate either an increase or decrease of the practices—but in a new social setting. The formerly prevailing consensus in executing sorcerers, which was a reflection of social solidarity, is now difficult to obtain, and the custom today disrupts cohesion.

/1/

114 The Agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians *

*Most of the data that follow were gathered in 1957, in the course of a two-month stay among the Indians of the Franciscan mission of Cururú and vicinity. My principal in-
115 formants were the Mundurukú Tomé, Cirilo, and Antônia. But I am also indebted to the mission fathers for much valuable data, for which I am grateful.

Protásio Frikel

Goeldi Museum

000 I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture
II. Garden methods
III. Social factors
IV. Native terminology

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture

241 175 What we know of Mundurukú agriculture is little, and most of it is based on the reports of nineteenth-century travelers. Already in those days the Mundurukú were pictured as a people who possessed a certain level of primitive agriculture. Those /travelers/ speak of [131] the Mundurukú as living on the margins of the Tapajós River and as already being in the first stage of acculturation to the environment of the time. They deal with the subject of "agriculture" as if it were 241 an ancient culture trait among these Indians. This may indeed be 174 the truth, for we cannot assert the contrary, /2/ although certain

/2 cont./

*241 mythological and legendary traditions of the Mundurukú lead us to
174 believe that they were not always a people given to the cultivation of plants. This, however, /applies to/ a remote past, which is no longer verifiable nowadays. In historic times, ever since they came
*241 into contact with civilized people and came to be known, they have
175 been observed to cultivate gardens and to make manioc flour. It is
[269] true that the Mundurukú gained greater fame as warriors, for when-
[721] ever the opportunity arose they did not hesitate to attack even cities such as Santarém (1780) and Gurupá (1784). (1)

1. Horton, 1948: 272-273.

As colonial rule was strengthened, however, and warring activities decreased, these Indians seem to have tended increasingly toward a more stable way of life and a more extensive and more diversified agriculture. I believe that available texts must be interpreted in this light. Even though they are not all in agreement, the traveling writers provide glimpses of a development in the cultivation methods of these Indians.

*241 Martius, speaking in a general way of the Tupi tribes of the
[361] upper Tapajós, including the Mundurukú, regards them, precisely because of this incipient agriculture, as seminomadic. He says: "They practice a primitive agriculture and, therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (2) Monteiro Baena

2. "Sie treiben einen nothduerftigen Landbau, sind daher im strengeren Sinne keine Nomaden; doch bleiben ihre Niederlassungen nicht unveraenderlich an derselben Stelle." Martius, 1867: 201.

[175] testifies that at first, in the years following the pacification of the Mundurukú, their propensity for agriculture was not very great or very strong. Referring to the "Mundrucús" forcefully brought to and

/3 cont./

*241

> etwas Baumwolle und viel Mandioca-Wurzel, deren Mehl, in Koerbe und breite Blaetter von Palmen ... verpackt, sie an die Schiffer im Tapajôz zu verhandeln pflegen, seitdem sie in friedlichen Verkehr getreten sind. ..."

114
174

(I should like to insert here the following question: Did Martius have knowledge of traditions regarding a preagricultural era of the Mundurukú? It would seem so, for he writes in the above-quoted passage: "... the somewhat dense population can no longer depend exclusively on hunting and fishing"; this might indicate knowledge of a previous stage of the Mundurukú as hunters and gatherers but not as agriculturalists.)

*241 Still more or less in the same period, we have the testimony of Bates who speaks of the Mundurukú as agriculturalists and good workmen in various parts of his book, though he does so rather offhandedly; he notes the fertility of the land and the relatively small effort required of the Indian to bring forth the necessities /4/ of life; he tells of the large gardens of the Mundurukú which he saw on the Cuparí River and of how the women make flour; he says that the Mundurukú carry out a certain amount of flour trading with the traders of the Tapajós, and finally he states that aside from bitter-manioc roots they raise sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane. (5)

[439] [244] [249]

5. Bates, 1944, passim.

114 There are practically no twentieth-century sources on the Mundurukú. The Franciscan mission has not yet published its materials on these Indians, and the work of Robert Murphy, who also studied this tribe in 1952-53, aside from a few articles, has not reached us. Thus, our knowledge is based almost exclusively on the meager data of the above-mentioned authors. Only Gonçalves

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

175 The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the [131] mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

114 In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided 131 the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with 101 the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maué, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

[302 386] "The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing [727] to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

[622] "They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

[648] "Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

776 The only trace of higher belief
I could find is in the language, [394] which has a word (getüut) for God and another (cäuschi) for devil. The pajé is also considered by them to be a powerful and fearful person. He is thought of as a relative of the devil or as a person possessed [Inspirirter]. For his medical help he is rewarded with cotton thread or weapons as he is among the Apiacas with whom, in fact, the Mundrucus have a number of customs and usages in common.

●175 Before 1770 the Mundrucus were hardly known in Brazil by name.
648 But then they burst forth in numerous hordes all along the Rio Tapajôz, destroyed the settlements and made themselves so dreaded that troops had to be despatched against them, troops they resisted fearlessly. In the 1780's a troop more than two thousand men strong came out of their malocas, crossed the Xingund Tocantins rivers and marched to the western border of Maranhâo province spreading war and despo[illegible]ion as they went. But there they suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the warlike Apinayes and only remnants from the murderous battle were left to move north to the Mojü rivers where they devastated the Portuguese farms. * Forced back by the united planters, they f[illegible]lly

* The so-called "Guajajaras" are supposed to be a splinter group dating from that time. In 1818 they were put into villages near Cerzedello on the Rio Gurupi Corografia paraënse p. 117. Perhaps Guaia-jaz? p. 383.

retreated to the rest of the tribe on the Tapajôz. The government sent after them a detachment of 300 men which came upon a heavily populated maloca ten days after leaving the river. Encircled by enemies they fought their way through with great difficulty and finally reached the banks of the river. The Mundrucus are reputed to have lost nearly 1,000 men. The statement comes from a chieftain who made the first treaty and who used his notched stick as reference. Their inclination for war allowed them only a short rest. They went to war against the Muras, who for a long time had rendered the waterways of the Amazon uncertain and had plundered many a settlement. They waged against them so horrible a war of extinction that the Muras in 1785 yielded in Maripi to the Portuguese and promised permanent friendship. Then they

175 turned on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintins
448 (Parauates or Uauvrivait), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajoz with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. *

* Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas
Diccionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca
do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 206.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajôz, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several
[197] of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on
[161] the Tapajôz 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Mauhe 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,000. **

438

** This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajoz produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1.05 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Mauhé 1,500 and those of Canomá 800. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canamá gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

174 A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucûs originally

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

161 though related linguistically to the *Mundurucú*, are to be regarded as an independent tribe (this volume, p. 221), and that the *Njambikwara* (see *Nambicuara*, p. 361) are not properly classified as *Mundurucú* on any basis.

Martius (1867) reported a group related to the *Mundurucú*, known as the *Guajajara*, who were settled on the Gurupí River near Cerzedello in 1818. The writer has found no further reference to this name in the literature dealing with the *Mundurucú*. (The *Guajajara-Tembé* are a tribe near the east coast of Brazil, page 137.)

According to native tradition, the *Wiaunyen*, at the headwaters of the Mutum River, should be classed as a subtribe of the *Mundurucú*.

The *Mundurucú* refer to themselves as *Weidyénye* (our own, our people) (Kruse, 1934). *Mundurucú* (*Munduruků*, *Mundurucû*, *Mondurucû*, *Mundrucû*, *Moturicû*, etc.) is the name applied to them by the *Parintintin*, in whose language it denotes a species of ant (Strömer, 1932). A nickname widely used by Neo-Brazilians is *Paiquizé* (*Paikyce*) (Martius, 1867) or *Paikise*, meaning "father knife" or "head-cutter." They are sometimes called *Caras Pretas* ("black face"), in reference to their facial tattooing. (See Kruse (1934), who gives an extensive list of names used by other tribes to designate the *Mundurucú*.)

POPULATION

161 In 1887, Martius estimated the *Mundurucú* at 18,000 to 40,000, but Strömer believes that, on the basis of known settlement sites, a maximum population of 10,000 at the period of Contact is indicated. Tocantins (1877) listed 21 villages with populations ranging from 100 to 2,600 and a total population of 18,910. According to Campana, there were at the turn of the century about 1,400 individuals in 37 communities in the Tapajóz area. The largest village had 700 inhabitants, and the smallest less than a dozen. Strömer (1932) found 19 settlements with a total of 1,200 to 1,400 inhabitants in 1931, and fewer still in 1937. Both Campana's and Strömer's figures refer only to the population of the main area of concentration. Kruse gives a population of 950 for the Tapajóz group and 800 for the Canumá group.

HISTORY

175 726 The first reference to the *Mundurucú* was published in 1768 when Monteiro Noronha[3] listed the "*Maturucú*" among the tribes on the Mauées River. In 1769, according to Manoel Baena (1885), the *Mundurucú* began to move northward along the Tapajóz River, forcing out or exterminating the *Jaguain* (*Javaim*, *Hy-au-ahim*), a warlike, cannibalistic tribe then occupying the middle Tapajóz. A "*Mondruci*" settlement a day's journey below the mouth of the Arinos was reported by Almeida Serra in 1779. The *Mundurucú* reached and made unsuccessful attacks upon

[3] The writer has not seen all of the sources mentioned in this sketch of *Mundurucú* history; the material here summarized has been in part provided by Dr. Nimuendajú (personal communication).

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Santarém and *Gurupá* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Cawahiwa*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Strömer, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796. 175 726

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajóz in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajóz region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Strömer, 1932). [197] [177]

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajóz is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Rio de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area. [173]

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Irariá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey. 241 222

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them. 231

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush. 224 [221]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of descent, is one of the preconditions to the development of matrilineality. That the latter change never occurred among the Mundurucú can be partially explained by the fact their subsequent involvement in the commercial exploitation of wild rubber has resulted in bilocality and neolocality (Murphy 1954).

It is because of this later breakdown of unilocality that my description of Mundurucú social organization will refer to mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society. Much of the social structure described below is still observable in certain conservative Mundurucú villages and served to supplement and corroborate information obtained from old informants.

THE MUNDURUCÚ

Since Mundurucú culture is not well documented, even for a South American group, a few prefatory remarks are in order. Linguistically, the Mundurucú have been classified as "remotely" Tupian by Nimuendajú (1938:975). However, a summary comparison of Mundurucú and Tupí indicates that if a genetic relationship does exist, it could only be very obscure and distant. It is possible that the substantial number of Tupian loan words in the Mundurucú lexicon had led Nimuendajú to an erroneous conclusion. The final resolution of this problem will be of importance to the prehistory of the Mundurucú and of the entire central Amazon basin.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of the chroniclers in the late eighteenth century when they launched a series of strong raids against other Indian tribes and white colonists in the lower Amazon Valley. Their late appearance on the historical scene and subsequent northward thrust into the waters of the lower Madeira River suggest that the Mundurucú originated in the highlands of Mato Grosso and thence migrated northwards. However, their only known homeland is in the region of mixed gallery forest and savannah east of the upper Tapajós River, between 6° and 8° south latitude. This is where the remnants of the tribe are located today.

After their pacification by Portuguese colonial forces at the end of the eighteenth century, the Mundurucú entered into a long period of peaceful symbiosis with the whites (Almeida Serra 1869:4–5). Traders and government officials capitalised on the renowned aggressiveness of the Mundurucú by employing them as mercenary warriors against tribes still hostile to the whites. In 1835, their services were sought in the suppression of the Revolution of the Cabanas (Hartt 1885:132), and at the end of the nineteenth century their war parties were still being enlisted by the rubber traders of the Madeira River (Coudreau 1897:59). Fighting was not the only source of trade goods for the Mundurucú. Since earliest times, the white settlers of the Amazon valley have exploited the natural products of the region to the neglect of agriculture. The resultant shortage of local sources of subsistence forced them to rely in part upon the products of the Indian gardens. Thus, the Mundurucú were deeply involved in the sale of surplus manioc flour as early as 1819 (Martius 1867: 395). Manioc flour continued to be their principal trade commodity until the late nineteenth century, when wild rubber assumed primacy (Tocantins 1877).

The middle of the nineteenth century found the Mundurucú of the upper

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[i.e., The middle of the nineteenth century.—Analyst]

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secunduri, Abacaxi and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes. 131 [197] 175 648

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestiço colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Uxituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 90 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost." 175 [797] [16] [172]

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river. 175 43

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive
439 sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú
175 had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifica-
648 tions had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained
[178] intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other
[177] Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

22 The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savan-
361 nahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity.
241 Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits,
439 and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

621 The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic
[462] aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the
[591] horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

611 The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent.
591 The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

578 Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village,
476 and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the
778 minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

721 wars. The necessity of ever having to defend their home territory was denied, and provocation by other groups was not remembered as a cause of war in Mundurucú tradition. It might be said that enemy tribes caused the Mundurucú to go to war simply by existing, and the word for enemy meant merely any group that was not Mundurucú.

Despite this seemingly undirected aggressiveness, it was possible to establish through direct questioning and by analysis of field data that certain individual and social goals were realized through warfare. The more important of these goals will be analyzed and their significance as causes of the institution of warfare will be evaluated in the following section.

721 648 The Mundurucú were partially motivated to war by the quest for manufactured goods, which, as noted earlier, were obtained from the Brazilians in return for service as mercenary warriors against unpacified tribes. The symbiotic relationship that became established was noted by Chandless (1862:276) who wrote that the Mundurucú were "honest and faithful," and "very friendly toward white people, warring only against unpacified Indians while protecting those friendly with the whites."

175 726 648 The scope and importance of Mundurucú mercenary activities is impressive. In the early 19th century, the whites urged them to attack the troublesome Mura Indians of the lower Madeira River, and so great was their success that the Mura were scattered as far as the vicinity of Ega, hundreds of miles up the Amazon River (Bates 1863:168-9). Ayres de Casal (1817:237-8) reported that many of the victims of the Mundurucú, among them the Mura, were forced to seek the protection of the white settlements. The traders who employed the Mundurucú thus obtained a dual advantage; the hostiles were not only quelled but were driven into the arms of the labor-hungry whites.

Later references also attest to the alliance with the Brazilians. The Mundurucú were enlisted by colonial officials during the Revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–36, and one of their leaders in the war was given an honorary commission in the army in recognition of his services (Hartt 1885:132). Bates (1863:162) reports that in about 1853 the Mundurucú were instrumental in helping the Brazilians of the Madeira River to suppress the Arara Indians, and Tocantins (1877:140) states that shortly before his journey to the Mundurucú, the latter struck at a marauding group of Parintintin Indians at the behest of the Brazilians. Coudreau (1897:39–40) relates another case of mercenary service by the Mundurucú, whom he characterizes as a people "known for selling their military valor to whoever wants to pay for it." On this occasion, three traders of the Madeira River had been killed by hostile Indians, and their colleagues went to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River and offered merchandise in return for a retaliatory expedition. The offer was accepted but [164] the sortie was a failure, for most of the 60 men and 40 women who took part in the raid died of illness before contacting the enemy.

175 721 Although mercenary service is one of the more interesting aspects of Mundurucú warfare during the 19th century, contemporary informants hardly thought it worthy of mention. They acknowledged their alliance with

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was secondary. 175 721

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers. [439]

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own. 721 727 [842]

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajebolki was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means. 555 701

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that 721

problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tribe in general and the extended family in particular. Also, although the men's 178
houses are still built according to the traditional pattern, the dwellings are now 621
built on a rectangular floor plan in contrast to the older elliptical shape. [341]

Modification of the traditional Mundurucú village is even more striking on the shores of the Cururú River. Some villages number almost 100 inhabitants, but others are tiny hamlets of two small houses; none has the men's house. All dwellings face toward the river, but there is no over-all village plan. The houses are constructed of wattle and daub and, but for a few distinctively Mundurucú characteristics, are much like those of the Neo-Brazilian population. This conformity to the architecture of the whites[3] is even greater on the Tapajós River, where the Mundurucú live in single-family isolation.

The decline of Mundurucú culture is also evident in the physical appearance and 291
dress of the people. All now wear the cheap cotton shirts and trousers or Mother 178
Hubbard dresses sold to them by the traders. The more traditional men of the savannah villages generally wear penis sheath and bark belt beneath this raiment and usually hunt in the latter accoutrements only. The elaborate body and facial tattooing that were formerly the hallmark of all Mundurucú, both male and female, is also on the wane. It is common now to see young people who are half-tattooed, or who have only the first few lines, never completed because of the lapse of the practice. [304]

History

The current decadence of Mundurucú culture is not unexpected. On the contrary, 175
it is remarkable that the Mundurucú have preserved so much, and that they still have a semiautonomous society after more than a century and a half of continuous peaceful relations with the whites. They arrived late on the Amazon historical scene, and were not noted in published reports until 1768.[3] Whether the Mundurucú reported at that time were the members of a war party or had migrated from their home territory is uncertain, for they were seen far to the north of the upper Tapajós country on the Maué-Assú River, a tributary of a channel of the Madeira River named the Paraná Mirím. But their center of strength remained roughly in their present habitat, and they fought a colonial military detachment in that region in 1795.[4] Their defeat at the hands of government troops ended more than two decades of Mundurucú raids upon the Portuguese settlements of the Amazon and ushered in a period of peaceful relations and active alliance with the whites.

Subsequent to their pacification, large numbers of Mundurucú drifted into 175
the vicinity of the growing towns and missions on the lower Madeira and Tapajós 797
rivers. The missions are of especial interest to the subject matter of this study. In 1803 the mission of Santa Cruz was established on the lower Tapajós River

[3] The term "white" as applied herein to the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon is used as a shorthand way of saying, "people bearing a local variant of Luso-Brazilian culture, and who identify themselves with Brazilian society." Actually, the local people represent varying degrees of Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid admixture.

[3] Monteiro Noronha, 1862.

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 797 and was followed by others at Boim and Pinhel.[5] Spix and Martius visited the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River, another affluent of the Paraná Mirím, in 1819, and reported 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[6] Baptism and catechization of the Indians proceeded apace with their increasing involvement with the whites, and by 1817 Ayres de Casal stated, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians."[7]

175 439 The missionaries were by no means the only whites having contact with the Indians, nor was religious instruction the only way in which they were exposed to European culture. The Indians manufactured manioc flour and collected the wild products of the region and sold these articles to the missionaries and traders, who probably were in active competition for the labor and production of the Mundurucú. The influence of the missions weakened with the deterioration of their economic hold over the Indians, and the Mundurucú tended to drift into a single-family settlement pattern along the banks of the streams. Today the Mundurucú of the Madeira River region are nearly assimilated, and those of the lower Tapajós are wholly so.

The bulk of the population, which remained in the area of the upper Tapajós River, experienced no such intensive contact. No missions were established above the great obstacle of the Cachoeira de Maranhão until 1872, and the area became settled by significant numbers of whites only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Before that period, the Mundurucú obtained the manufactured articles which they so avidly desired through mercenary warfare[8] and through the sale of surplus manioc flour and other products to traders who seasonally ascended the Tapajós River.[9] After about 1850, the upper Tapajós country was also penetrated by rubber collectors, to whom the Mundurucú frequently sold foodstuffs. The collectors traded with merchants in the growing town of Itaituba, below the head of navigation of the Tapajós, and returned each rainy season to the less isolated existence there. The contact of the Mundurucú with the Brazilians thus remained seasonal and sporadic.

By the 1870's, the commercial importance of rubber was growing rapidly; greater numbers of whites sought the product each year, and the Mundurucú were drawn increasingly into the extraction industry. The importance of the Indian population in the chronically labor-short Amazon region resulted in renewed efforts to attract or press greater numbers of them into commercial production. This problem and one solution of it were expressed in rather delicate and diplomatic terms by the Brazilian engineer, Antonio Tocantins: "The 175 797 439 imperial government has not spared efforts to call into the arms of civilization the hordes that wander in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was with this purpose that in 1872 the establishment of the Mission of Bacabal was ordered."[10]

The superior of the new mission of Bacabal, Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva, under-

[5] Martius, 1867, p. 395.
[6] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.
[7] Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[8] See Murphy (1957) for a discussion of this pattern.
[9] Cf. Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[10] Tocantins, 1877, p. 134.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his task with some energy. But his methods were somewhat unexpected by the Itaituba merchants, who had strongly favored the establishment of a mission. The priest established himself at a point on the east bank of the upper Tapajós River and proceeded to gather into his "reduction" some 500 Mundurucú who had been dwelling on the banks of the stream. According to a later report by the French explorer, Henri Coudreau, the missionary had little or no contact with the main population in the savannah villages.[11] The mission Indians continued to collect forest products, principally rubber, and to sell them, but they traded only with the priests, who in turn, traded directly with Belém. Thus by-passed, the businessmen of Itaituba immediately protested to the governor of the province of Pará, claiming that the mission monopolized the Indian trade but made little effort toward catechization. The priest inveighed with equal vigor against the corrupting influence of the traders, whom he also accused of gross exploitation of the Indian population. Fr. Pelino lost the fight, and the mission was abandoned in 1876.

It would be extremely difficult to assay the effect of the Mission of Bacabal upon Mundurucú beliefs, for other avenues of communication with the white Christian population were opening rapidly during this period. As the rubber-extraction industry went into its boom period, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós and as far south as the waters of the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. And the rubber collectors correspondingly became more sedentary. Whole families settled in the rubber regions and remained there throughout the year. The new Brazilian population settled among and married with the Mundurucú of the Tapajós shores and had occasional contact with the more isolated dwellers of the interior. The latter fell increasingly into the skein of debt relations upon which the rubber economy was and is based, and the structure of their relations with the traders provided the means by which Christianity and other aspects of Western culture were communicated to them.

Recent Missionization

Active catechization of the Mundurucú Indians effectively lapsed with the abandonment of the Mission of Bacabal. Efforts were renewed by the Diocese of Santarém in 1911, however, and in 1912 German priests of the Franciscan order established a mission on the Cururú River, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing through the southern part of Mundurucú territory. The first task undertaken by the priests was to end Mundurucú warfare. Decline in numbers and involvement in the rubber trade made the Indians receptive to exhortations against war. Their prowess had been on the wane for some time, and wars were infrequent and of small scale by 1912. The next problem, that of bringing the Indians under the complete influence of the mission, met with very limited success until the classical pattern of trading with them was adopted. The priests bought rubber at a higher price than did the traders, and they sold merchandise more cheaply. So great was their success in attracting the Mundurucú that a

[11] Coudreau, 1897, p. 28.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

797 175 [161] rise in rubber prices in the latter part of the 1920's was partly responsible for causing the people of some savannah villages to migrate to the rubber-yielding forests along the Cururú River. Today, some 200 Indians reside at the mission, and another 300 are also clients of the priests.

797 771 Although this is not a study of changes in Mundurucú religion consequent upon proselytization, it is necessary to survey briefly the effects of the mission upon native belief in order to interpret the data to be presented. Catechization is most actively pressed among those Indians on the Cururú River with whom the mission has trade contacts. The other 200 residents of the Cururú River have their closest relations with the local post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios and only occasionally encounter the priests. The residents of the Tapajós River are far too scattered to be accessible with any frequency to the missionaries; these Mundurucú receive Christian influences through prayer sessions and religious fiestas held at the trading posts and through informal discourse with their Brazilian neighbors. The residents of the savannah villages maintain trade relations with the traders of the Tapajós River, but they are visited once a year by a priest who performs baptisms and remains for two or three days in each village to give religious instruction.

The personnel of the mission have proceeded with some degree of tact and restraint in their conversion of the Mundurucú population. All Mundurucú are technically Catholic, having been baptized, but only a minority have received all the subsequent sacraments. Children in residence at the mission school are administered Communion, and at intervals of several years the Bishop of Santarém visits the mission to hold Confirmation rites for those ready to receive them. All Indians in the villages under mission influence are married in religious ceremonies. These rites generally are the result of considerable pressure by the priests and follow a period of marriage according to native custom. The Indians themselves look upon the public marriage ceremony as most embarassing and shame-provoking and make every effort to avoid it. The sacrament of Extreme Unction is administered only to people who die at the mission itself. Otherwise, the customary funeral rites are followed and the body is interred under the floor of the dwelling.

Each Sunday a number of Mundurucú arrive at the mission for the primary purpose of trading and with the secondary intent of visiting; they are strongly urged to attend Sunday Mass, and most do as a means of keeping in the good graces of the prestigeful and respected missionaries. The superior of the mission has spent more than thirty years among the Mundurucú and speaks the language fluently. All of the Mass except the part universally recited in Latin is given in the Indian tongue. The Mundurucú observe the social division of the sexes while attending church. The front pews are occupied by the nuns and the 40-odd children usually resident at the school, and the remaining seats are occupied by the men. Most remain in a rigid kneeling position throughout the service, with the exception of one or two old men who imitate and even anticipate the ritual postures of the nuns. The women sit cross-legged on the floor of the center aisle; many nurse their children during the rites.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural change in this part of South America. 177 648 439

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong attacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2] 175 648

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Tapajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the 131 175 [797]

[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[2] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.
[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

131 Tapajós in 1779, which located the "Mondruci nation" on
175 the "Rio Vermelha," probably either the Cadirirí or Cururú River.[4] Also, although Martius was personally acquainted only with the Mundurucú living between the Tapajós and Madeira, he confirmed the upper Tapajós to be their area of greatest strength in 1819.[5]

175 The Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River remained
648 relatively isolated during the early contact period, al-
[166] though large numbers of migrants from these villages moved north to the proximity of the white settlements. This population shift, caused by the lure of manufactured articles, was facilitated by the rapid decimation of the intervening Indian tribes. The complementary, and frequently identical, agencies of colonization and catechization had broken and absorbed those groups, such as the populous Tapajó, which had occupied areas near the Am-
[165] azon, and disease had reduced the ranks of the surviving societies. Mundurucú warfare aided the process. For example, Serra located the Hiauain tribe in an area several days' travel above the first rapids of the Tapajós in 1779,[6] but in 1817 Manoel Ayres de Casal placed them on the east bank of the lower Tapajós, to where they had fled from Mundurucú war parties.[7] The net effect of these demographic changes was to provide the Mundurucú with uninterrupted avenues of access to trade facilities.

175 The Mundurucú who moved into the lower Tapajós val-
648 ley soon entered into close relations with the whites. The
797 mission of Santa Cruz was established in 1803 and was followed by other missions to the Mundurucú at Boim and Pinhel, all on the lower Tapajós.[8] The inhabitants of these

---

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 3–5.
[5] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[6] Almeida Serra, 1869, p. 3.
[7] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 232.
[8] Martius, 1867, p. 395.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

settlements traded to obtain Western goods. The process of assimilation proceeded with such rapidity that by 1817 Ayres de Casal was able to say, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians."[9] The Mundurucú occupants of the lower Tapajós were not, however, completely mission-dominated, as "a quite considerable distance above Vilanova de Santa Cruz on the west bank of the Tapajós, there is a village inhabited by another horde of Mundurucús, still pagans, and already having gardens, some already using trousers, and the women skirts, all of cotton."[10] There is no mention in the sources of the presence of the traditional village and men's house on the lower Tapajós. Apparently, the migrants did not transfer the native community organization to their new habitat.

The Madeira River area was likewise a region of post-contact penetration by the Mundurucú. This contradicts the information given to Lt. Herndon of the U. S. Navy by Alphonse de Lincourt, a French engineer of Santarém. According to the latter, the Mundurucú, after becoming friendly with the whites, moved out of the region between the Tapajós and the Madeira and retired to "the deep solitudes of the Tapajós above the cataracts."[11] It is much more probable that the Madeira region was an area of late eighteenth-century hostilities in which members of the marauding Mundurucú war parties had settled near the Brazilians and were later followed by other migrants.

Johann B. von Spix and Karl von Martius state that in 1819 the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River in the lower Madeira drainage had 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[12] The Indians were settled at the mis-

[9] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[11] Herndon and Gibbon, 1854, p. 311.
[12] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 648 [797] [439] sion and were also scattered throughout the surrounding forest. They were already conducting trade with the whites in manioc flour, sarsaparilla, and *guaraná* and apparently did not have the men's house and the other accoutrements of the traditional men's organization. According to these explorers, the Indians were found mainly on [131] the Canomá and its tributary, the Secundurý. About forty years later, Mundurucú inhabitants lived also on the Abacaxís and Maué-Assú rivers, two other tributaries of the Paraná-Mirim, a channel that connects the Amazon with the lower Madeira.

The Mundurucú of that area are of interest, because the earliest assimilation of large numbers of the tribe took place in the Madeira River region. It was there too that a long tradition of friendly relations with the whites was established; this friendship was to a large extent sealed by the coöperation of the Mundurucú in the quelling of tribes of the region still hostile to the colonists. In the late eighteenth century, two tribes of the lower Madeira, the Mura and the Arara, especially the former, waged incessant warfare against the white settlements and did much to impede the colonization of the central Amazon Valley. Unable to cope with the Mura, the whites enlisted the aid of the Mundurucú and from this date, according to Charles F. Hartt, the whites and the Mundurucú were allies.[13] By 1819, Ayres de Casal reported the lower Madeira River town of Borba to have a nearby settlement of Mura who had sought refuge from the Mundurucú,[14] and in 1852, Henry Walter Bates, the noted English naturalist, found fugitive remnants of the tribe scattered along the Amazon as far as the town of Catuá, a short distance below the mouth of the Rio Teffé.[15] At the time Bates wrote, the at-

[13] Hartt, 1885, pp. 116–117.
[14] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 238.
[15] Bates, 1863, p. 168.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken. 175 648

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cuparí River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[16] Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343; [182] [361] [177] 175 182 648 [161]

[16] *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 240.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 182 648 [161] 1869, 100; 1895, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirím and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses [797] with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians [191] spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[22] [249] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco [314] and the collection of *guaraná*, sarsaparilla, and *copaiba* oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[20] Agassiz, 1869, p. 308.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 424.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous."[38] Contact between the two regions has completely terminated since that time, and the modern Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but verbal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area indicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

The assimilation of these Mundurucú has been made complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the common-law type, between Mundurucú and caboclos. These unions are almost always between Brazilian men and Indian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it degrading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also, there has historically been a shortage of women in the Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have generally been unmarried men. The children of such marriages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer considered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically, the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the Tapajós is partly Mundurucú. The mother of the mayor of the municipality of Itaituba was Mundurucú, and he is quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the Tapajós agree that the Mundurucú are "good people and hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive contact between Brazilians and Mundurucú in the region adjacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the century these Mundurucú merged progressively with caboclo society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their homeland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 648 ence any large-scale direct contact with the whites until a comparatively late period.

Before the rubber boom, the hinterlands of the Amazon Valley were only marginally penetrated and exploited by white settlers, and colonization was largely restricted to the great river itself and the lower reaches of its tributaries. Exploration for minerals, however, had attracted white men to the headwaters of the southern affluents of the Amazon. Access to these regions was generally from the south, across the Planalto de Mato Grosso. The middle reaches of the Tapajós remained relatively undisturbed. The only major exception to this isolation of the Mundurucú country and the tribal areas to the south took place during the long period of Paraguayan-Brazilian hostilities, which closed the Paraguay River to Brazilian trade and isolated Cuyabá, the commercial and political center of Mato Grosso. Most of Cuyabá's commerce then had to be conducted with cities on the Amazon, and the southern tributaries were used as trade arteries. This trade gained considerable magnitude on the Tapajós. Chandless reported that several fleets of ten to fifteen canoes made one round trip a year between Cuyabá and Itaituba, at the head of deep-water navigation on the Tapajós.[24] The members of these fleets undoubtedly had contacts with the Indians along their routes, but without deep or lasting effects on the latter. The Brazilians' task was to freight goods from one port to the other in the shortest possible time. They neither tarried nor traded with the natives.

Until the expansion of trade relations to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós, the most important relation between the tribe and the whites was through its service to them as mercenary warriors. The early action against the Mura and Arara Indians of the lower Madeira River was prob-

[24] Chandless, 1862, p. 278.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ably principally undertaken by Mundurucú who had emigrated to this section. But their rapid engagement in trade and the resultant fragmentation of the native social organization made the migrants ill adapted to warfare, and the burden of mercenary activities shifted to those Mundurucú who had remained on the upper Tapajós. 175 648

Raiding on behalf of the whites continued throughout the nineteenth century. Coudreau described one such expedition in 1895.[25] Three white traders had been killed by hostile Indians on the Madeira River, and a group of merchants approached the Mundurucú to enlist their aid. The Indians were promised advance payment in manufactured goods, and a war party consisting of sixty men and forty women set forth. They traveled to the upper Secundurý River across an area of savannah between that stream and the Tapajós; this route had long been the major means of communication and emigration between the Mundurucú settlements of the upper Tapajós and those on the Madeira waters. This particular expedition met disaster, however, for the virulent malaria of the Secundurý River killed almost all participants. [721]

Their military service for the whites was an important factor in maintaining the stability of Mundurucú culture. The Indians had already become dependent on Western commodities, and warfare provided a means of obtaining them that did not necessitate direct labor for the whites in an extraction industry. Since the latter occupation is, as shall be seen, destructive of the traditional society, the Mundurucú were, in effect, granted a reprieve from more complete participation in commerce and its effects. Furthermore, they were encouraged by the white men to destroy other tribes and thus to continue a pattern that was dominant in the culture. Warfare contributed greatly to 175 182 648 721

[25] Coudreau, 1897, pp. 38–40.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 social cohesion also, because it provided a rallying point
182 for tribal coöperation and a common goal in the pursuit
648 of which factional differences were forgotten. And it af-
721 forded an escape valve for aggressions that could not be safely unleashed within the society.

These factors helped to preserve the integrity and autonomy of Mundurucú society during a period of stress and encroachment. Their coöperation with the whites set a pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship. Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade
[439] goods, and restricted their military activities (which were not by any means always or even usually at the immediate behest of the whites) to tribes that were not yet pacified. And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucú were gradually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in contrast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the transition is no doubt partly attributable to the ties of economic dependency and friendship which had become established.

Trade and exploitation of natural resources came late
175 to the upper Tapajós because of the impediments to nav-
439 igation imposed by its many rapids, and also because of
648 the specific commodities available there. The rich Tapajós rubber did not begin to assume great economic importance until well into the second half of the century, while the Madeira waters had abundant resources of *guaraná* and sarsaparilla, both of which were intensively sought in the early nineteenth century; and agricultural products were traded in the latter area on a large scale at an earlier date, also, because Brazilian markets were not far.

Shortly before the mid-century the Mundurucú of the

upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early commerce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.[26] The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The regatões served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

> They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of mandioca and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaca—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.[27]

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs. The regatão gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

[26] Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 439 648 the Brazilian traders cheated the Indians mercilessly. Accounts were and are to this day arranged so as to keep the Indian almost continually in debt. The trader thereby attaches the labor of his Indian clients and induces the creditor chiefs to exact as much work from their people as possible. As a case in point, in 1875 Antonio Tocantins found one Mundurucú chief to owe the then phenomenal sum of 6,876 milreis.[18]

The Indian trade reported by Bates was mainly in manioc flour, which was also a major product of the Mundurucú of the Madeira waters visited in 1819 by Spix and Martius. Only small amounts of rubber were collected on the upper Tapajós in 1852, but the importance of this commodity soared rapidly in the next quarter century. Tocantins reported it to be the principal item of commerce in 1875.[19] By 1860, Brazilian rubber tappers had begun to penetrate the Tapajós valley during the dry season. They were found in greatest concentration below the Cachoeira de Chacarão, although some drifted further upstream. Chandless, in 1860, encountered a group of clothed Mundurucú working for two runaway Negro slaves on the Jurusena River, a tributary of the Tapajós.[20] More Mundurucú were noted in small settlements on the banks of the Tapajós far downstream.[21] During the period of which Chandless wrote, only a small percentage of the Mundurucú of the savannah country were working in rubber. He commented that "the people here [the Mundurucú] trade in salsa [sarsaparilla] and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers."[22] During the next twenty years, they became more completely committed to the

[18] Tocantins, 1877, p. 154.
[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 149-154.
[20] Chandless, 1862, p. 273.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[22] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the establishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Tapajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to protect the Indians from the traders and is said by Tocantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for yourselves, your women, and your children." [22] The priest's technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were powerful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon complaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Bacabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of commerce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was extended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little, although the violence of the boom days has subsided and the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant, poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client system and they also came into closer proximity to the whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian population remained in the savannah villages and collected rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

[22] Tocantins, 1877, p. 149.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

Tocantins states that many Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[34] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[35] All these scattered Mundurucú were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[35] Coudreau, 1897, p. 166.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Second, warfare, for both mercenary pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because of the acquisition of firearms.[24] The continuance of warfare helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type villages no longer existed on the waters of the Crepory River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[24] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

131 175 pajés,[87] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited the headwaters of that river in 1860.[88] Thus, by 1895 at the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining [177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization. They had acquired steel tools and clothes from the whites, and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 182 648 177 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads. It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men, who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically at the past.

175 439 648 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom collapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased in importance and yielded decidedly less return. The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

[87] Cardoso, 1897, p. 30.
[88] Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

on manufactured goods and continued to tap rubber, although on a reduced scale. 175 439 648

In 1911, a German priest, Fr. Hugo Mense of the newly established Franciscan diocese of Santarém, ascended the Tapajós and chose a site on the Cururú River where he established a mission. The location decided upon was about two miles north of the Cururú on the boundary between the savannahs and the gallery forest that borders the stream. In 1912, the mission personnel numbered two priests and three nuns. The priests attempted to catechize the Indians while the nuns were in charge of the mission school, which, according to William C. Farabee, had twenty-six Indian and Brazilian children in 1916.[39] At that time, the Cururú region was populated only during the dry season, when the Indians moved from the savannahs to the Cururú to collect rubber. During this period, they were visited regularly by merchants who plied the river. Many people of the savannah villages, within a range of from three hours to two days by foot from the Cururú, did not, however, tap rubber. 175 797

In 1918, a new priest arrived at the mission who urged the relocation of the mission because of the distance from the river bank and the shortage of agricultural land in its immediate vicinity. Plans were made for a larger, permanent, self-sustaining establishment and to that end, the mission moved to its present site on the banks of the Cururú, began to raise its own crops, and instituted a policy of trading with the Indians. That policy gave the mission an income and simultaneously removed the Indian from his dependence on the traders. The priests had recognized the great influence held by the patrons over their Indian clients and saw that it would be to the advantage of the mission if it assumed this role. But in the beginning [439]

[39] Farabee, 1917, p. 138.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

175 797 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

175 439 797 In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose somewhat as a result of export restrictions imposed on the planters of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a greater return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to grow up on the river banks. This population shift proceeded so rapidly that by 1950 there were only about 360 Mundurucú left on the savannahs, whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

[361] [166] [162]

175 439 657 Of less importance in attracting a permanent population to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadirirí rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 439 657

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

175 166 361 [177] [342]

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro,* the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

175 184 361 175 184 186 [797]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 184 186 hand, refers to the people living on the Cururú as *pariwat*, or "foreigners," because they live like the Brazilians. However, his feelings toward the Cururú people are not inspired by the fear and alienation felt by the latter. Rather, he is puzzled and chagrined that they remain aloof from him and will not accept him, although they are all Mundurucú.

175 184 The split within the tribe occurred only during the past three decades, but it has contributed to a decrease in migration from the remaining savannah villages to the Cururú. People are still leaving the savannahs, but usually [166] to move to the Tapajós or to the lower reaches of the streams on the headwaters of which they live. The ambivalent attitude of the Cururú people makes that river decidedly unattractive to them.

CHRONOLOGY

175 For purposes of greater clarity, the history of the contact between the Mundurucú and the whites can be conveniently divided into four distinct periods. These are based on significant changes in the structure of Brazilian-Mundurucú relations.

1770–1795.—During this period, the warlike Mundurucú came into contact with the Portuguese colonists and directed attacks against them in the region along the Amazon River between Gurupá, on the east, and the lower Madeira River, on the west. The first Mundurucú settling of the latter area took place during these years and was probably motivated by the desire to obtain trade goods. In 1795, a punitive expedition against the villages of the east side of the upper Tapajós River, the original Mundurucú territory, ended hostilities.

1795–1850.—The Mundurucú, at peace with the whites,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

were used by the latter as mercenary warriors in the battle to rid the central Amazon Valley of hostile Indians. The lucrative aspect of these wars no doubt attracted increasing numbers of Mundurucú into more immediate relations with the whites and induced the Indians to settle in the proximity of the Brazilians. Of even greater influence in stimulating migration to the Madeira waters were the manufactured goods offered by white traders and missionaries in return for *farinha* (coarse manioc flour), sarsaparilla, and guaraná. The same lure caused Mundurucú to settle on the lower Tapajós, below the rapids.

The Mundurucú who remained on the upper Tapajós were comparatively undisturbed during this period. They occasionally warred on behalf of the whites, and a sporadic trade, principally in farinha, existed between them and wandering traders, or regatões.

1850–1914.—After 1850, the Mundurucú of the lower Tapajós and Madeira regions became progressively assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. However, the emphasis in the Amazonian extraction economy was already shifting from farinha, guaraná, and sarsaparilla, the chief sources of wealth of the lower Madeira, to rubber. After about 1860–1870 the upper Tapajós became permanently inhabited by rubber tappers, and patrons acquired rights to rubber-producing regions. The Mundurucú of the savannahs became active rubber producers, and a gradual attenuation of warfare against other tribes began. Social integration was partly preserved by the practice of returning to the native villages after each rubber-tapping season, and the traditional way of life went on largely unaltered during most of the year. Also, the chief, whose importance in war was declining, maintained his prestige by acting as a middleman between his people and the trader.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

175 Throughout this period, there was a gradual drift of population from the villages to the main stream of the Tapajós where these migrants ultimately became assimilated.

After 1914.—In the period of 1912–1914, Mundurucú warfare ceased completely. This period also coincides roughly with the end of the Amazonian rubber boom. The Tapajós River lost part of its Brazilian population, and many Mundurucú withdrew from rubber production. In the late 1920's, a rise in the purchasing power of rubber brought increased participation of the Indians in rubber tapping. The demands of rubber production and the influence of the Cururú mission, established in 1911, caused a large-scale migration of people from the savannah villages nearest the Cururú to the banks of that river. These migrants did not establish villages of the traditional type, and the native culture there declined in general. Also, the remaining savannah dwellers, who are more inclined to preserve the old culture, have become estranged from their fellow Mundurucú of the Cururú.

/1/

114

The Agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians *

*Most of the data that follow were gathered in 1957, in the course of a two-month stay among the Indians of the Franciscan mission of Cururú and vicinity. My principal informants were the Mundurukú Tomé, Cirilo, and Antônia. But I am also indebted to the mission fathers for much valuable data, for which I am grateful.

115

Protásio Frikel

Goeldi Museum

000

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture
II. Garden methods
III. Social factors
IV. Native terminology

I. Present-day knowledge of Mundurukú agriculture

241 175 What we know of Mundurukú agriculture is little, and most of it is based on the reports of nineteenth-century travelers. Already in those days the Mundurukú were pictured as a people who possessed a certain level of primitive agriculture. Those /travelers/ speak of [131] the Mundurukú as living on the margins of the Tapajós River and as already being in the first stage of acculturation to the environment of the time. They deal with the subject of "agriculture" as if it were 241 an ancient culture trait among these Indians. This may indeed be 174 the truth, for we cannot assert the contrary, /2/ although certain

/2 cont./

*241 174 mythological and legendary traditions of the Mundurukú lead us to believe that they were not always a people given to the cultivation of plants. This, however, /applies to/ a remote past, which is no longer verifiable nowadays. In historic times, ever since they came *241 into contact with civilized people and came to be known, they have ● 175 been observed to cultivate gardens and to make manioc flour. It is [269] true that the Mundurukú gained greater fame as warriors, for when- [721] ever the opportunity arose they did not hesitate to attack even cities such as Santarém (1780) and Gurupá (1784). (1)

1. Horton, 1948: 272-273.

As colonial rule was strengthened, however, and warring activities decreased, these Indians seem to have tended increasingly toward a more stable way of life and a more extensive and more diversified agriculture. I believe that available texts must be interpreted in this light. Even though they are not all in agreement, the traveling writers provide glimpses of a development in the cultivation methods of these Indians.

*241 Martius, speaking in a general way of the Tupi tribes of the [361] upper Tapajós, including the Mundurukú, regards them, precisely because of this incipient agriculture, as seminomadic. He says: "They practice a primitive agriculture and, therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (2) Monteiro Baena

2. "Sie treiben einen nothduerftigen Landbau, sind daher im strengeren Sinne keine Nomaden; doch bleiben ihre Niederlassungen nicht unveraenderlich an derselben Stelle." Martius, 1867: 201.

[175] testifies that at first, in the years following the pacification of the Mundurukú, their propensity for agriculture was not very great or very strong. Referring to the "Mundrucús" forcefully brought to and

/2 cont./

*241 resettled on the Maué-assu River /Maués-Guassú?/ and in the former mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he [195] says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantita- [648] tive development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens [161] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de- [248] pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton [251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and [439] large palm leaves ..., they have been selling to the boatmen of the Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen

2: Steinen- -472 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca S.P2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B 175 648

/391 cont./

enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific information about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

B [113]

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

B M 175 648 [113] M [131] B M [101]

A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth mentioning; it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/, once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks: "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso where they ('aldeïert') settled in villages." The latter addition shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this passage, that the Baikïrí lived in the province of Pará; among the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," remembered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer occur, since they have moved to the north.

B M [131] B M [101]

B A 173 648

The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí. "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Santarém and *Gurupa* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Cawahiwa*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Strömer, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796. 175 726

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajóz in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajóz region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Strömer, 1932). [197] [177]

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajóz is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Río de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area. [173]

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Irariá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey. 241 222

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them. 231

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush. 224 [221]

501 edge it to have been learned from their Tupian neighbors, the Apiaca. In early times, this bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when on a war expedition. Small [481 491] streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among those Mundurucú of the savannahs.

226 132 An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks allowing the fish to disperse through the forest in search of fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is very difficult throughout the entire rain forest region, even for those people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who had to fish from the river banks, it was a sheer impossibility. The Indians of the present village of Cabruá complain that they have no canoes and that to fish during the rainy season would involve wading through the igapó, or flooded forest, impractical due to poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

226 Dry season fishing was done by two means. The first of these was to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms were often built on the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it [177] is still preferred to the hook and line, which was introduced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth.

222 Climbing was done with climbing ring, a
[48] loop of vine passed around the feet causing sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps. For fruits located far out on limbs, hooked sticks were used to drag the limbs down or the climber chopped the limb off. These fruits were not a staple, but they were a valuable adjunct to the diet and a greatly appreciated delicacy.

241 Horticulture

Mundurucú gardening was done by the slash and burn method used all over the tropical areas of the New World. The garden was cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation was allowed to dry throughout the dry season, and the plot was burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks were dragged off to one side and the ground was then ready for planting after the first rains, usually in the beginning of September in this region.

Among the plants of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú were several varieties of bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima) and sweet manioc (Manihot aypi), yam (Dioscorea sp.), sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, and pepper. At some time after the advent of the
[17] whites in the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, potato, and sugarcane were introduced. Cotton, although native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the Mundurucú until the 19th century. The staple garden product and chief starch source of the Mundurucú was bitter manioc.

776 Yurupari.[23] It was a spirit that only attacked at night and appeared to people in the guise of a human. If one came within range, it threw a malignant object "like a stone" at the unwary person and this stone caused illness and possible death. The Yurupari could walk on land, but it often flew through the air making a thin whistling sound in its progress. There were two types of Yurupari. One consisted of fresh water dolphins that traveled at night as Yurupari and the other were the real Yurupari that dwelled in the land of the Yurupari from where they made sorties against humans. Of all the evil spirits that preyed on the Mundurucú, this one was most dangerous.

It was mentioned previously that a person's shadow, as distinguished from his true soul, could take evil form after the death of its owner. This "shadow" turned into the ashik, a very tiny person that could only be seen vaguely and fleetingly by living humans. Only the ashik that were the shadows of girls who died when still small were dangerous, for they stole the souls of infants. Just as the little girl used to reach for the babies pleading, "Come here," so did her ashik take the souls of the children. The mother resorted to magical charms to guard her children against it.

● 177 23. Métraux points out that the Yurupari was originally a Tupinamba supernatural which was adopted by the Jesuits to signify the Christian Satan, and which has been ascribed various qualities in its diffusion throughout the Amazon. (Métraux, 1928, pp. 58-60.) It is possible that its origin, or, at least some of its qualities, among the Mundurucú may be attributed to caboclo influence.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[174 621 tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

[314] If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and prematrilocal stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1954) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring clanless groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

174 591 During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which [177 439] increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group.[6] This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestiso colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Urituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 543 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive series formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

439 Mundurucú traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Mundurucu of the upper Tapajós "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Mundurucú product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucú acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

221 314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, [171] out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-26].

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucú, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individu- [224] al hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucú. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy [291] the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Mundurucu villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucu, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucú dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, fire- [415] arms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal [323] pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucú barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Despite the flourishing trade in greenstone, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucu economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous. 439 177

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucu and the Montagnais are probably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucu, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inevitably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucu families, like those of the Algonkian, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions into trade with the Mundurucu. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucu were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucu country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucu villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucu was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucu to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare, for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucu warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective. [222] 314 177 [197]

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucu acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucu society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucu who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy. 177 621

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucu villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large [222] 314 341 177

portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the locus of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the Tapajós River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Tapajós River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the seminal communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family seablers from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the tools, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

Political authority on the Tapajós River was almost nonexistent. The migrants began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the private and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Tapajós River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the Tapajós River still have to remain away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Mentaquaro NH6

to the disorganization of Cururú River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Cururú River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber swamps or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucú. Over one-third of the Cururú River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

IV. Comparative Summary

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two sociotids were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer in selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing ties of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon become necessities—a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Sontagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Sontagnais chief. Sontagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

[text continues on p. 349]

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mu
171
177
105

Tabular Comparison

Mundurucú

1. Pre-rubber

Village consists of men's house, matrilocal extended family households; population divided into patrilineal clans and moieties.
Village males form collective hunting and garden-clearing group.
Household females form the horticultural unit.
Intensive warfare for headhunting and as mercenaries allied to whites; partial dispersal of villagers in dry season for fishing and war.
Chief the war leader and representative of village in trade of manioc flour.

2. Marginal involvement

Chief continues as mediator with trader, but is now often trader-appointed--trader gains influence.
Dry season population dispersal for rubber production rather than fishing and war--war continues, but lessened in importance.
Basic pre-rubber economy and settlement pattern unchanged.
Continuing displacement of aboriginal crafts.

3. Transitional

Further displacement of native crafts, increased need of trade goods, increased dependence on trader.
Chieftainship undermined due to new type chiefs who now represent the trader.
Agricultural cycle and village life inhibit larger rubber production.
Trend toward individual trade.

4. Convergence and culmination

A. Intermediate
Move to new villages in rubber regions.
Chief now intermediary with Indian agent and missionaries.
Individual trade, individualized subsistence economy--end of men's house and traditional village--

Montagnais

1. Pre-fur

Nomadic composite band hunts large migratory game animals.
Frequent band breakup during winter scarcity.
Amalgamation of several winter groups for summer hunting and fish-fishing.
Chieftainship weak and shifting--leader of winter group; no summer band chief.
Residence bilocal, frequent shifts of winter group membership.

2. Marginal involvement

Trade by family heads--leaders do not trade for followers.
Trapping secondary to subsistence hunting--subsistence still gotten traditionally, basic social patterns persist.
No trapping territory.
Linkage to trading posts.

3. Transitional

Further displacement of native crafts, increased need of trade goods, increased dependence on trader.
Increased fur production interferes with subsistence hunting.
Individual trade conflicts with group solidarity.

4. Convergence and culmination

Fur trapping now predominant; winter provisions purchased
Winter groups not necessary with end of collective hunt--family or individual hunting gives greater efficiency, allows conservation.
Shift of economic interdependencies from group to trader.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

Mo

Mundurucú (cont.)

village held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability.

Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B, below.

B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A)

Leadership no longer integrative.

Individual trade undercuts kin obligations.

Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenue--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.

Montagnais (cont.)

Mu ●

171

Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries. 177 ●

Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year. 105

Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.

Mo

Mu

171

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own. 177 [439 622]

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization. Mo Mu [601]

Mu

The Brazilian rubber tapper--the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucú who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen. 177 439

Mo

The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate. Mu 171 177 543

Mo

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais. Mu 177 621 622

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NHG

Mo
Mu
177
594
621

The culmination of the long acculturative processes shows a high degree of structural parallelism. Both Mundurucú and Montagnais populations are divided into loosely integrated and dispersed communities centering about particular trading posts with which the individual families have ties. The Indians still recreate, associate, and intermarry with one another, but the nuclear family is now the stable socio-economic unit. It is the highest level of integration found among the native population itself, but it is linked to the nation through the intermediary of a regional economy. The integration of the family with the national level is highly specialized and limited. These families do not yet share a substantial part of the common denominator of the national culture or even of the regional sub-cultures of their non-Indian neighbors.

Mo
Mu
177
184

There is a final phase, which, though occurring at different dates in the different localities, is characterized by assimilation of the Indians as a local sub-culture of the national sociocultural system and virtual loss of identity as Indians. At this point, the acculturational processes and results diverge, since the Indians participate to a much greater extent in the national culture. So long as the families maintain their marginal relation with the national society, they are quite unlike the basic populations of the nations in which they lived and much more like one another. When, however, they learn the national language, intermarry extensively with non-Indians, and acquire many of the non-Indian values and behavior patterns, they have to be classed with the special regional sub-cultures that have developed in portions of these nations.

000

It can be predicted that the drastic shift in mode and level of integration will do much to hasten the loss of cultural distinctiveness. Fortes has cogently expressed the relationship between social structure and formal culture content in such a situation:

> "I would suggest that a culture is a unity insofar as it is tied to a bounded social structure. In this sense I would agree that the social structure is the foundation of the whole social life of any continuing society.....The social structure of a group does not exist without the customary norms and activities which work through it. We might safely conclude that where structure persists there must be some persistence of corresponding custom, and where custom survives there must be some structural basis for this" [Fortes 1953, pp. 22-23].

V. Further Comparisons

Mo
Mu
171
177
121

We can delimit and refine the Mundurucú-Algonkian parallel by the cross-cultural examination of structural changes caused by acculturation in other areas. We will not seek further parallels, however, but will discuss cultures in which divergence appears manifest. One instance of such apparent divergence is the Northwest Coast, where the fur trade at first strengthened or intensified rather than weakened the aboriginal social structure. The florescence of the potlatch and class system on the Northwest Coast as a result of new wealth in trade goods is a thesis which has been ably expounded by a number of students [cf. Barnett 1938; Drucker 1939; Collins 1950; Codere 1950]. It would be very misleading, however, to consider any trade in furs as the crucial factor. What really matters is individual trapping of fur-bearing animals. The sea otter was the principal fur bartered by most Northwest Coast tribes, and collection involved neither individual effort nor delimited territories. The amount of land trapping was probably fairly limited and in any event did not offset the cultural effects of the great salmon wealth which created surpluses rarely if ever paralleled by hunting, gathering, and fishing people.

The trapping activities of the Skagit of Puget Sound more nearly paralleled those of the Northeastern Algonkians, according to Collins description [1950, p. 335]:

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Munduruçu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mu
171
177
121

"The [trading] posts played an important part in altering the economy of the Indians. First, they encouraged a shift in their hunting habits. The skins in which the traders were most interested were beaver and land otter. These animals had small value in the aboriginal economy, since they were less desirable for food than deer or elk, for example. At the traders' behest, however, hunters pursued these animals eagerly. Another economic shift took place when the hunters, instead of killing game for meat, began to exchange skins for food."

The result of this trade was, however, quite different from its effects in Eastern Canada.

"The effects of these changes upon Skagit social organization were pronounced. Distinctions in social rank began to be more marked--a shift made possible since, though social mobility had always been within the grasp of any person of good descent who could acquire the distinction of wealth, new sources of wealth were now available" [Ibid., pp. 337-338].

The new wealth acquired by the Skagit was funnelled into the class structure and ultimately the potlatch. The difference, then, between the processes of change which occurred among Northwest Coast and Northeastern Canadian groups is that the former integrated the new wealth into a pre-existent class structure created and perpetuated by a fishing economy. Among the latter, since there were no cultural means or goals promoting the concentration of surplus wealth in the hands of a select few, the benefits rebounded to all persons. The same was true of Munduruçu society which also was unstratified. The differences between the Skagit on one hand as opposed to the Munduruçu and Montagnais on the other are attributable to the stratification of society among the former, which in turn is partially explainable by the greater aboriginal resources of the Skagit. In effect, this constitutes a difference of level of socio-cultural integration.

The impact of trapping upon a pre-existing social structure can be even better appraised among the Carrier of the interior of British Columbia, where the wealth in salmon was far less than on the coast. The fur trade among the Blackwater River Carrier involved intimate interaction with Northwest Coast groups, especially the Bella Coola. Goldman summarizes the effects of this contact upon the simple, bilateral Carrier hunting bands [1941, pp. 416-417]:

"Undoubtedly the Bella Coola, like all Northwest Coast tribes, became relatively wealthy as a result of this trade. And in Bella Coola where wealth was the decisive factor in building rank, the fur trade must have been particularly welcome. And the lowly interior Carrier who hunted for furs in order to trade with the Bella Coola, who traded them to the whites, became an important part of the scheme of elevating one's rank. Although a Bella Coola did not gain valuable prerogatives from a Carrier son-in-law, if he could get a monopoly upon his furs he could make enough wealth to purchase new prerogatives. And as the Bella Coola benefited by this trade, so did the Alkatcho Carrier. The latter took up products obtained on the coast and traded them to the Carrier villages eastward on the Blackwater River drainage. As they obtained guns and steel traps, economic productivity spurted so that they were able to build up the necessary property surpluses for potlatching. Potlatching obligations in turn stimulated economic activity, and the degree to which they were able to potlatch made possible the full integration of crests as honorific prerogatives.

Given our previous hypotheses, developments more or less parallel to those in Eastern Canada might be expected. But these Carrier did not trade with European traders; they dealt instead with stratified Northwest Coast tribes in the context of an economic system, the rationale of which was the validation of rank by potlatch. As the following example of the Stuart Lake Carrier suggests,

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mu
121
171
177

direct trade with the whites and the end of potlatching result ultimately in the family trapping territory system.

The effect of the fur trade among the Carrier of Stuart Lake to the north of the Blackwater River ran a similar course but culminated in family trapping territories, according to Steward's research. In pre-white times, the wealth of salmon fisheries, although far less than those of the coastal tribes, had provided some surplus, while contacts with the Tsimshian of the Skeena River had introduced a pattern for channeling this surplus to nobles who controlled the fishing rights of large territories in the name of matrilineal moieties. This wealth circulated through small-scale potlatches. The fur trade, carried on directly with the whites more than through coastal contacts, created a new source of wealth and intensified the native pattern. Although furs were trapped by individual moiety members, a noble had rights to certain percentage of the furs taken in his moiety's territory.

In the course of about 50 years, however, several processes combined to bring about individual trapping territories as among the Indians of eastern Canada. Most importantly, the new wealth in trade goods brought hardward that was of value to individuals. Pressures mounted to force the nobles to divide the trapping territories among their own children rather than to pass them on intact to their sister's sons, who had traditionally inherited their titles and rights. This process was aided by the activities of the Catholic missionary-ethnologist Father Morice, who effectively undermined the native religious sanctions of the class of nobles, and by the government, which banned potlatching. The older pattern survives only in isolated localities, where it is carried on clandestinely. At Fort St. James on Stuart Lake, where there is located a Hudsons' Bay Trading Post and some few hundred whites and Indians, the processes have reached a culmination almost identical to that of the Montagnais.

> "Present-day Carrier society at Stuart Lake consists of individual families that have exclusive rights to certain trap-lines that are registered with and protected by the Provincial Government. The family is the kinship and economic unit" [Steward 1941, pp. 500-501].

It seems likely that the Blackwater River Carrier have not yet reached the final stage of acculturation. The same may be true of the Skagit. The critical consideration is whether wealth in salmon among these tribes was so great that it offset the importance of trapping. This was not the case at Stuart Lake. On the lower Skeena River, salmon are so important that canneries have been built, and the Tsimshian and Tlingit have given up fur trapping to become commercial fishermen and cannery laborers.

Certain Plains Indians in North America also engaged in the fur trade but developed in distinctive ways. This is another illustration of the need to examine specific features in the taking of furs. There is a significant ecological difference between the collection of fur on the Great Plains and in the coniferous forests of Canada that lies essentially in the difference between hunting and trapping. It is incomplete and misleading therefore to make comparisons simply on the basis of "fur trading". In the Great Plains, buffalo hides were the chief item traded, whereas in eastern Canada, small, non-gregarious and non-migratory animals were trapped. The trade on the Plains resulted in an emphasis upon the buffalo hunt beyond the needs of subsistence and served to strengthen the collective and cooperative techniques traditionally used in the pursuit of migratory herds. Moreover, band cohesion in the Plains was enhanced by acquisition of the horse and gun and by intensification of warfare, the latter carried on in part to obtain horses.

It is possible that a non-stratified society which acquires surplus wealth may develop a class structure, but this involves special conditions not ordinarily

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montaquais NH6

Behavior Theory W3

Mo
Mu
121
171
177

found among collectors of wild products. Some of the North American Plains Indians showed an incipient development of a class society in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but the tribes were decimated by epidemics and overwhelmed by the advancing frontier when intensified wealth and significant prestige differences had begun to emerge. A parallel between the Plains and the Mundurucu can be found in the increased authority of chiefs owing to their functions as intermediaries between the traders and the Indians. Jablow notes such a florescence of political controls among the Cheyenne [1951, p. 86], and Lewis specifically states of Blackfoot trade [1942, p. 42]:

> "In periods of monopoly [of the Indian trade by one company] the fur trade has a positive effect, that is, it increased the prestige and authority of the chiefs. In periods of competition it has a disruptive effect, that is, it weakened the power of the chiefs."

The Plains band chief traded a commodity which was obtained by collective effort. The Mundurucú chief served as middleman in the pre-rubber period when trade in manioc flour, which was also communally produced, was of primary importance. But he eventually lost his position when individually produced rubber became predominant. The Tenetehara Indians of northeastern Brazil have been in contact with civilization longer than the Mundurucú, but, according to Wegley and Galvao, the village chiefs and extended family heads still have a central role in the trading of collectively produced manioc flour and palm oils [1949, pp. 26-30]. It seems apparent that, lacking some other basis for political authority, it is difficult for leaders to maintain control over trade in individually-produced goods.

W
121
177
439

Our formulations, in effect, state that when certain acculturative factors, defined functionally rather than formally, are present, the core of a culture will change in expectable and predictable ways. These formulations assume the constancy of certain other preconditions, which, though well worth investigation of themselves, can be regarded as given factors for methodological purposes.

This can best be exemplified in our present cases by reference to the basic, though incompletely explained, acculturative factor common not only to the Mundurucu and Naskapi but to most primitive peoples throughout the world. This factor can be stated simply as follows: When goods manufactured by the industrialized nations with modern techniques become available through trade to aboriginal populations, the native people increasingly give up their home crafts in order to devote their efforts to producing specialized cash crops or other trade items in order to obtain more of the industrially made articles. The consequences of this simple though world-wide factor are enormous, even though they vary in local manifestation. The phenomenon is of such a high order of regularity that special explanations must be sought for the few departures from it.

The main hypothesis arising from the present study is that: When the people of an unstratified native society barter wild products found in extensive distribution and obtained through individual effort, the structure of the native culture will be destroyed, and the final culmination will be a culture type characterized by individual families having delimited rights to marketable resources and linked to the larger nation through trading centers. Trappers, trappers, and no doubt other collectors come under this general statement.

Robert F. Murphy

University of California
Berkeley

Julian H. Steward

University of Illinois

The Relations Between the Mundurucu and the Tupi

Kurt Nimuendajú

197 On the basis of the comprehensive study of the language of the Mundurucu, one of the Indian tribes of Brazil, undertaken by the Rev. Father Albert Kruse, the learned Franciscan missionary and indefatigable explorer of Brazil, Mr. K. Nimuendajú [976] traced the relationship between the Mundurucu and Tupi. He established their kinship, which manifests itself "in vocabulary as well as in grammar. With regard to vocabulary, it is striking that precisely the most important nouns from the categories 'parts of the body' and 'natural phenomena' are without exception related to Tupi. In the field of grammar the close relationship of the pronouns is of great importance. [177] These similarities cannot be possibly explained by the influence of the Apiakás and Parintingtings, quite apart from the fact that while such an influence might conceivably have been exerted on the Tapajós-Mundurucus and Madeira-Mundurucus, it must be ruled out entirely for the Xingú-Mundurucus, who do not even know the names of these tribes. I, therefore, classify the Mundurucu language with the Tupi family, without saying, however, that the Mundurucus are [174] Tupis ... What little information I have at my disposal makes me doubt that the Mundurucus were originally Tupi.." (Lose Blätter vom Cururú, 1938, p. 80)

181 non-aggression to an extent compa-
577 rable to the Zuni Indians of Arizona; in this light their culture is Apollonian.

121 The apparent disparity between these two concepts of desirable conduct towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedict and others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a central theme which pervades all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If major ethical themes are analyzed, on the other hand, as being an integrated and integrative part of the social structure, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the total culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, does not have to show ideational consistency, for its rationality lies in the structure of the society and, ultimately, of the culture.

186 The major unifying theme of the Mundurucú view of humanity lies in the division which they make, explicitly and verbally, between those who are Mundurucú and those who are not. Only the former are called "people," while the latter are referred to categorically as "outlanders." In times
[609] past, all "outlanders" were considered to be enemies and proper objects of attack.

This is not a racial or genetic concept; the name "outlander" is frequently applied today to many fellow
[177] tribesmen who have adopted white men's ways to such an extent that they no longer operate within the closed circle of Mundurucú society. Further-

[p. 371(a)]

186 more, children were captured from
[591] other tribes and raised as Mundurucú
without prejudice. To adult "outland-
186 ers" of either sex, however, the Mun-
727 durucú gave no quarter; the enemy was
summarily dispatched and the head
severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

648 The establishment of peaceful and
177 symbiotic relations with the whites
726 added a further dimension to the
577 values connected with warfare, which
the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The
726 means used to attain the new ends were
traditional. Enemy villages were

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PREFACE

THIS MONOGRAPH is based primarily upon data gathered in the course of research among the Mundurucú Indians of the state of Pará, Brazil, in 1952 and 1953. The field work, in which my wife Yolanda and I collaborated, was conducted with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded by the Trustees of Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council. At the time of the investigation, we were graduate students in the Department of Anthropology of Columbia University, and our work was under the guidance of Professors Julian H. Steward and Charles Wagley. 122

The focus of the research was upon those changes in economic and social structure consequent upon the involvement of the Mundurucú in the rubber-extraction industry, but we set as a further goal the collection of as much ethnographic data as was possible during the year available. This aim was partly motivated by a desire to add to the information about South American Indian groups, but it was also felt that completely concentrated and problem-oriented research could be done only in cultures upon which a good background of reliable information was already available. 121

Actually, the Mundurucú are probably better known than most South American Indians, except for those few groups which have been the subject of prolonged and intensive study. This speaks less for the wealth of published data than for the poverty of our knowledge of the area. A certain amount of data is available from the early nineteenth-century explorations of Spix and Martius, and a fine source on Mundurucú culture in the latter part of the century is available in the report of the Brazilian engineer, Antonio M. G. Tocantins. More limited and fragmentary data are available in the work of Manoel Ayres de Casal, Henry Walter Bates, William C. Farabee, João Barbosa Rodrigues, Henri Coudreau, José Monteiro Noronha, and Ricardo de Almeida Serra. Some excellent material has been published by the Franciscan missionaries to the Mundurucú, especially Fathers Albert Kruse and C. Strömer. Unfortunately, I have not had access to the information published by these priests and their colleagues in the *Provinzeitschrift der Franziskaner in Nordbrasilien*. The information available in most of the above sources is based upon limited residence among the Indians, and some contain most questionable data. None was written in the light of modern anthropological problems and theories or with the aid of contemporary field techniques. 114

Accordingly, my wife and I proceeded to gather as wide a range of data as was possible within the limits imposed by the necessity to accumulate material pertinent to our main interests. The present work represents one aspect of this research. The reader will see that a great deal of the native religion has been lost as a result of contact with Brazilian society, and certain items reported were not actually witnessed by me. It was continually necessary to resort to the memories of older Mundurucú, but we made every attempt to insure the reliability of our facts by cross-checking our data with several informants. I stated in the text which activities and beliefs are extinct and which are still practiced. The final [177]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 825 These *Yurupari* make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air. Though the porpoise *Yurupari* are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other *Yurupari* is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 753 All types of *Yurupari* travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peripheries of villages, and, consequently, few Mundurucú venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the *Yurupari* is a magical stone that it throws at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the *Yurupari* is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 755 There are no means by which attacks of the *Yurupari* can be prevented, but Mundurucú shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 797 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the *Yurupari* while in the field because the Mundurucú informants hestitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Mundurucú. The priests translated the Devil as *Yurupari*, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the *Yurupari*." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of *Yurupari* beliefs shared by the Mundurucú and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 825 One of the commonest beliefs of *Yurupari* in the Amazon Basin is that of the fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian *caboclos*, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to ensnare victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Ita the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Mundurucú *Yurupari*, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Mundurucú also believe in

776 171 177 the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept of the porpoise type *Yurupari* was borrowed from the civilized population. If this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

* Wagley, 1953, p. 248.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

phenomenon is not at all unusual in South America; Wagley and Galvão report the Tenetehara belief in the demon, Zurupari, to have been borrowed by the Indians from the local Brazilian population.[5] Similarly, the Tupinambá culture hero, Tupan, became a mythological figure in many Brazilian tribes through the active agency of the Jesuits.

Another instance of this type of diffusion and syncretism may exist in the Mundurucú belief that the *Yurupari* take the souls of their victims in order to recruit their own ranks. This may well be an aboriginal idea, but it corresponds suspiciously to the classical missionary teaching that the souls of sinners are taken by the *Yurupari*, or Devil.[6] The absence of any concept of sin in the Mundurucú belief is not surprising, for missionaries have labored for generations without noticeable results, to inculcate the idea of sin and punishment among them.

The *Yurupari* attack all people regardless of age or sex, but a class of spirits known as *aïik* is dangerous only to infants. There are hordes of *aïik* wandering over the earth, for the shadows of all people turn into this spirit upon death. Only the transformed shadows of little girls are dangerous to infants, however. The Mundurucú believe that these *aïik*, like all little girls, want to take the children for themselves, and they rob the child of its life to do so.

Like the *Yurupari*, the *aïik* kills its victims by throwing a magical stone into them. The *aïik* is clearly visible to the shaman as a little person no more than a foot high; its skin is either black or white, and it is always very beautiful. To ordinary people unendowed with shamanistic powers, the *aïik* is visible only as a fleeting shadow. It is not at all remarkable, therefore, that anxious Mundurucú mothers often see *aïik* on the paths between the villages and the bathing places. These paths are considered to be especially dangerous, but the *aïik* also attacks in the village on days when most of the people are abroad, and only one or two women or girls remain in the village to tend the infants.

As a rule, the Mundurucú believe that safety from all supernaturals can be gained by numbers; the various malevolent beings are always especially dangerous outside the village and to the lone person. This idea functions to provide supernatural support for sociability and coöperation, and few Mundurucú hunt, fish, or garden alone, nor does any woman willingly go to bathe or draw water by herself. To be sure, there are other, more concrete and persuasive reasons for Mundurucú gregariousness, but supernatural concepts rationalize and support this aspect of the social structure.

The shaman must be called to cure an attack by the *aïik*, but there are also means by which such attacks can be prevented. Children are made immune by frequent baths in a solution of water and the crushed leaves of an unidentified shrub, and a piece of ginger root is almost always hung on the child's *tipoia*, or carrying sling, as protection against the *aïik*. Also, mothers bite off and spit out pieces of the ginger root as they walk along the paths between the villages and the bathing places in the belief that this will avert molestation by the spirit.

[5] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 102.

[6] It is equally possible that this represents a modification of an aboriginal concept of the Yurupari. Métraux (1928, p. 56) notes the antiquity of this belief among Tupian groups, and the Mundurucú might well have shared this element.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

totally different structures, and the Mundurucú have changed the form and 775
meaning of religious elements in such a way that they function within the struc- 775
ture of Mundurucú culture.

Although the Christian concept of the soul has main reference to the hereafter, 774
the Mundurucú beliefs in the soul are more closely concerned with the here and 787
now. The souls of people afflicted with a certain illness can wander abroad and constitute a threat to society. Also, the soul is highly vulnerable to theft by the game animals. And finally, the soul can be used as a means of obtaining omens and knowledge.

The souls of the dead remain permanently in the afterworld and are not thought 775
to intervene thereafter in the affairs of the living except in one highly limited way. They are not believed to return to the world as ghosts nor are they regarded as a source of danger. But the soul of a living person may turn into an *wanfaukaukat*, or wandering soul, during the course of a malady characterized by weak- 774
ness, fever, and yellow skin. The person so afflicted is generally unaware of the journeys of his soul, but some are said to become *wanfaukaukat* willingly and to remember the deeds of their wandering souls. The soul always travels at night and at these times attacks sleeping people. On occasion, it travels with other wandering souls and, thus strengthened and emboldened, may strike at persons who are awake and walking about.

The wandering soul is believed to be especially dangerous, for defense against it consists of purely temporary measures and there is no cure for sick people whose souls wander. The *wanfaukaukat* can be driven away by the shaman, who spears it with a five-inch-long lance, but it always returns to the attack. It attacks children and robs their souls, and visits adults as a vampire that sucks the blood from its victims. Only the shaman can see wandering souls, although anybody can hear their footsteps at night. However, the soul travels about on a cord that stretches like a piece of rubber, and its footprints are never visible the next day.

After the sick person dies, the soul goes to an afterworld, and its nocturnal 775
travels cease. People so afflicted are not killed, in spite of the danger to the community. The soul of a young woman of the village of Cabruá was known to wander at night, but no action was taken against her. The residents of the village were extremely nervous during the nights of her illness, and most hesitated even to speak of it.

The vampire aspect of the wandering soul is reminiscent of European folklore, 774
and there exists here also the possibility that the Mundurucú borrowed the belief 177
from their Brazilian neighbors. One Brazilian informant specifically stated that the people of the Tapajós River believed that the souls of some sick people journey at night as vampires, although they do not travel on magical elastic cords. Borrowing in this instance appears obvious, although it is not certain just who borrowed from whom. It is possible in all these examples that the transmission of the themes is extremely complex. The Mundurucú may well have received this concept from the whites but through the intermediary of another Indian tribe

774 rather than directly from their immediate Brazilian neighbors. In our present
177 state of knowledge of the ethnology of the Amazon region, reliable reconstructions of such diffusion are most difficult.

774 In the preceding discussion of spirit mothers of game animals, it was mentioned
that the *putcka ñi* avenges itself upon humans by stealing their souls. This is one
755 of the gravest afflictions that may befall a Mundurucú, and only the performance
784 of a ceremony is sufficient to regain the soul of a stricken person; ordinary shamanistic curing techniques are inadequate. Men can lose their souls to the game through a variety of offenses. The insults to the game already described are the most common means of occasioning the anger of the spirit mothers. One can also lose his soul if he sits too close to a fire over which the head of a game animal is roasting, and he is struck by the optic fluid from an exploding eye. Another means of losing one's soul is to have adulterous relations with the wife of a member of the *Bia ñi* (Mothers of the Tapir) society, which is responsible for impersonating the tapir during certain ceremonies. In these cases, the tapir robs the soul of the offending male. The members of the *Bia ñi* society, themselves, are in danger of losing their souls during these ceremonies in which they perform. They must
[515] be especially careful not to bathe in the streams during rituals, as the *tese ñi*, or mother of the prego monkey, will surely steal their souls. To prevent this they bathe in the house from gourds.

Women may also lose their souls through offenses against the game, but since women do not hunt, this rarely occurs. However, a woman who bathes during her first menses or shortly after the birth of a child may have her soul taken by the jararaca snake. Either the large or small species of this reptile family robs the soul, depending on whether the woman is on land or in the water at that time. The jararaca turns the soul over to the tapir, and it begins the long journey described below.

The journey of the stolen soul is believed by the Mundurucú to be a terrifying
774 and danger-fraught experience. Although the *putcka ñi* is often spoken of as stealing the soul, the actual theft appears to be the work of the tapir and, less commonly, of other animals and spirit mothers of species. After the tapir steals the soul, it runs with it through thick underbrush and swims across rivers. The beast then gives the soul to the peccary, which travels for some time with it and then passes it on to a lesser game animal. The soul is finally transferred to the smallest species of monkey which, in turn, gives it to the largest variety of fish. It passes on to smaller fish until it finally reaches the smallest species. At this point the journey ends, and the afflicted person dies.

The person whose soul has been robbed lies in a semicoma and dreams of the trials to which his soul is exposed. The rigors of the trip are such that the person grows steadily weaker, and death may occur at almost any time during the travels of the stolen soul. If the animal with which it is traveling dies, the sick person dies also. Two parts of the journey are especially dangerous. At one point the soul passes within a stone's throw of the house of a prego monkey, which throws semen at it. If the soul is struck by only a drop of the semen, its owner dies. In another

dabbed a bit of rotten Brazil nut on the mouth of each one. It is because of the animals who made the vaginas that they are of different shapes and sizes today, and it is because of the armadillo that the female organ smells as it does. 539x

6. HOW KARUSAKAIBÓ MADE THE SKY AND FINALLY AVENGED HIMSELF AGAINST DAIBÚ

Now Karusakaibó resumed his plans to rid himself of the armadillo-trickster, Daibú. One day he invited Daibú to accompany him to bathe. On the way, Karusakaibó told him, "Carry a flat stone." The armadillo picked up a flat stone and carried it in his hands. "No," said Karusakaibó, "carry it on your head." As soon as Daibú had placed the flat stone on his head, Karusakaibó caused the stone to grow in diameter. It grew and grew, and, in order to support it, Daibú braced his hands beneath it. As it grew larger Daibú cried out, "It is heavy." When the armadillo could no longer support it, Karusakaibó caused both him and the stone to rise high into the air. This great, flat stone is now the sky.

Karusakaibó then made roots grow from Daibú's nose and implant themselves in the earth; the armadillo thus became transformed into the apoi, a tall tree of the jungle. It is this tree which to this day supports the sky, although nobody knows where it is.

THE BIBLE: MUNDURUCÚ VERSION

The following six tales are among the most delightful collected; they are also of great value for an understanding of the processes of integration and creativity in myth-making. The first three synopsize the story of Adam and Eve with Mundurucú themes, and the last three represent a similar integration of New Testament themes. 538 171

Karusakaibó and Tupan are interchangeable in these stories, and the same narrator frequently used both names to designate the same person. The first tale of the cycle, "The Creation of Adjun and Eva," has become a continuation of the account entitled "Karusakaibó Makes More Women." An interesting reversal of Biblical events occurs in that Adjun, or Adam, is made from Eve's rib.

The second story, "The Origin of Work," appears to be an aboriginal myth integrated with that part of the Biblical punishment for original sin that commands that man shall live by the sweat of his brow. Koch-Grünberg recorded a similar story of tools that worked by themselves among the Tariana;[a] and Nimuendajú found the same theme in an Eastern Timbira tale.[b] Neither story betrays European influence, nor does that collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara.[c] The aboriginality of the theme in eastern South America is further corroborated by Métraux's reference to the belief in a land where there is no work as an essential part of the ancient Tupian myth of the "terre-sans-mal."[d] Granted that the legend is aboriginal to the Mundurucú also, they have then adopted and embellished that part of the Book of Genesis which had meaning

[a] Koch-Grünberg, 1907, pp. 135-137.
[b] Nimuendajú, 1946, p. 104.
[c] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 182.
[d] Métraux, 1948, pp. 204-205.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

538
.177

for them. By the same principle, Eve's consumption of the forbidden fruit becomes a minor theme in the third story, and the main activity of the devil-serpent is to teach Adam and Eve the art of sexual intercourse.

The three New Testament stories are all interpretations of Christ's death and ascent to Heaven. In the last two versions, Karumakibi, who in this case is equated with God the Son and not God the Father as in the Genesis tales, is accused of sorcery and is slain by his fellows. Like Christ, he arises from the dead and has further adventures. In two of these stories Karumakibi-Tupan-Christ endows the white people with their technological superiority. The Mundurucú still look upon their own backwardness as the result of Karumakibi's anger.

The last story of the cycle has integrated more European content than have the others. Karumakibi is specifically mentioned as visiting America and Germany, the respective native lands of the author and the missionaries. En route he made salt water and ice, both of which are but dimly understood by the Mundurucú. One episode substitutes domestic fowl for the fishes and loaves of the Sermon on the Mount, but the resulting creation was not used to feed the multitude.

7. THE CREATION OF ADAM AND EVE.

*539 When Karumakibi, or Tupan as he is known by the priests, made the women out of clay, he also made a little house in which he locked the unfinished clay dolls. When he opened the house again, the dolls had all turned into adolescent girls.

There were already men at that time, and one of these men discovered the girls and seduced one. Karumakibi asked who had had coitus with the girl, and when he found out, he made the man marry her. As the girls grew to maturity, the culture hero gave one to each man. Eventually, all the men had wives, and only a girl named Eva was left without a mate. Karumakibi decided to make a man for her. He took one of her ribs while she was asleep, turned it into a man, and placed him beside her. In the morning she awoke to find Adjun.

Karumakibi told Adjun that Eva was his woman and was given to him to help him. He left a quantity of fruit with them, but instructed them not to eat any.

8. ORIGIN OF WORK.

Karumakibi sent Adjun to the forest to make a garden. Adjun did not, however, have to do any physical labor, for Karumakibi gave him machetes that worked by themselves and did not require a human arm to swing them. But he instructed Adjun to refrain from spying upon the work of the machetes.

Adjun, however, was overcome by curiosity and peeked at the activity of the machetes, whereupon they all broke. When Karumakibi saw that nothing had been done in the new garden, he made Adjun do the work himself. And he warned Adjun that his children after him would also suffer for his disobedience. From then on it would be hot, and people would sweat and develop callouses on their hands.

Karumakibi then gave axes to Adjun and again told him that the axes would do the work themselves as long as they were not spied upon. Adjun again looked, the axes broke, and Karumakibi ordered him to fell the trees himself. Adjun

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 American standards, it is tame in comparison with the sit-
649 uation of a century ago when the Mundurucú were still in the heyday of their militarism. The lives of the native peoples are shorn of the elements of excitement and danger; pacification has no doubt been a relief to the weaker tribes, but to the Mundurucú it has been destructive. The tribe is now a society without important goals or a future, and its members know this well. Even more important in the progressive deterioration of the social fabric, though more insidious in its operation, has been trade and the activities that go into the acquisition of salable commodities. The effects of the relations of the Indians with the whites are obvious to the most casual inspection. When my wife, Yolanda, and I first walked into a Mundurucú village in 1952, we hardly expected to encounter a flamboyantly warlike people, for we knew well that the warring had ended some half-century ago. But we were psychologically
• [m] unprepared for the dismal sight of Indians dressed in tattered cottons, for the cheap metal pots and pans, the rubber-tapping apparatus, and the little suitcases that sat in the rafters of every house and in which the people packed their clothes for journeys to their rubber trees or to trading posts. Little children with distended abdomens played in the dirt, hollow-ribbed dogs fought over scraps of fish entrails, and an occasional, and very unaboriginal, rooster crowed. The effect of the sun besting mercilessly on the mud huts in the village clearing, of the surrounding monotonous forest, of our inability to communicate with the people, and of our total incapacity to fend for ourselves in this strange environment, was a most depressing experience. This, I believe, is what some anthropologists refer to as "culture shock."

123 We settled in the village, acquired a Brazilian interpreter who spoke Portuguese and Mundurucú, and began to

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

probe beneath the surface appearances. The Mundurucú were equally curious, and relentless to the exclusion of all personal privacy in their own ethnographic investigations on us. This is perhaps the worst part of field work, and it was more difficult for Yolanda than for me. The insect life forced her to dress in khakis, and only the canons of empiricism convinced the Mundurucú children—and many of the adults—that she was truly a female. The women shook her hammock before dawn to ask her if she was awake, and they made continuous and repetitive demands on her for bright glass beads. Her relations with the females were of a reciprocal nature; that she was another woman was more important than her role as a foreigner, and she was able to establish close rapport with them for field work. I, who did not hunt, fish, sow, or reap, could claim no such close identification with the men. Our research proceeded, and we found that there was still much that was distinctively Mundurucú below the veneer of material acquisitions. Beyond this, the grinding processes by which Mundurucú society had become transformed and is becoming transformed unfolded themselves through our observations of their continuing mode of existence. The headhunter's heritage, pale and secularized as it may be, was of consummate interest to us as social scientists. 123

This book, in essence, is the story of the relationship between the white man and the Mundurucú. It is a prosaic and simple tale, unadorned with episodes of valiant resistance and glory, and surprisingly lacking in oppression and suffering. But, perhaps for this reason, it contains an element of tragedy, because the processes of this history have worked inexorably upon Mundurucú society and cultrue for a century and a half and have brought a once proud people to the brink of social extinction. 121

The complex causes and processes of change in Mun- 177 182

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians SL4

THE SETTING

M 177 182

durucú society are the subject of this study. But fundamentally what has taken place is the attraction of a simple people by the new, glittering, and eminently useful objects proffered by Western civilization, and their ultimate reliance upon these items. These things, in themselves, have had limited effect on aspects of culture other than the material inventory. Rather, it has been the means of obtaining them and the social relationships in which they are exchanged that have altered the nature of Mundurucú society. These means have been the production first of manioc flour and later of wild rubber as cash commodities, and the establishment of a client relationship to white patrons in a mercantile economy.

M [439]

B M 182 563 177

The experience of the Mundurucú is not unique. It has parallels throughout the world, especially in Amazonia. There, remnants of similarly fragmented tribes have merged into the racially mixed population, and others are on the threshold of assimilation. Incorporation into the neo-Brazilian, or *caboclo*, population of the Amazon valley is not as long a step for the Indian as the corresponding process in the United States. The term caboclo is used in Brazil to designate the lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior. In the Amazon it refers to the rubber collectors and farmers, whose racial composition is generally a cross of Indian and Caucasoid with a minor admixture of Negroid genes. No strictly defined racial demarcations prevent the transition of Indian to Brazilian. The barriers are social, linguistic, and cultural. That is, the Indian remains such as long as he identifies himself with a tribal society and plays social roles within it; and the extent to which he preserves the cultural and linguistic symbols of his own society makes possible life within it and inhibits communication beyond it.

Most Indian groups of Brazil are today transitional to

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians SL4

incorporation in Brazilian society. They have acquired a limited but adequate body of common understandings with their Brazilian neighbors, and their social structures have become accommodated to their relations with the whites. Straddling two worlds, their positions are not stable; and they push themselves and are pulled from the outside into closer relations with Brazilian society. The "pull" arises from the chronic demand for cheap labor in the Amazon; the "push" is a product of the native's increasing desire for manufactured possessions, coupled with disturbances in his society which resulted from this acquisitiveness. The outcome of the process is the disappearance of traditional Indian social systems. But the affected Indians are not left in a social limbo. Rather, they shift their principal bonds of dependency to their already existent relations with the whites and move into the general orbit of caboclo society.

An understanding of the process by which native societies of the Amazon have become economically and socially dependent on the white man, and of the effects of this dependence, are central to an understanding of the transition from Indian to caboclo. Other aspects of the native culture are secondary in importance; the Indian, once incorporated, has ample opportunity to learn the white man's ways. Or, if he is disinclined or unsuccessful in this respect, his children, who have been reared outside the traditional social matrix, certainly will become linguistically and culturally as much, or more, Brazilian than Indian.

These remarks are also pertinent beyond the Amazon valley. The final chapter of this book will consider the general relevance of Mundurucú social and economic change to an understanding of the broader problems of culture change.

[Text continues on page 7]

174 try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional home-
151 land as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 360 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in
• 177 search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his
[298] first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western
[301] style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is
[415] a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they [illegible]
142 in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the
[304] younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the
171 Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely
361 Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

439 648 This account is hardly the complete story of the Mundurucú's contact with Western society, and, since more than one hundred fifty years have passed, it cannot be taken literally. But it explains summarily how the Indians became engaged in the Amazonian barter economy and were induced to accept the whites. Trade with the white men had much to offer. Steel tools are so far superior to stone axes and bamboo knives that they have been sought after eagerly by almost all aborigines. The efficacy of firearms, also, was early and forcibly demonstrated to them by the whites. The traders had many other things that attracted the primitive population of the Amazon. Among them were trinkets and glass beads, the raw Brazilian rum, *cachaça*, clothes to protect them from insects and the cool nights of interior Brazil, and all the gewgaws and gadgets of the civilized world.

177 648 439 Once exposed to these mixed benefits of Western culture, it is as difficult for the aborigine to turn away as it is for the American; he is caught in the trap of his own newly induced needs. So strong is the Indian's desire for manufactured goods and so great is his dependence upon them that the Brazilian Indian Protection Serivce commonly [illegible] the [illegible] of Western communities to establish communication with hostile tribes preliminary to their pacification. Traders in the Amazon region have classically used this technique to attract and hold native labor, which they have always desperately needed in their efforts to extract wild products. The Mundurucú have not suffered from the worst excesses committed by the commercial interests, but other means, including torture and degeneration by rum, have been used to recruit them and other Indians throughout the Amazon Valley. The net effect has been to draw the native population into a client status under white patrons and to integrate it into the mercantile econ-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural change in this part of South America. 177 648 439

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong attacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2] 175 648

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Tapajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the 181 175 [797]

[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[2] Almeida Serra, 1803, pp. 4-5.
[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

settlements traded to obtain Western goods. The process of assimilation proceeded with such rapidity that by 1817 Ayres de Casal was able to say, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians."[9] The Mundurucú occupants of the lower Tapajós were not, however, completely mission-dominated, as "a quite considerable distance above Vilanova de Santa Cruz on the west bank of the Tapajós, there is a village inhabited by another horde of Mundurucús, still pagans, and already having gardens, some already using trousers, and the women skirts, all of cotton."[10] There is no mention in the sources of the presence of the traditional village and men's house on the lower Tapajós. Apparently, the migrants did not transfer the native community organization to their new habitat.

The Madeira River area was likewise a region of post-contact penetration by the Mundurucú. This contradicts the information given to Lt. Herndon of the U. S. Navy by Alphonse de Lincourt, a French engineer of Santarém. According to the latter, the Mundurucú, after becoming friendly with the whites, moved out of the region between the Tapajós and the Madeira and retired to "the deep solitudes of the Tapajós above the cataracts."[11] It is much more probable that the Madeira region was an area of late eighteenth-century hostilities in which members of the marauding Mundurucú war parties had settled near the Brazilians and were later followed by other migrants.

Johann B. von Spix and Karl von Martius state that in 1819 the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River in the lower Madeira drainage had 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[12] The Indians were settled at the mis-

[9] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 238.
[11] Herndon and Gibbon, 1854, p. 311.
[12] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1300.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken.

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cupari River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[16] Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343;

[16] Ibid., 1863, p. 240.
[17] Ibid., p. 225.

of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous."* Contact 175
between the two regions has completely terminated since 648
that time, and the modern Mundurucú of the upper Ta- 182
pajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only
by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but ver-
bal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area in- [177]
dicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

The assimilation of these Mundurucú has been made 582
complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the com- 648
mon-law type, between Mundurucú and caboclos. These unions are almost always between Brazilian men and Indian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it degrading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also, there has historically been a shortage of women in the Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have generally been unmarried men. The children of such marriages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer considered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically, the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the Tapajós is partly Mundurucú. The mother of the mayor of the municipality of Itaituba was Mundurucú, and he is quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the Tapajós agree that the Mundurucú are "good people and hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive con- 175
tact between Brazilians and Mundurucú in the region ad- 648
jacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the century these Mundurucú merged progressively with caboclo society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their homeland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

* *Ibid.*, p. 425.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

Tocantins states that many
175 Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servi-
466 tude by the whites,[24] a practice common to all of Amazonia
648 at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons
[166] to work in different regions, and others remained all year
at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mun-
[162] durucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[25] All these scattered Mundurucú
[177] were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average pop-
[592] ulation of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

175 The population of the savannah villages decreased dur-
621 ing this period because of death from disease and loss of
622 people to the river banks. However, the villages them-
648 selves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are
439 mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became
900 a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[24] Ibid., p. 148.
[25] Coudreau, 1897, p. 108.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Second, warfare, for both mercenary
pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced 175
scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because 182
of the acquisition of firearms.[24] The continuance of warfare 648
helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as 721
social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating [622]
their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional vil- 175
lages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not 439
as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian so- 648
ciety as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap [177]
rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more 175
valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the 469
end of the century was netting the traders fabulous mon- 648
etary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber col- 221
lecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional- 131
type villages no longer existed on the waters of the 175
Crepory River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[24] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 pajós,[27] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited
175 the headwaters of that river in 1850.[28] Thus, by 1895 at the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining
[177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization. They had acquired steel tools and cothes from the whites, and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber
182 economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and
648 mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was
177 a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads. It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men, who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically at the past.

175 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom col-
459 lapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension
648 to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased in importance and yielded [illegible] The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

[27] Coudreau, 1897, p. 30.
[28] Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175
439
to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by 667
the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound ef- 175
fects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fif- 166
teen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and 361
the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight vil-
lages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their
populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the
river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages.
There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Bra- [177]
zilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages main- [342]
tain the men's house and a modified form of the native
dwelling.

Except for the village of Caui, established in the 1930's 175
by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the 184
Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to 361
three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The con-
tact between the two populations is diminishing; they
trade in different places, their way of life has become dif-
ferentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The 175
Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian 184
term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no 186
clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps
with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such
ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-
River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect
his campineiro's greater knowledge of the traditional
culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities,
and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The mis- [797]
sionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the
campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to per-
suade the people to abandon their native practices and ac-
cept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

Whereas it is possible for only one to three men to hunt other species of animals, the entire male population of one or two villages is needed for profitably hunting wild pig. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to one hundred. Under these circumstances a single hunter can kill only one or, at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men can surround the animals and obtain a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, wild pig, and deer are also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal; if there are two or three hunters, the possibility of successfully dispatching the animal is thereby improved. 224

The increased use of firearms is highly significant in this regard. Even a ball from a muzzle-loading shotgun has greater range and velocity than an arrow. The lower power of the arrow is especially noticeable at longer distances, for its large surface area causes it to be considerably slowed by air friction. Besides, the bullet has greater stopping power. This is important, for wild pig and tapir frequently run for hours with two or three arrows in their bodies. In the village of Cabruá, the men owning firearms frequently hunted deer and tapir alone, while those using bows and arrows depended on their companions for added firepower and the opportunity to mount ambushes from which the animals could be shot at close range. Since firearms are still scarce in the savannah villages, collective hunting patterns remain relatively undisturbed, and the hunt may be considered a cohesive factor in village life. 177 224 411

FISHING

Fishing is secondary in importance to hunting in the subsistence economy of the savannah villages, but the Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the larger 226

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 streams rely primarily upon fish for protein. The savannah villages are several hours inland from the nearest navi-
[361] gable streams. This settlement pattern was well adapted to the defensive requirements of a warrior society, but it removed the communities from the best fishing sites. The narrow, shallow streams within easy reach of the villages yield only smaller species of fish and in limited quantities.

• 177 The Mundurucú relied little on the river system for
501 food or transportation in times past, as is shown by the fact that only in recent years has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The modern Mundurucú canoe is usually of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders; before contact with the whites the only water craft used was the bark canoe. Not even this canoe, however, was native to the Mundurucú for they acknowledge having acquired it from their Tupian-speaking neighbors, the Apiacá. In early times, the bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when the Indians were on war expeditions. Small streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among the Mundurucú of the savannahs, despite their annual dry-season residence on large streams. Only two men in the village of Cabruá owned canoes and no one in Cabitutú had one.

An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual
226 rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks, allowing the
(192) fish to disperse through the flooded forest where they feed on fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is difficult in the rain-forest region, even for people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who have to fish with bow and arrow from the river banks, it is almost impossible. The modern residents of Cabruá say that their lack of canoes would make it necessary for them during

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the rainy season to fish by wading through the igapó, 226
or flooded forest—impractical because of poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

These formidable obstacles restrict the savannah people to one or two trips per rainy season to streams where small fish are taken by drugging. The yield is unimportant in the total rainy season diet, and the expeditions do little more than satisfy a desire for variety in food. Fishing is quite important during the dry season, however, when the people move to their rubber-avenue homes on the banks of large streams. This, as has been mentioned, [221]
represents a continuation and intensification of a pattern that predates the rubber trade; in those times, the villagers spent several weeks every dry season in temporary camps along the rivers, where they hunted and caught fish.

Dry-season fishing is done by two means. The first is to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms are often built in the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it is preferred to the hook and line, which was intro- [177]
duced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth, and the turgid flood waters make the bow and arrow useless.

A second and equally important method is by poisoning the waters of lakes and medium sized streams with *timbó*, a generic term for a variety of fish poisons used throughout the Amazon. The timbó paralyzes the gills of the fish and suffocates it, but the fish remains edible as it does not become poisoned internally. Timbó is found in wild form in forest lianas, but the Mundurucú use

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tato (*Ipomoea batatas*), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, and pepper. At some time after the advent of the whites in the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, potato, and sugar cane were introduced. Cotton, although native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the Mundurucú until the nineteenth century. Similarly, although the potato is native in western South America it was not found aboriginally in the eastern part of the continent.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village is more than adequate, but not unlimited. Amazonian forest soil is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and friable and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks formerly used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. There is some variation in soil quality, however, even in this rather uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Mundurucú territory because it is periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass-covered savannah. The tillable forest land is classified by the Mundurucú into the categories of black, red, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only kind in which they raise squash, melon, beans, and rice. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings. On the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done
by the owner, usually aided by other members of his
household. His wife and the other women of the house
plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is
done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid
252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beiju*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of farinha (flour).

Beiju manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from
[92] the gardens in burden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal farinha "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the manioc with steel knives, using quick chopping motions, and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The
[92] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *pentadea* palm, halved and placed side by side to form a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against
• [177] [illegible] cut out and punctured with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipiti*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger squeezer. The tipiti is suspended at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in cool streams. The tubers are then split open and the pulp is scooped out into baskets and brought back to the village. Much of the starch washes away during the soaking process, but the necessity of grating is eliminated. The pulpy mass is placed directly into the tipiti, squeezed, and then sifted and toasted.

DIVISION OF LABOR

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an over-all picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with all tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor is by sex. There are no specialized occupations among the women, and the only ones among the men—shamanism and chieftaincy—are hereditary, done without reimbursement and without releasing the individual from production. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú is especially deep. The men hunt, fish, and do only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also make baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women do all the other gardening work, process manioc, cook, tend children, fetch water and firewood, weave hammocks, and make pottery. The two latter arts, especially pottery making, are now being displaced by manufactured articles.

Among persons of the same sex, and only occasionally between the sexes, cooperation is the keynote of the Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which are almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts are made in groups. This does not discount the individual pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trail-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ing, and bow-and-arrow fishing, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture is done by numbers of men working in coordination.

House-building is also a collective task; men do the heavy work of construction while women and children aid in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since house-building is almost always done only when the entire village moves, every household helps the others in the task of construction. All houses of the new village rise uniformly instead of being completed one at a time, thus giving considerable efficiency in the collection and preparation of material.

Women, also, rarely work alone. Farinha is manufactured in a true division of tasks corresponding to the number of distinct steps in the process. Thus, one group of women is occupied in digging up the tubers and transporting them to the village; two or three more women grate the manioc; two others work the tipiti; another sieves the wet flour; and, finally, two women are busy toasting the product on the copper griddle. Chews are occasionally exchanged. Whatever the relative advantages or disadvantages in efficiency that may be obtained through cooperation, the sheer drudgery of farinha production is mitigated, for these are sociable gatherings. The females of one household form the minimal work unit, and all women of the village commonly join in. Cooperative manioc processing by all village women originated after contact with the whites, and informants say that as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century the women of single households constituted the basic work groups. Depopulation has contributed to this change, for in former times the household-extended family included as many women as there are in some modern villages. Also, before the introduction of the large, copper pans, beijú and farinha were toasted on ce-

ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally considered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the women always seek company when they go to the stream to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the economy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Cabocls* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $80 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *cabocls* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

459 487 577 648 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their excursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main business is with their own patron, they often make side trips to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

171 648 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent, and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 648 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 648 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual

Mundurucú who work for the traders or live among the Brazilians. Some of these people maintain relations with the savannah dwellers and communicate to their residents knowledge of Brazilian culture. Other Mundurucú spent time among the Brazilians when young and later returned to the savannahs. They are few, but so are the remaining campineiros, and this is accordingly an important mode of influence. These sojourns among the whites take various forms. Some Indians are raised in the households of the traders, who claim that they do this only to "educate" and Christianize them. Actually the children perform household service without pay, but they are fed and treated well and are integrated into the household and family of the trader. They become well indoctrinated in Brazilian culture, as are other Mundurucú who have spent some years in the employ of the traders. Most such people do not return to the savannah villages, but the few who do go back for varying periods are significant in the introduction of Brazilian culture. But the structure within which this communication operates is set up by the patron-client relation —that is, cultural knowledge is transmitted through the agency of a social system that was established for the exchange of commodities.

COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

This section summarizes the factors that promote the cohesion of the savannah villages and the opposing factors that disturb social norms and cause losses in community membership.

The Mundurucú feel that their way of life can only be conducted successfully in the traditional village locales of the savannahs. To leave these communities is to become almost a foreigner. Considerable sentiment is thus attached to life in the savannah villages and many people,

of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard.

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old cooperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on large groups

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

done by the men, women, and children, working in common.

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reestablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun-

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú household shows that the people there own many more manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native manufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock making are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress. The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appreciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western culture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arithmetic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remarkable. And although Christianity is not actively rejected, the people are not deeply affected by the missionary teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and respected without any commitment or great interest on the part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in encouraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and therefore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives upstream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the Indians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

162 men's house, and the newly formed Caul, is 60. On the
361 other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

361 Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east, [312] but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest. [311] There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage [134] of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one [342] of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the [177] Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal [343] dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds [177] adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctively Brazilian trait.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion in their short histories. The main reasons for their creation were the perpetuation of kinship ties and the desire for companionship and cooperation; all these bases of solidarity are now deteriorating. Finally, the Mundurucú social system is incompatible with heavy preoccupation with the rubber industry. The nature of this trade and the ecological conditions of rubber exploitation tend to produce an atomized and scattered society. The economic and, to a lesser extent, social integration of such a trade-oriented economy is provided by the market. The Mundurucú of the Cururú River are being drawn increasingly within the orbit of the Amazonian credit system. The traditional bases of integration are now gone, and social change can have no other direction.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the elements of a society to its stability would miss the major problem area. Many social institutions and modes of action did little to maintain a smooth flow in the Mundurucú system of social relationships, and some tended to disrupt and destroy the fabric of the society. The working hypothesis used by social anthropologists that social systems tend to establish a new equilibrium when disturbed has great methodological merit but is of limited utility in the present case, because Mundurucú society is hurrying to its own demise. /2/ /82

If the social system has ceased to function smoothly, one might ask how this study can be called a functional analysis; and how Mundurucú society can be said to be systematized if there are great incongruities between its parts. These questions may be answered by stressing that the Mundurucú still maintain a social life, despite its manifold changes and internal strains. The presented data suggest that human societies are less bothered by inconsistencies than the social scientist, who abstracts and constructs his systems from a mass of observed behavior. Moreover, Mundurucú society was at no time fraught with absolute contradictions, and there remain important accommodations and adjustments between some of the central activities that make up the totality of their social life.

A major source of change resided in the fact that continuing and patterned relations have been established with another society, that of Amazon Brazil. The adaptation of institutions and modes of behavior to the new system of relationships with the whites called for corresponding adjustments in Mundurucú society itself. Beyond this, the Mundurucú were brought into contact with a larger world through the medium of the market, and the Indians became sensitized to its demands. These demands of the market changed in type of commodity sought and in /82

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

amount, and the native social structure was directly affected.

That Mundurucú society was not isolated and was not stable, were advantages to a functional analysis rather than disturbing factors. Through observation of change in a component part of a system, it was possible to examine and determine with some degree of verifiability the ramifications and strength of relationship between the changing part and other parts. Functional links of interdependency did indeed exist, and change had repercussions through at least part of the system. As A. R. Radcliffe-Brown phrased it: "It is a corollary of the hypothesis of the systemic connection of features of social life that changes in some features are likely to produce changes in other features."[1] Thus, the functionalist method, when used in the dimension of history, has led to the study of social causality. It further illustrated that the direction of change was profoundly influenced by the structure of Mundurucú society; in this way the social system acted as a field of plural determinants, and social change derived therefrom its order and regularity.

At the time when the tribe erupted so violently into history the Mundurucú were patrilineal and patrilocal and appear to have been undergoing expansion in population and territory. Their social structure was well adapted to such growth, because the equivalence of kin and territorial unit permitted a segmentation process whereby small kin-local groups split off from larger ones. The offspring units, composed of residential nuclei of patrilineally related males and their wives, were miniatures of the parent groups, and they maintained a relation with the parent units through the over-all structure of lineage, subclan,

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 7.

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

made the tribe useful to the whites. It was important to the Brazilians to maintain the friendship and virtual autonomy of the Mundurucú; the group was accordingly spared some of the severe contact traumata experienced by other Indian tribes of the rain forest.

The social system resulting from the first set of changes in Mundurucú social structure of which we have record persists (with some further modifications) in the present-day savannah villages. From one point of view, it might be said that these early alterations had one over-all function: they fulfilled the new social need of accommodation to Brazilian society. Peaceable relations were established through mercenary service and trade in manioc flour, and these were the means through which the Mundurucú acquired trade items. But the fact of a system of interrelations between Brazilians and Mundurucú meant that the social system of the latter had become vulnerable to changes in the former. Thus, when the direction of the Amazonian economy turned to rubber extraction, the Mundurucú were accordingly affected.

The rubber boom was roughly concurrent with the general pacification of the middle Amazon region. The Mundurucú were needed then as workers, and not as warriors. For the most part they turned to rubber tapping to get merchandise. The total lapse of military activity undercut some of the bases of Mundurucú social solidarity and exposed the institution of leadership to the strife inherent in the political organization. Witchcraft and the execution of sorcerers continued—there are no data to indicate either an increase or decrease of the practices—but in a new social setting. The formerly prevailing consensus in executing sorcerers, which was a reflection of social solidarity, is now difficult to obtain, and the custom today disrupts cohesion.

THE CHANGING SOCIAL SYSTEM

177 182 649 439

The problems of leadership and sorcery are not the only causes of contemporary breaking up of traditional Mundurucú society. Forces external to the society merit consideration. It was stated that the rubber industry caused no immediate ecological disruption, but this is true only as long as the Indian remains a marginal producer. His absorption into Amazonian economy and his obligations to the patron eventually increase to such an extent that the Indian cannot participate effectively in the native social system. His role as a member of a village and of an extended family becomes incompatible with the obligations of clientship because the latter demands a period of rubber production that overlaps the village horticultural cycle. When access to and dependence on trade goods grow, dependence on the individualized labor and personal holdings of the rubber avenue grow also. This, too, is incongruent with the cooperative labor and collective economy of the native social system. As the participation in the two social systems becomes increasingly incompatible, the fears and factionalism of village life cause the Mundurucú to move more completely into the patron-client relationship. The dilemma of role conflict and group tensions is resolved by withdrawal from village life and by the restructuring of their interpersonal relations in the larger framework of Amazonian society.

The Mundurucú are forced into their new mode of existence by several factors. Some of these are elements of the native heritage, such as the conflicting modes of residence and descent, chieftaincy, and sorcery. Others, as for example, trade relations and rubber production, originate from the outside. Social systems are not self-contained structures that respond only to their own needs; they are related to other social systems through networks of structured relationships. For this reason Mundurucú society can

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

be understood only with reference to the well-defined social roles of the enemy and the trader, to name the two most important. The relations of the Mundurucú with their enemies were sudden and violent. Communication and, therefore, diffusion of the forms of culture were minimal due to the mode of interaction, but this by no means vitiates the importance of the hostile outer social world for an understanding of inner social processes.

The trader, on the other hand, is met under peaceful and mutually desired circumstances, and relations with him have different effects. In contrast to the enemy, he communicates knowledge of a different culture to the Mundurucú; his role in this regard was formerly mediated through the chiefs with whom he dealt but is now more potent, for he has face-to-face relations with a much broader segment of the population. This, however, has not been the most important concomitant of the trader role. It is rather to the trader as the purchaser of commodities and the purveyor of goods that attention must be turned, for it is through these activities that Mundurucú society has been most deeply changed and the populace become dependent upon outer sources for felt necessities. Economic autonomy, once lost, is rarely regained. As Mundurucú wants grow, their bond to the trader tightens at the expense of similar ties to kinsmen and co-residents. When the economic life of the individual Indian is confined to the traditional relation of patronage-clientship, he is effectively a cuhocla. The trader, like the enemy, is regarded by the Mundurucú as given in the nature of things and beyond the control of the members of the society. Thus, while individual traders are often mistrusted and despised, the institutionalized obligations to the patron and the role itself are never questioned. But, in the final analysis, the patron is the surrogate of the Western economy, and his

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study, for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock* is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

* Ibid., pp. [illegible]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

determined comparatively: cross-cultural studies of social and cultural change may well use the factors of ecological adaptation and types of relationship between social systems as constants. This is a different common denominator than the genetic one suggested by Fred Eggan as a means toward controlled comparison,* but it has been used by Steward and myself in a comparative analysis of the rubber-tapping Mundurucú and the Indian trappers of Canada.† In the latter study, we attempted to demonstrate that the two populations experienced similar relationships with mercantilist, extraction economies, which entailed similar ecological adaptations. Both groups underwent disturbances of traditional patterns of postmarital residence; and both eventually underwent transitions in which the population became reorganized into loose aggregations in which larger bonds of economic dependency were transferred to patrons.

Finally the relevance of the present work for the study of "acculturation" must be considered, for I have given little attention to the borrowing of the symbolic forms of Western culture by the Mundurucú. The term "acculturation" has had a varied history and much ink has been spilled over its definition. It is generally defined as comprising those changes that take place as a consequence of culture contact. Its application in the past, however, has usually referred to the absorption of the content of European culture by a primitive group. Acculturation studies have been characterized by a concern with the phenomenon of diffusion, although on a large scale, and with the processes through which the content of other cultures is accepted and incorporated. Although such studies are interesting and valuable, I have not chosen acculturation as

* Eggan, 1954.
† Murphy and Steward, 1956.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the central problem of this work. It might be asked whether the classical culture-historical emphasis of acculturation studies would have elucidated or confused some of the central issues of Mundurucú social change. Could the development of matrilocality have been understood in these terms? Or could the fact that family organization among the Mundurucú of the Cururú River is converging with that prevalent among the Brazilian population of the region be clarified by noting their intercourse with celibate German priests? It is true that the priests have encouraged the independence of the nuclear family, but how does this also explain a similar process of fragmentation among the Indians without close contact with the missionaries? Also, it cannot be denied that the adoption of Brazilian forms of dancing and tonsure, of dresses and guitars, are significant because they constitute breaks in the symbolic barriers between the Mundurucú and the whites and, in effect, bespeak alienation from the past. But were not these barriers already shattered and was not the major part of the population already alienated from their heritage by other factors?

The necessities of existence and the ways in which people and peoples interrelate should be the central problems for the student of culture change—as they are for the persons caught in the process. These, and not man's propensity to imitate, cause the fundamental alterations of a way of life. The question is perhaps too often phrased as "how *have* cultures changed" rather than "how *do* they change." The former leads to description, the latter to theory.

A recent report by a Social Science Research Council seminar on acculturation has expanded the outmoded definition of acculturation as simple transmission of culture between groups in contact to include almost anything that happens when "conjunctive" relations are established be-

Like all people, the Wandurrum are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the mirage of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Bibel's tactics were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. In this violated a value standard and at the same time alienated the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows.

Bibel not only misunderstood the ends of Wandurrum prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Bibel's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he was only disliked and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Something though all this was to the delicate alignment of Wandurrum social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this alignment, Bibel had committed the central error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role constraints. Factions and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Wandurrum, but they are carefully represented, required for the functioning of Wandurrum society. The average Wandurrum is well-versed in disguising aggression and in presenting the bland face of neutrality, but Bibel's non-socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not attuned to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any outsider, he had come down to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly alienating his allies against him, a normal course for a Brazilian chief but not for a Wandurrum chief.

II

Bibel's alienation from Wandurrum society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through the role of chief of the village of Cabiuchi. The contemporary Wandurrum chieftaincy must be appreciated as a hereditary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader seeks increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely control the patrilineal rule of inheritance of

6.20 the chieftaincy. It is common practice to select one or two months before and longer than is his household; this is what happened to Sibel. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favor of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, so he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his wishes, even at the expense of the Ruahanwi villagers.

The contemporary Ruahanwi chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both sides have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by careful adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and without acquiescence to the demands of the traders. Sibel's father, Cantono, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Cantono would communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubbery; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He also sincerely sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

6.22 Cantono embodied many characteristics of the traditional chief. As older man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and cajoled, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Cantono knew Ruahanwi traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

6.22 Sibel's position was very different from that of his father, for he was the protégé of the Indian boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he could recognize only Sibel in dealings with Cantono. The residents grudgingly assented, but they regarded him as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was, in reality, a recent dissent who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office.

6.22 Sibel's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To compliment matters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Cantono. Patrilocality, I have said, is the normal mode of residence among the Ruahanwi, but the sons of chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of Ruahanwi motivation, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters to them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilocality of the chief's family is to exhibit. By keeping the sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the discontinuity that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilocally related kin, a small and military patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Such an idea may reinforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise enhanced authority. For the rest of the

/9 cont./

*241 or if other relatives have come to live in the house, then the plot is
[104] made larger. The calculation is thus basically intuitive, even though it is based on practical experience gathered through generations.

*241 Nowadays, the Indian usually plants a little more than he needs
• 177 for his own use, to obtain a surplus (along with the surplus of rubber
[43] he has gathered) and improve his lot by using it in the purchase of clothes, cows, machetes, etc. The garden, therefore, helps him to maintain his economic balance at his present stage of acculturation.

[245] Another factor which also depends in part on the terrain is the shape of the plot. Here, however, other elements are already in evidence, especially the influence of neo-Brazilian acculturation. Whenever possible, the Mundurukú prefer the traditional shape, which is rounded or elliptic-oval. Thus did the ancestors make their plots, and thus they are made to this day in the villages of the interior. Still in 1957, this garden shape could easily be distinguished when flying over the villages of the Kabitutu and Paranhiri. But this is no longer an iron rule. "It depends on the terrain," they told me. But I believe that the influence of the peasants is stronger than that of the terrain. Thus we find gardens of various shapes, elongated, rectangular, and even square. The latter predominate especially in
[361] the Curuá and Tapajós region, and thus in areas where the Mundurukú no longer live in village communities but in isolated dwellings. The
[112] dismembering of the community and the emancipation of the Mundurukú family from the village system are reflected here as they are in many other aspects of the culture.

*241 2. Clearing—ryur tarabm. To clear is to cut down the undergrowth with the machete, removing from the site of the future garden shrubs, young trees, and brush. This is done to prepare for the next task, which is the felling of the trees. In this way, the woodcutters have greater freedom of action. After the trees are felled, it would be impossible to clear the ground of undergrowth. As a rule, the clearing is done in three days' work, and some time is allowed to elapse for the brushwood to dry.

/11 cont./

*341 462 [512] The man dig or opens a hole in the ground (tkudn). He does this with a "digging stick," which consists of a strong rod, about 2 meters long, pointed at the lower end. The man pushes this rod hard into the ground, at an angle of 30 to 45 degrees, and then straightens it to a vertical position. This opens a small pit into which the woman who accompanies him puts two or at most three shoots of bitter manioc (8) (masok taisabm or masok ip maum). Removing the tip

[131] [244]

8. Maniva /bitter manioc/ is the name of the plant and the generic name of this vegetable (Manihot utilissima), while the roots, in the form of large tubercles, are called "mandioca." The bitter-manioc stalks, after the harvest, are saved for the next planting, when they are cut into pieces of 20 centimeters at most. These pieces, or "manioc shoots," are planted in the manner indicated above, for manioc does not propagate itself through seeds.

of the stick from the pit, she steps on /the pit/ to close it up and to pack the soil, but in such a way that the upper ends of the manioc shoots stick out in order to grow branches and leaves. Under the influence of civilization, nowadays the Mundurukú are already using spades and even iron digging tools. The distance between the manioc pits is approximately 1 meter on the average. •[177]

*341 There is no doubt that the Mundurukú carry out their horticultural work within a certain system, not only as regards the steps involved in clearing the plot but also in the planting itself. There is a sequence to the planting steps. In the time that elapses between the final burning and the planting, as a rule they sow watermelon, which thrives amazingly in the recently burned ground. Only then

/15 cont./

*241 Also:

192 pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties
262 banana—aku, 11 varieties
cotton—buru, two varieties
urucú—tyuku, tyuku a
papaya—asïu a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Mundurukú also have a certain number of vegetables which back-
[302] woodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor.
[157] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet
[189] are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 From this list, it becomes clear that the Mundurukú must have
●177 had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Mundurukú are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (9)

[171] 9. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation

/16 cont./

*241 •177 [171]

of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Mundurukú.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the [361] Mundurukú, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Though this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Mundurukú and were, for the most part, adopted [797] by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquistions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grass-
262 lands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour ex-
177 emplifies this process. In the old days, the Mundurukú were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not [252] know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which sometimes they even roasted on stone (slabs)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Mundurukú of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Mundurukú of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial pur- [439] poses. Martius, Bates, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Mundurukú of the Tapajós carried on
241 with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems
177 obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the more usage of a plant

/17 cont./

241 which they were already cultivating, the introduction of new plants
177 /must have been/ all the more /uncertain/. Here, the process may have been even slower.

242 Of even more recent acquisition, especially through the influence
137 of the Franciscan mission founded in 1911 on the Cururu River, are
177 products such as rice, beans, and various other plants which are
799 cultivated chiefly by the religious sisters, but which have been adopted by the Indians on a very modest scale. During the last decades, the following fruit trees have reached them: the mango tree, the orange tree, the lemon tree, the coffee shrub, and a certain type of cacao tree. They were already familiar with other products such as maize, pumpkins, etc., but cultivated them on a very small scale.

*241 8. Weeding or cleaning. We have described the planting. A few facts remain to be given concerning the garden tasks after planting. It is obvious that, once the planting itself has been done, the plot still requires a certain amount of care. Not right away, but after several weeks or months. /lic/ This is the weeding. Between the planting and the harvest, two weedings of the garden are usually carried out, the entire plot being cleaned. They speak of the first and second cleaning, or of the first and second weeding. This is done almost exclusively with the machete. There is no specific time set aside for this, because it depends to a large extent on the weather (rains) and on the need. The first weeding is called tip ogn, the second karit ogn.

244 9. The harvest. The Indians generally use the regional term, "tearing up the plot," or "pulling up the bitter-manioc roots"—masok ta ogn. Within a year, the garden has matured and may be torn up. The manioc roots are pulled up by hand. The entire plot is not harvested at one time, but according to need. In order to pull up the manioc roots, a certain amount of strength and ability is required. Often, when the tubercles hold firm to overly hard ground,
[412] the Indian digs with the machete around the roots in order to loosen the soil and pull out the manioc root /18/ with greater ease. This same technique of using the machete as an auxiliary tool in the extraction of manioc roots is also used in gathering other tubercles, such as yams, sweet potatoes, etc.

/21 cont./

*241 192 462 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does this, but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

*241 621 It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Mundurukú who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those [178] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate [591] nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Mundurukú Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

• [177] 2. Between the Mundurukú who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc. rivers.

*241 476 621 /22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or less the primitive or traditional form of the Mundurukú agricultural system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance. Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Mundurukú/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

/25 cont./

*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the manure garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard-
[594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the
[423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sys-
[201] tem of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal
[342] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result,
[423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus each man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties
[474] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*241 ●179 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and distribution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable cultural elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, non-Brazilian environment.

*241 602 431 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

0: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Munduruce SQ13

Matrilocality and Patrilocality in Mundurucú Society

ROBERT F. MURPHY
University of California, Berkeley

UNILINEAL descent and unilocal residence, by definition, follow one of but two possible lines, the male or the female. Simple arithmetic would therefore dictate that there are four possible combinations of common descent and residence. Only three of the combinations, however, are found to have any frequent and reliable occurrence. Kroeber (1952:218) noted the single lapse in the following observation:

> "Logically the possibility arises of a fourth plan of society: matrilocal but patrilineal . . . I do not know of such a society, and should expect its occurrence to be rare."

This combination is certainly unusual, and ethnographic literature yields practically no descriptions of its unequivocal occurrence. In most cases, the unilocality or unilinealty of the group is questionable. For example, Leach and Brook (1947:418) claim the Karen people of Burma to have patrilineal clans and matrilocal residence. However, the sources which they cite in support of this contention (Marshall 1922; Heine-Geldern 1923) do not warrant such positive affirmations as to the rule of descent. This conclusion with regard to the Karen is verified by Murdock (1956). Residence rules are likewise subject to misinterpretation, for in many cultures matrilocality is frequently a temporary state followed by permanent patrilocality.

In 1952 the writer discovered the co-existence of matrilocality and patrilinealty among the Mundurucú Indians of the upper Tapajós River in central Brazil.[1] Existing information on the Mundurucú had led me to believe, before field research, that the group was patrilocal. Subsequent field investigation proved the contrary to be true, and gives us one of our few authenticated accounts of a patrilineal group in which postmarital residence is permanently matrilocal.

The purpose of this paper is to present the pertinent data for the use of students of social organization, to describe how such a system functions, and to discuss its significance in terms of the evolution of social structure. Consideration of the latter problem will be reserved until the conclusions of this paper, for much of the discussion will hinge upon what seems incongruous, nonfunctional, or dysfunctional in Mundurucú society. This material, when analyzed with reference to the limited amount of historical data available, suggests strongly that the Mundurucú shifted from patrilocality to matrilocality in the first half of the nineteenth century. The bearing of such a change upon Murdock's observations (1949:190) on the difficulty of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent: becomes immediately apparent when it is considered that much of Murdock's position depends upon his persuasive argument that a patrilineal society cann change from patrilocality to matrilocality only with great difficulty. It would seem that this shift in residence patterns is possible under certain conditions which will be analyzed functionally among the Mundurucú. Matrilocality, (following Murdock's use of residence as a determinant

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1997 SQ13 Munduruku SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive action formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1902, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by inner and unnamed phratric affiliations, and patrolled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries though more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of chieftainship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

also gather large quantities of salsaparilla, balsa-rubber and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders on their arrival at the Sangipani (the coastal-side-wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucus beyond the rubber-rich hard forest to distribute their wares--cheap cotton cloth, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and perfumes--amongst the women chiefs, and then wait three or four months for payment in produce". (1962, pp. 240-241).

When rubber became the major product of commerce the same pattern of trade was perpetuated among the Mundurucu. All of the rubber collected was turned over to the chief, who alone negotiated directly with the trader. The compensation given for the rubber was, insofar as could be ascertained through contemporary informants, equitably distributed to each man in proportion to the rubber he had produced. But since chiefs were commonly more prosperous than other men, it can be assumed that they did not suffer in their role of middleman. The share taken by the chief, however, was never so great as to result in truly significant wealth differences. In fact, the traders usually managed to keep the Indians in debt, and this debt was charged against the chief as the representative of the village. Tocantins, who visited the Mundurucu in 1875, published a bill presented to the chief (Tocantins, p. 154). If this bill is typical, the Indians' indebtedness was frequently very heavy. These debts were used to force the chief to extract greater production from his followers.

As the Mundurucu dependent increasingly upon trade, the chief became more subordinate economically to the trader, who manipulated him accordingly. The trader eventually was able to appoint "chiefs" to carry on the trade. An appointed chief was usually known as the *cacique*, or "captain", as distinguished from the hereditary village chief, who was called *apoiaiaugi* or *ipinaugi*. By using the "captains" as local trade representatives, the traders were able to increase their control over the villages. At the same time, by robbing the hereditary chiefs of their trade function, they weakened the unique structure of leadership. In time, the *cacique* displaced the hereditary chief almost entirely. To increase the prestige of the trader-appointed chief, the trader often took his protégé on his annual trip to buy supplies in Belém, where the chief's position was confirmed by the governor or some other official.

The Mundurucu dependency upon trade at first apparently increased the prestige authority of the hereditary chief, for the villagers relied upon him to produce and escort their best informants in trading activities. The appointment of *caciques* undermined the native chief, and initially increased the trader's control over the village. The people became confused, however, as to whether the *cacique* or the *apoiaiaugi* should be regarded as "chief". Ill feeling towards the kingpins of the appointed chiefs began to develop, for the Indians were always aware of, although powerless to cope with, the sharp practices of the traders, and they usually assigned the *cacique* a share of the blame. Upon the latter fell the onerous task of goading the people to harder work in the rubber avenues. Since most Mundurucu do not even today consider rubber collecting a congenial occupation, the role of the *cacique* must have done little to increase his popularity. During the field research among the Mundurucu, the young, bilingual trader-appointed "chief" of the village of Cabituti was in danger of losing his life. Contrast of the trader, whom the "chief" represented, was centered upon this young man and threatened his position so greatly that he was on the verge of flight.

In later years, as will be described subsequently, individual Mundurucu Indians have tended increasingly to deal with the trader directly rather than through the "chief". For this reason, village political organization has been effectively shattered.

The white-appointed Mundurucu "chief", unlike his Northeastern Algonkian counterpart, mediated trade relations between a group of followers and the

624
438
178

chiefs. After individual trading had become strongly established among one section of the Mundurucú, however, "chiefs" were chosen by the Indian Agent and by missionaries in order to control the general behavior of the Indians, and not specifically for commercial purposes. This more nearly approximates the modern Indonesian situation, although it was reached through a different sequence of functional roles and from a different aboriginal base. In both cases, the Indians themselves were very conscious that these men were not genuine chiefs in terms of aboriginal leadership patterns, and both groups apparently suspected that the white-recognized chief was promoting the interests of the white men rather than those of the men people. The new leadership patterns never became fully established. While these patterns were functional in terms of white-Indian relations, they were dysfunctional in terms of the native socio-cultural structure.

Among the Mundurucú, therefore, the integrity of the local sociopolitical groups was, in part, temporarily maintained by a change in the functional role of the chieftain. But the changed pattern of leadership eventually became dysfunctional resulted in part from the ecological adaptations necessary to rubber collection. These adaptations, however, did far more than contribute to the disintegration of political controls. They undermine the very economic basis of village life.

317

Hevea brasiliensis, the native and most common species of rubber tree, grows wild throughout the upper reaches of the Amazon. It can be exploited only during the dry season, and, in the upper Tapajós River valley, the maximum length of the gathering season is from May to early November, approximately seven months. Since these trees are scattered throughout the low lands near the watercourses, they are reached by circuitous paths cut through the undergrowth. The spacing of the trees and the work involved in rubber collection generally limit the number of trees tapped daily by one man to one hundred and fifty or less. Some collectors improve their yield per tree by maintaining two or three separate avenues which they visit only every second or third day. The distribution of rubber trees is such that each avenue gives access to trees within an area of about three to five square miles. The actual size of this territory depends, of course, upon the density of the rubber trees. In some sections of the Amazon drainage wild rubber is more abundant than are others. One may travel ten to twenty miles on reaches of river where rubber is sparse without passing a single habitation, but, where rubber is more plentiful, one encounters houses at intervals of a mile or even a half-mile.

The rubber tapper must work in his avenue or avenues almost daily, and therefore must live near them. Since each tapper exploits a considerable tract of land, his physical remoteness from neighboring tappers is a matter of necessity. Thus, on the Tapajós River, which has a population of about 3,000 excluding the Mundurucú, there are only two Brazilian villages of any consequence. One of these has a population of about 700, and the other has only 150 people. The other settlements are merely trading posts consisting of a trading post and from two to seven houses. The majority of the population live in isolated houses on the river banks.

[364]

The exploitation of wild rubber is a solitary, individual occupation in that the tapping of the tree, the subsequent collection of the latex, and the final coagulation process are one-man jobs. The last phase, carried out at the end of the day, consists of solidifying the latex over a smoky fire. The simplicity and the daily time-schedule of the entire rubber process in Amazonia is such that no one can profitably leave off collection to specialize only in tapping or collection or coagulation. For similar reasons, two men do not work in the same avenue. However commendable, it would not be a practicable means of increasing production.

This brief account of how wild rubber is exploited is necessary to an understanding of changes in Mundurucú society. In the earlier contact period, the 438

177 [illegible] portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased wants of and desire for trade goods could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber stands [illegible] to make it more comfortable during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the [illegible] of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of resettled families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Amazon Portuguese, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social [illegible] on the Tapajós, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the Cururú River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururú River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

177 621 574 The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective [illegible] which characterized the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the remoteness communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which [illegible] formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the tools, [illegible], and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the elaborate division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

621 178 Political authority on the Cururú River was almost nonexistent. The migrants began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururú River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the Cururú River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

to the disorganization of Lower River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the remainder caused an overcrowding of men on the Lower River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber estates or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Russian and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucu. Over one-third of the Lower River population make their many months home at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Russian, also, that the lines of authority are radiate.

28. Comparative Summary

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical narrative. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantially different until the final culmination was reached. There were four general factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while incurring new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The subsistence-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing time of dependencyagain the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon become necessities—a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while Brazil nuts and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of fur-bearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur-animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Kuntaguain, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Kuntaguain chief. Kuntaguain family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

[text continues on p. 349]

[3] of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only now
in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild
rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes
or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers
of the scattered collector population.

[4] Several days and barely 400 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading
posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Mundurucú popu-
lation. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near
the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadiuéu, Cabituni, and das Tropas.
A number of Mundurucú villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and
an occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually ragged or ill-fitting
clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading
posts. Racially, the Mundurucú does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes
are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes
among the local Brazilians.

If one wishes to reach the village of Cabituni, a typical Mundurucú community
of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabituni
River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of down-to-
dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch
of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 100 yards away. The house is
usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabituni go
there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village,
one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from
the valley of the Cabituni and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small
stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a sun-
scorched savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but
steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one
to the village.

The majority of the Mundurucú now live on the banks of the larger streams of
the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there.
Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 reside on
the Cururú River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman
Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated
part of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River.
But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River
is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are
believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the
historic period and, according to Mundurucú tradition, since the creation of man.

The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Mundurucú
architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each
has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a
central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance
precincts and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbrush. And
the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tribe in general and the extended family in particular. Also, although the men's houses are still built according to the traditional pattern, the dwellings are now built on a rectangular floor plan in contrast to the older elliptical shape.

Modification of the traditional Mundurucú village is even more striking on the shores of the Cururú River. Some villages number almost 100 inhabitants, but others are tiny hamlets of two small houses, none has the men's house. All dwellings face toward the river, but there is no over-all village plan. The houses are constructed of wattle and daub and, but for a few distinctively Mundurucú characteristics, are much like those of the Neo-Brazilian population. This conformity to the architecture of the whites* is even greater on the Tapajós River, where the Mundurucú live in single-family isolation.

The decline of Mundurucú culture is also evident in the physical appearance and dress of the people. All now wear the cheap cotton shirts and trousers or Mother Hubbard dresses sold to them by the traders. The more traditional men of the savannah villages generally wear penis sheath and bark belt beneath this raiment and usually hunt in the latter accoutrements only. The elaborate body and facial tattooing that once formerly the hallmark of all Mundurucú, both male and female, is also on the wane. It is common now to see young people who are half-tattooed or who have only the first few lines, never completed because of the lapse of the practice.

Humor

The current decadence of Mundurucú culture is not unexpected. On the contrary, it is remarkable that the Mundurucú have preserved so much, and that they still have a semiautonomous society after more than a century and a half of continuous peaceful relations with the whites. They arrived late on the Amazon historical scene, and were not noted in published reports until 1768.* Whether the Mundurucú reported at that time were the members of a war party or had migrated from their home territory is uncertain, for they were seen far to the north of the upper Tapajós country on the Nauó-Aná River, a tributary of a channel of the Madeira River named the Paraná Mirim. But their center of strength remained roughly in their present habitat, and they fought a colonial military detachment in that region in 1795.* Their defeat at the hands of government troops ended more than two decades of Mundurucú raids upon the Portuguese settlements of the Amazon and ushered in a period of peaceful relations and active alliance with the whites.

Subsequent to their pacification, large numbers of Mundurucú drifted into the vicinity of the growing towns and missions on the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers. The missions are of especial interest to the subject matter of this study. In 1803 the mission of Santa Cruz was established on the lower Tapajós River

* The term "white" as applied herein to the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon is used as a shorthand way of saying, "people bearing a local variant of Luso-Brazilian culture, and who identify themselves with Brazilian society." Actually, the local people represent varying degrees of Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid admixture.

* Monteiro Noronha, 1862.

* Almeida Serra, 1803, pp. 6-8.

11: Murphy E-9 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

had doubtless begun long before the establishment of the present mission, it is probable that items of Christian belief have diffused to the Mundurucú and been reinterpreted by them for a period of more than 150 years. These items of belief are now, from the viewpoint of the Indians, Mundurucú ideas. They recognize the affinity between Christian concepts and stories and some of their own, but they shrug off the former by saying that that is the way the priests tell the stories. Some informants thought that the priests had learned them from the Mundurucú—and learned them poorly.

The vast majority of Christian teachings have not, of course, been integrated into Mundurucú culture, and the Indians are exposed to these alien beliefs whenever they visit the mission or are visited by priests. Some of these, as the concepts of sin and damnation, are well known to the people, but make no emotional impact upon them. The idea of sin, especially original sin, is predicated upon the type of internalized authority more characteristic of the members of a complex society. Mundurucú social control is not dependent upon a sense of guilt, and the structure of personal relations is adequate to govern individuals. The Indians look upon this central theme of Christianity with mixed views. Some feel that hell is the particular destination of white people, but others hardly bother to think about it at all. This summarizes the attitude of most Mundurucú toward missionary instruction. They rarely disbelieve the priests, for the latter are regarded as wise and sincere men. But their teachings are thought to be those of white men and thus to be true only for white men. There is no single and absolute body of unchangeable truth in the Mundurucú mind. Within their own mythology, for example, there are two separate origins of man. Logically, this appears contradictory, but the Mundurucú do not put these beliefs to the test of logic. This statement does not imply that the Indians are illogical. Rather, it merely suggests that they, like most primitives, are not theologians. For this reason, the native and Christian beliefs coexist quite easily; but most Mundurucú have little interest in the latter, although they may not actively resist and reject them.

Social and Economic Changes

Although it is doubtful that Christian proselytization has resulted in a large-scale displacement of native beliefs, the fact still remains that many aspects of Mundurucú religion are in full decline. This decadence is not understandable as the result of a conflict of patterns of belief. Rather we must view religion, with Durkheim, as being in some way an expression of the mode of organization of the society. Also we are not concerned merely with belief, but with the closely connected subject of ritual; and the form of ritual is directly related to the structure of the social group that implements it.

With this thought in mind, we can review some of the major changes that have taken place in Mundurucú society since their contact with the whites. First, the Mundurucú were evidently patrilocal, as contrasted to their later matrilocality, until some time in the early nineteenth century.* This change in residence patterns revolutionized Mundurucú social structure. More than 40

* See Murphy (1956) for a full discussion of the causes and implications of this change.

11: Murphy E-9 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

patrilineal clans, ranked loosely into unnamed phratries and divided almost equally between exogamous moieties, persisted, but the residential basis of patrilineality disappeared. Males formerly remained in the house and village of their birth, but now they were dispersed by the new marriage rule. Clans lost their lineage nuclei and correspondingly suffered a loss of function. Bride service had in a sense become permanent, and the men's house, formerly the dwelling of village bachelors and young men in bride service, became a permanent dwelling of the men.

That is essentially the situation in the contemporary savannah villages. But the social organization of the Curuá River settlements marks a further change from the savannah pattern. Matrilocality is still rather vaguely regarded as the ideal residence rule for all but the sons of chiefs, and the custom is followed in a significant number of cases. Actually, however, many marriages are patrilocal, and there is an increasing tendency for couples to become neolocal eventually.

Furthermore, family life and the social division of the sexes has been drastically modified on the Curuá River. The Curuá villages are the result of migrations by nuclear and extended families from near-by savannah villages and do not represent the simultaneous moves of entire villages. The men's house was never instituted on the Curuá and dwellings were characteristically small. Thus, the Curuá River houses are the residences of one to three related families, whereas those on the savannahs, even under present conditions of depopulation, have an average number of about four families each. Men reside in the same houses as do their wives and children on the Curuá River, and the nuclear family approaches being an independent social and economic unit. Under these conditions the village has little cohesion, and recurrent factionalism results in the proliferation of new and smaller villages. Among these units there are individual ties of marriage and kinship, but the mission provides almost the only context in which the residents of different villages interact in a group.*

Other factors have modified Mundurucú social structure and religion. The population is probably about one fourth of what it was 100 years ago;* this has resulted not only in greatly reduced villages and households, but it has decreased the number of shamans. Other influences have aggravated this decline. The end of warfare did much to devitalize the Mundurucú and to promote the growing disinterest in the native culture. It also eliminated a whole range of religious ceremonies that formed part of the head-hunting complex. Finally, there has been a profound shift in subsistence base among those Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the Tapajós and Curuá rivers. In contrast to the savannah dwellers, who are vigorous hunters, these Indians depend primarily upon fish for protein. This has significance for the religious concepts and activities centered on the animal world and hunting.

* The respective social and economic organizations of savannah and Curuá River villages are compared and analyzed with reference to the ecology of rubber collection in another work. (Murphy, 1956)

* According to some sources, this decline has been even greater. Martius (1867, p. 390) estimated the Mundurucú population to be 40,000 in 1819, and Tocantins (1877, p. 101) calculated their number to be 18,910 in 1875.

IV. CEREMONIALISM

Contemporary Ceremonialism

There exists a deep and nostalgic awareness among the older Mundurucú that they are witnessing the disappearance of their way of life. It is felt acutely that most of the wise and learned men of the tribe are dead and that the remaining few will die within the near future. Only six traditional savannah villages remain and their populations are diminishing steadily. Those Mundurucú who have migrated to the banks of rivers to escape the problems of village life or to have easier access to their rubber avenues are rapidly losing the native culture. The young men who remain in the interior villages tend to be more conservative than the latter but still fail to transmit effectively even the attenuated body of tradition that they have learned. Although this dilemma is known and deplored by the Mundurucú, they view the process with considerable fatalism. Little attempt is made to reinstate that which has lapsed for they view this deterioration as progressive and irreversible; they fully expect to lose the balance of their culture. 178

This realistic appraisal of the precarious position of Mundurucú culture and society is in part the result of the disappearance of some of those ritual aspects of culture that were the expression of its vitality and were important to its integration. These aspects were, in turn, undermined by those modifications in the structure of the culture that have been taking place since the nineteenth century.

One of the integrative bases of Mundurucú society—warfare—ended in the early part of this century as a result of the deep involvement of the Mundurucú in rubber production. The end of warfare and head-hunting concluded a series of ceremonies that centered about the trophy head and the persons of the successful warriors. The status of the warrior, the power of Mundurucú arms, and the supernatural significance of the trophy head were, accordingly, no longer celebrated. These were very real values in the nineteenth century and are still considered by the Mundurucú themselves to be the hallmark of traditional Mundurucú culture. 178 726 796

Another series of rites that were held for the spirit mothers of the game has also fallen into disuse. No clear and obvious reason, such as the end of warfare, can be offered for the cessation of these ceremonies. Informants claim that today they lack a sufficient number of powerful shamans to perform the rites effectively. In a sense, this is true. 178 224 796

Two different ceremonies, named *Arasorai* and *Dajearapsip*, were held for the mothers of the game. The former was a lengthy festival that lasted throughout the rainy season; the latter was much like the *Arasorai* in form and function but was compressed into a ten-day period. According to our closest possible calculations, the *Arasorai* could not have been celebrated since 1930 and must have lapsed during the period when a large part of the Mundurucú population moved to the Cururú River. Communication between the traditional villages

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of the savannahs and the new ones of the river bank became attenuated, and a lack of powerful shamans in the former communities may well have developed. The shamanic *Dujaxapanip* ceremony was practiced as recently as 1941 or thereabouts but has since lapsed in spite of a few unsuccessful efforts to resurrect it. By that time the lack of shamans must have become acute, as it is today in many sections of the Mundurucú country. Also, the early 1940's were a period of intense rubber collection, owing to the stimulus provided by World War II. During these years the Mundurucú of the savannah villages grew more accustomed to clothing and other attractions of the outside world, and involvement with Brazilian society increased. The exact effect of these influences is uncertain, but interest in ritual embodiedly was replaced increasingly by apathy and fatalism in the face of the decay of other aspects of Mundurucú culture. Communalism not only heightens social cohesion, but it reflects it. So far as the structure of Mundurucú society was undermined by other factors, so also was the basis of the ceremonial revival.

The form of the extinct ceremonies for head-hunting and the spirit mothers of the game was described by informants. Other rites were reported by them in very fragmentary form and were attributed to a more remote past. Only a curing ceremony and the complex of ceremonial activities surrounding the sacred trumpets are still extant and were observed by me.

The Dujaxap Ceremony

One elderly Mundurucú reported a ceremony called the *Dujaxap*, which he said had ceased to be practiced long before his birth and which had been related to him as a boy by the old men. The *Dujaxap* was said to have been held infrequently; it was initiated during the summer, and the associated ritual activities occurred intermittently over a two-year span.

It was not possible to obtain a full account of the purpose or form of the ceremony, for the informant remembered only disconnected items. It obviously had some significance as a rite of passage, for young boys were taken into the men's house and allowed to return to their proper dwellings only at the end of the two-year ceremonial period. During this time they were referred to as pet jacamis by the men, and three stripes were cut through their hair, from front to back, in imitation of the feathering of that bird. When they were finally released from the men's house, they were given sharp wooden "beaks" with which they "pecked" at the women. During their confinement they could leave the men's house only to relieve themselves. The men periodically hastened the growth of the boys by standing upon their feet and lifting them up by the armpits. The "young jacamis" could eat only a certain type of diet, the meat of which was carefully examined for traces of skin, which was believed to make the boys ill.

Other passages of the *Dujaxap* included the previously mentioned rite in which three powerful shamans transformed people into animals.[1] Flutes were played by

[1] My informant reported that boys are initiated for this ceremony at the age of three; I think this quite doubtful and believe that five years is a more reasonable age.

[2] See p. 42.

V. MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

538 773 [114] A COLLECTION of fifty-eight myths and folktales was recorded in the villages of Missão Velha and Cabruá. The latter community, one of the more conservative savannah settlements, was far more productive of traditional lore of all kinds and most of the material below was gathered there. Although this chapter represents the complete body of oral literature collected in the field, there is undoubtedly more available if a wider range of Mundurucú informants were to be sampled. Some myths, such as that of the origin of class collected by Father [178] Kruse,[1] were specifically sought, but were unknown to those questioned. Mundurucú mythology has undoubtedly undergone considerable attenuation, and there may be among the large number of stories no longer extant.

537 538 The older Mundurucú say that oral literature was formerly much more actively recounted and transmitted. During the evenings, the elders told tales to all the assembled men, and children were brought to listen. These sessions are no longer frequent, but considerable interest is still manifest among the listeners. A number of men and children and usually some women gathered around whenever I found an informant with a story. Indeed, without an audience the narrator would not put forth his best efforts. The delivery was always quite animated and was accompanied by vivid gestures, imitations of animals, and dialogues between the personages in the story. The audience gave full attention, and it was considered most disrespectful to create any diversion during the narration. All [522] laughed readily and spontaneously at the appropriate passages, although many had heard the tale several times before.

538 773 517 The stories themselves range over a variety of subjects and are told for a number of purposes. They have been broken down into six major categories to provide continuity. This does not represent an attempt toward a systematic classification of the myths; actually the categories overlap considerably. For example, the animal tales are generally told for amusement, but they frequently explain the origin of certain species. On the other hand, the Karusakaibó cycle is a true creation myth and is centered upon the activities of the principal culture hero. [522] There are numerous passages in this myth cycle, however, that are considered highly humorous by both narrators and audiences, and in other incidents animals are also created. Similarly, a category of cosmological myths has been included, but there are several events in other tales that are also important to an understanding of Mundurucú cosmology.

538 773 Through all, there is a running theme of the importance of the animal world to Mundurucú society and of the close interrelation between the two. In many tales, animals either have the form of people or are able to take on this form. The mythology does more than explain the origin of animal species, for in almost all cases the various animals are transformed people. That the species had their origin in the human world tends to reinforce the special significance given them in ceremonies and the supernatural belief system.

This affinity between animals and humans will be evident in the saga of

[1] Kruse, 1954, pp. 26-27.

VI. RELIGION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

In the first chapter of this study it was suggested that changes in Mundurucú religion could better be understood through an analysis of changes in other aspects of the culture than through knowledge of the activities of the missionaries. This is not to deny that the priests are and have been powerful and influential figures among the Indians. But their proselytizing efforts have consistently been realized only after certain social and economic changes have taken place. Also, changes in religion have consisted principally in the disappearance of activities and beliefs. The acquisition of Christianity has been an extremely slow process, although it might be hypothesized that it will become accelerated with further disintegration of Mundurucú society.

Until very recent years, the core of Mundurucú religious beliefs was the relationship between the world of humans and that of the game animals; the sharp decline of this aspect of Mundurucú religion is one of the most striking changes. The bond between animals and humans was clearly expressed in the complex of beliefs and rites connected with the spirit mothers of the game, and the *Aroiorui* and *Dajourwparip* ceremonies were the most important of all Mundurucú rituals. Their enactment protected humans from the vengeance of the spirits and promoted the fertility and availability of game. Even the sacred trumpets, originally the abodes of ancestral spirits of localized clans, acquired a vague and undefined relationship with the animal spirits. Warfare, also, was rationalized by the beneficent influence of the trophy head upon these supernaturals. Furthermore, the shaman was not only responsible for feeding the spirits, but he was believed to be able to cure the animals that dwell in human form in the Land of the Game, much as he cures the tame game animals found in every Mundurucú village.

The closeness of the human-animal bond can be seen in other aspects of belief. Mythology abounds with accounts of animals that at one time had human forms, and the origin of certain species from the metamorphosis of humans is common. That the reverse can also take place is seen in the conversion of people into animals during the *Dapurip* ceremony. The best example of the merging and interpenetration of the two realms is the saga of Perisuit, who became almost animal through an extended and solitary stay in the forest.

The relationship between Mundurucú society and the animal kingdom was one of symbiosis. The Mundurucú depended upon the animals for subsistence, and the animals, through their spirit mothers, depended upon the Mundurucú for the performance of rituals essential to their well-being and increase. The disappearance of these rituals is explained quite simply by the Mundurucú as owing to the lack of shamans sufficiently powerful to protect the animal spirits and human participants from attacks by the *Tawapari*. This view is true to the extent that there are fewer shamans among the contemporary Mundurucú, but it also reflects a characteristic fatalism and apathy toward the aboriginal culture. Not only are modern shamans said to be weaker, but men, in general, are not believed to be as strong, brave, and wise as were their forebears. And game is not as plentiful as it was in times past, nor are women considered as beautiful and desirable.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

77/ 78 In short, the Mundurucú view their present condition with apathy and face the future with pessimism. They make no great effort to preserve past practices because they feel the struggle is futile and their way of life altered beyond redemption. As one Mundurucú informant phrased it: "We are now all *parisut* [non-Mundurucú]."

Reasons for this attitude can be found in the effects of more than a century and a half of contact with white society. During this period the population has been assailed by European-introduced epidemic diseases, and large numbers of people have migrated to the vicinity of white settlements where trade goods can be procured. The present Mundurucú population is probably one quarter that of the mid-nineteenth century. This depopulation and the increased involvement in the extraction of wild latex brought an end to warfare during the early part of this century. This had the obvious effect of terminating the ceremonial cycle devoted to the trophy heads, but it also had other repercussions. Warfare was, even more importantly than hunting, the principle expression of masculine values among the Mundurucú. It served to provide the men of several villages with a common goal, thereby promoting social cohesion, and it constituted a means of safely releasing repressed hostilities that had accumulated between members of the society. The end of warfare thus deprived the males of their sustaining and fortifying self-image as valiant warriors and removed one of the chief bases of social unity.

The pursuit of the hunt, however, continued after the termination of military forays. But the Mundurucú had become deeply committed to rubber tapping, and the demands of this activity upon their time forced them to depend even more heavily upon fishing during the dry season, when rubber is collected. Today, the men of the savannah villages still hunt almost daily during the rainy season, but three quarters of the surviving Mundurucú population, who live along the banks of the larger streams, rely chiefly upon fish as a source of protein throughout the year.

The shift from hunting as a primary subsistence activity further undercut the cultural emphasis upon masculine values, which were central to the religious complex surrounding game animals. Of even greater importance, it stripped the ceremonies of their economic rationale and made them less meaningful in terms of mundane activity. Finally, the progressive, ongoing fragmentation of Mundurucú society has not only induced apathy toward the traditional culture, but it has weakened the group unity upon which the performance of ceremonies depended, and which they expressed.

Collective religious activity, in general, has almost completely disappeared among the Mundurucú. Small gatherings take place when the sacred musical instruments are moved to a new men's house, and the trumpets are still played a few nights a week. But social change has had a profound effect upon this sector of Mundurucú religion also. The connection between the instruments and the clans was based essentially on a patrilocal rule of residence. Under it, the dominant or only clan of the village could quite reasonably be considered as the owner of the village instruments which were the repository of the ancestral spirits of the clan. Since the change to matrilocality, the instruments are considered to belong to

the clan of the man who manufactured them. If he dies or moves to another village, it is quite possible that no other man of that community will belong to the clan owning the trumpets. It is, therefore, understandable that informants were often vague when asked to explain the connection between clans and instruments. Many people believed that the trumpets had souls of their own and that these were the most important spirits resident within them. And, as has been mentioned, it was commonly thought that the playing of the instruments was pleasing to the spirit mothers of the game. 771 178

The actual function of the trumpets in present-day Mundurucú society has little to do with clanship, but much to do with the maintenance of the sharp dichotomy between the sexes. The instruments are primarily the property of the village men and are expressive of their unity and identity in the face of the women. In this connection it is significant that the villages that arose along the Cururú River have never had either the men's house or the sacred trumpets. As a corollary, the gulf between the sexes in social participation and labor that characterizes the savannah villages is lacking. On the Cururú the nuclear family is the basic social and economic unit. Men eat and sleep with their families and join their wives in tasks that would be considered degrading by a savannah dweller. But the demands of the rubber trade, combined with the covert hostility and factionalism that exist in all Mundurucú villages, are currently promoting migration from the savannah communities either to the Cururú River or to isolated residence along other streams. The end result will be the complete lapse of the sacred instruments and the men's organization.

The only other extant ceremonial is the one devoted to curing victims of soul loss. Since human souls are stolen by the spirit mothers of the game, this rite is also one of the few remaining religious acts that deals with this category of supernaturals. It is most significant that all the important means of obtaining the good will of these spirits and the increase of game have lapsed, although the Mundurucú have clung tenaciously to the technique of defending themselves against the spirits and rectifying the damage done by them. It may be said of the religion of the contemporary Mundurucú that it has retained those items that specifically protect the individual and, to a less degree the society, from harm though dropping those features that were not so immediately defensive in nature and which were more expressive of the integration and central values of the society.

To continue this line of thought, we turn to a consideration of those elements of Mundurucú religion that have maintained greatest vitality—shamanism and sorcery.[1] The two institutions are inseparable in the Mundurucú mind; the shaman cures diseases, which are invariably caused by sorcery, and the sorcerers are recruited from the ranks of the shamans. But disease, its explanation and its cure, has much greater significance than as a system of belief. Kluckhohn has shown for the Navaho that sorcery plays a vital role in the release of aggression,[2] and Beatrice Blythe Whiting's monograph *Paiute Sorcery*[2] shifts emphasis somewhat and stresses the function of sorcery as a mechanism of social control. Both of these fac- 178 771 152 754 578

[1] Kluckhohn, 1944.
[2] Whiting, 1950.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 771 152 754 578

tors, but primarily that of aggression release, play a part in Mundurucú sorcery also.

In a previously published work* I set forth the thesis that aggression cannot be tolerated in Mundurucú society because of the combination of a matrilocal residence rule and a patrilineal descent system. Under these social conditions each man has two sets of allegiances, one to his clan and the other to the household and village of his wife. Since the two do not coincide, he occupies social roles that potentially can conflict. That is, squarrel between households or villages may well pit fellow clansmen against each oher, and, correspondingly, conflict between clans can cause internal dissension within villages and even households. Open aggression is therefore avoided among the Mundurucú, and, although interpersonal and interfactional tensions abound within the group, they are generally suppressed. The feeling of horror at the outward display of hostility between men is so strong that informants were unwilling to give data upon its occurrence, although it occasionally happens.

Violence during warfare or theexecution of a sorcerer, however, is thoroughly condoned. Attacks upon enemy tribes served to channel hostility upon surrogate objects outside the society and thus promoted social cohesion, but this avenue of release is no longer open. The only remaining catharsis for aggression is the practice of sorcery and the execution of suspected sorcerers. Another alternative, withdrawal from the frustrating situation, has been made possible by the general pacification of the upper Tapajós area and the consequent possibility of flight from village life. In former times it would have been most risky for an individual or family to forsake the mutual security offered by the local group, but today it is common for Mundurucú to livein the midst of the Brazilian rubber-gathering population. Even within the confines of Mundurucú territory, the tendency toward neolocal residence makes isolated or semi-isolated existence socially acceptable.

Mundurucú sorcery has a number of interesting facets. It is impossible to induce any shaman to admit the practice but the body of detailed knowledge of witchcraft techniques suggests that it ndeed exists. Granting that witchcraft is not completely a figment of the Mundurucú imagination, the practitioner undoubtedly derives considerable gratification of his antisocial inclinations. Also, the Mundurucú generally fix suspicion of sorcery upon the more deviant shamans. Thus of the two people known by me to have been suspected of witchcraft, one was a rather humorless, silent, and aloof man, and the other, although more outgoing, far outstripped the other members of the village in rubber production. The threat of sorcery accusation, it may be inferred, tends to enforce social participation and conformity.

These factors of covert release of aggression and social control are, however, applicable only to the ranks of shamans. Persons born without shamanistic powers are unable to practice witchcraft, and sorcerers do not practice on behalf of others. But the dogged persistence of belief in black magic among the members of the society at large suggests that it does perform a very vital social function. It has al-

* Murphy, 1957.

ready been mentioned that depopulation, the disintegration of the social structure, and the decline of such highly valued activities as warfare and the hunt have robbed the Mundurucú of much that was vital and positive in their way of life and left them disheartened and apathetic. Frustration, in the classic paradigm, normally leads to aggression, the expression of which is forbidden in this culture. Fear of sorcery among the Mundurucú is a means of embodying and phrasing in understandable terms not only the manifold anxieties of their existence but the latent aggression that nearly all members of the society carry within them. In this connection, it will be remembered that the intrusive objects made by the sorcerer are spread abroad and are not usually directed against any one person. The sorcerer is then, as the Mundurucú say, malevolent toward society in general. This is not only logically consistent with the indiscriminate ravages of epidemic disease, but it also suggests that the accusers of the sorcerer displace generalized aggression to his person and eradicate it through his execution. 178 771 152 754 578

That considerable aggression is unleashed upon the executed sorcerer can be inferred from the quality of the executions and the way in which informants report them. Many, if not most, executions take place from ambush, but some are bloody affairs in which the accused is beaten to death with clubs. And the Mundurucú enthusiastically relate these episodes with obvious hatred for the victim. The men of the village of Cabruá derived evident satisfaction by pointing to a brown smear on the posts of their men's house and saying: "That is where we wiped the blood of our last sorcerer from our hands." This emotional intensity parallels that reported by Kluckhohn among the Navaho,[a] and among both peoples this is atypical behavior.

Since aggression is related not only to real interpersonal differences but to frustration and general insecurity, it should be expected that witchcraft accusations would be most common in periods of stress. This is borne out by the Mundurucú practice of refraining from direct action against the sorcerer until illness becomes severe in the community and deaths occur. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient historical material to demonstrate conclusively, as did Kluckhohn, that sorcery troubles are correlated with historical periods of crisis. The best primary source on the Mundurucú, the report of the Brazilian engineer Antonio Tocantins, in 1875, describes sorcery executions as extremely frequent and one of the major problems of the Bacabal mission.[b] But it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this data and to control all the variables in the situation without similarly complete reports from other periods. In 1875 the Mundurucú still waged war and therefore had available a means of expression of hostility which had the obvious advantage of being directed outside the society. But on the other hand, Mundurucú society was then being subjected to its greatest threat since the contact with the whites, for these were the first years of the rubber-extraction period, and the Indians themselves were becoming increasingly involved in the industry. White rubber tappers were penetrating the area in growing numbers, and the mission had just been established. In 754 756 152 578

[a] Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 58.
[b] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 107–111.

third village, however, the power of the chief's family must have been weak, 756
for both he and his son were slain as sorcerers by the other men of the village. 759
The tendency for villages to fractionate because of sorcery fears and accusations
is probably greater now than in the past. Not only is village cohesion in general 152
much weaker, but the disappearance of such leadership activities as heading war 578
parties and trading on behalf of the village as a whole has made it most difficult
for the chief to obtain the consensus necessary to carrying out an execution.
It must not be thought, however, that lack of unanimity in sorcerer killings
indicates a decline in belief in black magic; it rather reflects distrust of the
sincerity of the accusers and the existence of latent factionalism that may not
be directly caused by witchcraft. But these occasions bring conflicts to a head
and open breaches that are in many cases irreparable and can be resolved only
by the removal of one party.

This analysis of the Mundurucú data indicates that although the institution 182
of sorcery may be viewed in one light as socially integrative, so far as it acts 152
as a cathartic for aggression, it may also be most disruptive of social cohesion, 754
for it often aggravates tensions.[6] It would seem that shamanism and sorcery have 578
become complementary to the central direction of social and economic change.
The ecological accommodation to increased participation in rubber production
calls for the dispersal of the population into ever smaller units in the vicinity
of the stands of wild rubber trees. Correspondingly, sorcery conflicts tend to
disintegrate larger village units while being integrative for factions within the
village, which then commonly establish themselves as small local groups. This
is not the only means by which social fission occurs. Latent conflicts that do not
involve sorcery sometimes cause families and factions to leave villages; others
leave because of the economic expediency of residence near their rubber avenues.
But sorcery remains as a contributing motivation for the participants in the
process. The Mundurucú example thus suggests that the institution of sorcery
may promote the cohesion of a society as a whole, but only where other bases
for such cohesion exist.

The close relationship of religion to the social structure can be seen quite as 182
clearly in the context of change as in a synchronic dimension. As the society 178
has become progressively divested of those mechanisms that integrated tribe 771
and village, so also have group religious activities fallen into abeyance. What
remains are the essentially individual practices of shamanism and sorcery. This
is the same process noted for other parts of South America by Steward, and
which he has phrased as part of a change in "level of sociocultural integration."[7]
But beyond the scope of participation in religious activity we have seen another
selective factor determining which segments of religion will persist. This, in
brief, is the simple question of whether the element serves some social function
in the changed setting. By this criterion, the warfare ceremonies have totally
disappeared, and the ceremonies for the animal spirits have declined with the
shift of a large part of the population from hunting to fishing. Similarly, the

[6] Kluckhohn (1944, p. 71) has noted the presence of disruptive elements in Navaho witchcraft also, although the analysis of these tendencies were beyond the scope of his treatise.
[7] Steward, 1951.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182
771
178

religious complex of the sacred musical instruments is extant only in five villages. The beliefs connected with all these rituals remain, but, lacking expression in action, are no longer effectively transmitted to the young.

On the other hand, those aspects of religion that are keyed to the persistent problems of Mundurucú society show great tenacity. Sorcery beliefs may be currently disruptive of tribal and village integration, but they maintain a vital social function in terms of the needs of a society undergoing fractionation and individualization. These are beliefs that explain human malice and suffering and offer techniques for defense against them. They are not closely linked to and dependent upon the peculiarities of native Mundurucú culture, or of any particular lowland South American culture, and it is undoubtedly for this reason that shamanism and sorcery remain active among the peasants of the impoverished Amazon and can be found among the lower classes of its cities. The maintenance of specifically defensive functions of native religion is not peculiar to South America. We need only look to the United States, where the Sun Dance and the peyote cult have become primarily curing rites. These are flourishing parts of radically changed cultures and expressions of altered social systems and cannot be looked upon as lag phenomena. If there is a functional relation between religion and society, it must also exist in historical depth.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

121 to know how the parts of the system are related to one another and to the totality. It is also necessary to understand how the system becomes a coherent and integrated set of social relationships in terms of observable behavior. I attempt to do this in the present work. A functional analysis of social structure has another important value, and one that is not fully utilized by anthropologists. Since a basic assumption of the method is that a system has internal coherence, it is possible to see clues to the past in items that do not fit into the present. This, of course, is reminiscent of the now unpopular use of "survivals" for purposes of historical reconstruction. I do not think, however, that I have engaged in a form of "conjectural" history. Rather, I have attempted to relate my clues, the nonfunctional and disfunctional items of the present, to the probable structure of Mundurucú society as it existed in the past. And I have attempted to marshal as much historical and ethnographic data as possible to validate my reconstructions. In this way, I have avoided speculations based on one or another shred of data and have remained within the framework of structural analysis. And, it might be added, I have thus tried to bring my historical material under the canons of internal criticism of historical data.

178 Economy and social structure have changed a great deal during the past century and a half of Mundurucú history, making the tribe an especially good subject for this type of study. I have relied to a certain extent on older informants for data of past conditions. The memories of the old people are variable in accuracy, richness, and content, and I tried where possible to corroborate points with a number of informants. It would, however, be naïve to assume that material obtained from an old informant, however well corroborated, is valid for the "aboriginal," or pre-contact, period. A sixty-year-old man—of whom there are

124
128

174 591 614 tain, but it probably took place during the mid-nineteenth century. Matrilocality was the only mode of residence that even the oldest Mundurucú could remember, and they had no traditional memory of previous patrilocality. Also, Tocantins reported that, in 1875, quarrels between men were resolved by the departure of one of the parties from the village,[13] suggesting the absence of a local lineage and the high male mobility characteristic of Mundurucú matrilocality.

174 439 178 591 614 The reasons for the shift in post-marital residence rule are far less certain, and no final conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of available data. Certain known changes in productive relations, however, yield inference to the possible processes at work. It will be remembered that before their deep involvement in rubber production, the Mundurucú traded extensively in farinha, or manioc flour. This must have caused a substantial increase in the amount of land under cultivation and a great expansion of production of bitter manioc.[14] The roles of the male and female did not undergo any important shift. Men cleared the forest land for gardens, as they do today, and the women cared for the crops, harvested them, and manufactured the farinha. Women thus became of greater economic importance, because of the increase in gross amount

[13] Tocantins, 1877, p. 111.

[14] The extent of this early trade in manioc flour may be inferred from Martius's account (1867, p. 395 n.): "This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the settlements on the Tapajós prepare 6000 pecks [3.12 litres each] of manioc flour annually, those of the Mauhé 1500 and those of the Canomá 800, which for the most part is exported to Santarem and neighboring locales. They readily give abundantly therefrom to the priests as a gift. In the year 1819 the Mundrucûs of the Canomá collected and brought to market 900 *arrobas* [32 pounds each] of cinnamon clove and an equal amount of sarsaparilla. Through such a disposition to homely diligence, the speedy settlement of all the Mundrucûs among the whites is to be expected."

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of work performed and the added importance of the co- 174
operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This 178
process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks 591
and a degree of organization among the women of a house- 439
hold. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of 614
the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[15]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú 105
clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of 174
the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized 614
that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Val- 105
ley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the 174
whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured 562
articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female 614

[15] Eggan (1950, p. 131) states that the Hopi remained matrilocal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

591 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineal-
611 ity, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591 Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the
178 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

Although the Mundurucú extended family is much
59% smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way
592 to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the
[422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to
[224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in the powers and duties of the office. Older informants said that chiefs formerly inherited the office either from their father or older brother. Lineal continuity of the chieftaincy in a village was ensured by the general exemption of most of the chief's sons from the rule of matrilocality. The chief, although never authoritarian or possessed of coercive powers among the Mundurucú, was nonetheless an important figure in the community. His was the most prominent voice in any collective decisions affecting the village as a whole; he frequently led war parties, and he represented the village in commercial or other relations with the whites. His position was reinforced in a number of ways. He was generally selected from the available and possible heirs because he had distinguished himself as a warrior through taking trophy heads and was the repository of lore and songs. And the patrilocality of the chief's family allowed him to build a strong kin group composed of sons and sons-in-law. This exemption from the normal residence rule also legitimized the line due to the genealogical continuity of the family within the village. Thus, the chieftaincy symbolized the village as a continuing entity. Furthermore, his special relations with the whites and his role of intermediary, in which he sold the trade commodities gathered by the villagers and distributed the returns among them, did much to enhance his status.

The Mundurucú look upon their contemporary village chiefs with mixed feelings. The chief is often personally respected and liked by the people, but they simultaneously feel the office to be inconsequential and of little importance today. And they quite frequently look upon their particular leader as an illegal occupant of the position. Also, the role of chief is commonly a center of latent hostility and factionalism. This change has come about through the disappearance of the more integrative aspects

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of the chieftaincy and the persistence and aggravation of certain disruptive features.

First, the Mundurucú chief no longer holds the all-important position of war leader. Second, he now trades on behalf of his village in theory only. In the nineteenth century the trading function of the chief tended to bolster his traditional powers and some became well-known figures in the Tapajós valley. As the rubber trade grew in importance, the control of the chiefs became increasingly important to those traders who monopolized the Indian commerce. Since this period corresponded with the declining days of warfare, some traders were able to install their own appointees as village chiefs where the rightful holder of the office was unsuitable to them. Besides, traders occasionally took Mundurucú to Belém, where they were introduced to government functionaries and awarded the title of *capitão*. These new luminaries were sent back to their villages and assigned the task of representing the trader. Thus, legitimate lines of succession were broken, and the new chiefs owed their positions to the trader. The villagers were well aware of this.

The general patrilocality of the chief's family, no matter by what means he was selected, continued; his extended family remained the largest such unit in the village and, more important, was the only significant group of close male, patrilineal relatives. The rest of the village men were of diverse affiliations and found organization within the context of men's-house activities. But they were faced with a powerful kin group in which political authority was vested. If points of difference arose, the men of the chief's group rallied to his support, but antagonisms were aroused among the other men. In former times, the important functions served by the chieftainship undoubtedly overrode the potential factionalism inherent in this situation, but, in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the new setting, the position was stripped of legitimate succession and divested of the attributes that commanded greatest respect. The strength of the chief's group thus became a sore point in village life.

These problems are amply illustrated by the contemporary chieftaincies of the savannah villages of Cabruá and Cabitutú. Until two years before my investigation, an old Mundurucú whose Portuguese name is Caetano had been chief in the village of Cabitutú. He did not occupy the office by patrilineal succession, but was appointed by a trader who maintained exclusive dealings with the villagers. The residents of Cabitutú respected and accepted Caetano because of his age and the fact that he was not aggressive in promoting the interests of the trader. When the old chief of Cabruá, who possessed the office legitimately, died, the trader decided to shift Caetano from Cabitutú to Cabruá and to install Caetano's son in the vacancy created. The latter, a young man named Biboi, had been raised by the trader. In contrast to the usual unassertive, retiring, coöperative, and nonaggressive Mundurucú conduct, Biboi was loud and vociferous in his claim to be "the only one in Cabitutú who knows how to tell the people to work and who can deal with the trader." The villagers looked upon an older man, who was also a shaman, as the rightful possessor of the office and regarded Biboi as a usurper and tool of the trader. They were prepared to kill him, but refrained because of respect for his father, Caetano, and his family. To kill Biboi would have caused endless trouble, and the Mundurucú assiduously avoid such situations.

In the meantime, Caetano's tenure of the chieftaincy of Cabruá was somewhat uneasy. More than one-third of the men residing in the village did business with another trader than the one who had made the appointment, and

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 578 622

they felt that Caetano did not represent them. Furthermore, one of these men was the son of the former chief, and many villagers confided that he, and not Caetano, was the rightful leader. One of Caetano's sons, a stepson, and a son-in-law also lived in the village, however, and he had too much support for any effective opposition that would not develop into open conflict. That the position of the chief was not a source of open strife is due not only to the strength of the chief's family but to the contemporary weakness of the office. Large-scale joint activities, such as inter-village ceremonies and warfare, no longer exist, and situations that demand firm authority are rare. Coöperative economic endeavors among the men are freely entered into within the framework of the men's organization. Thus, Caetano seldom was compelled to issue orders and formulate policies that would affect the entire village. Also, as in Cabitutú, Caetano was respected because of his age and his cultivation of Mundurucú tradition.

Despite the relative placidity of politics in Cabruá, as contrasted to Cabitutú, there were several points of tension. Shortly after Caetano assumed the chieftaincy, the men of Cabruá accused his stepson of sorcery and planned to kill him. But the chief and his kinsmen intervened, and the man's life was spared. Relations remained strained between the two factions, although the everyday behavior of the principals showed no evidence of this.

The situation of Biboi in Cabitutú was precarious. During our stay, his father fell from a palm tree and seemed badly injured. Biboi immediately left Cabitutú to rush to Caetano's side. He was motivated partly by filial devotion, but he also knew that his life would be in jeopardy if the old man died as a result of the injuries. He explained to us that in this event, he would move to the Tapajós River. When asked why he blandly evaded his true motives and

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Bíboi returned to Cabitutú.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

particular patrons. Two or three decades ago, all savannah communities were much alike and, except for differing places of dry-season residence, the populations of all maintained frequent contact through intermarriage, visiting, and joint participation in ceremonies. The cultural and social differentiation of Cururú and savannah dweller is thus quite recent.

There are two major points of difference between the migration to the Cururú and that to the more northerly rivers. First, in the former large numbers of people moved in a comparatively short period. Secondly, the patrons on the Cururú River were not Brazilian rubber traders, but a group of German Catholic missionaries who were deliberately attempting to attract the population and modify their culture. The missionaries achieved little success during their first ten to fifteen years of activity and attracted large numbers of Indians only after the price of rubber rose. On the other hand, the astuteness of this example of applied anthropology should be given recognition, for the missionaries offered high rubber prices and low-cost merchandise, and thereby accelerated the migration process.

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRATION

The population move to the Cururú occurred in piecemeal fashion, for, as in the contemporary savannahs, nuclear families or segments of extended families shifted and not whole villages. Co-resident groups of Indians who commonly collected rubber and fished on the banks of the Cururú during the dry season were lured into setting up permanent residences there by the attraction of trade goods and the persuasion of the missionaries, who sought thereby to bring the Indians more directly under their influence. Other rubber-season residents perceived the economic advantages of all-year occupation of the Cururú,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and they too abandoned the annual return to the savannahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the people of Cabruá today, to choose avenues near their close kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails; other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farinha-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting, and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry summer. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the 439
mission if one worked hard. 501

The villages grew by increments and with no special 177
order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mun- 342
durucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had 361
a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other 182
changes in village organization. Since the first permanent 476
settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three 571
nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the 178
old cooperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on large group-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

As the migration continued and the villages grew in size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased use of firearms, bought through the now larger proceeds of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was, comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campineiros.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the savannahs were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of gardening work were

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

done by the men, women, and children, working in common. 178 182

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew 462 out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer [592] had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reestablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status [562] in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and [177] other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun- 178 182 345

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 796

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

439 648

* /21 cont./
241 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these
192 two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko
462 as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does this, but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

*241 It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected
621 in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Mundurukú who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those
● [178] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate
[591] nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Mundurukú Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Mundurukú who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc. rivers.

/22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or
*241 less the primitive or traditional form of the Mundurukú agricultural
476 system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance.
621 Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Mundurukú/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

/23 cont./

*241 right? She, /in turn/, without the man's previous labor, could only
421 plant /24/ in small quantities, and furthermore, for lack of proper
462 soil preparation, the cultivated plants would not grow properly. In
594 both cases, the results would be meager and the family's subsistence, in this sphere, would be endangered. Hence the need for this right of mutual indemnification.

*241 Every man, or every family, sets up his own garden and owns
476 it by exclusive right. The owner, however, requests the assistance
[423] of his relatives or of the men of the group in which he lives, to help him in his tasks (clearing, felling, etc.), while the woman, in turn, later (but not always) requests the help of women for the typically feminine tasks within the above-mentioned system of the division of labor. (13) The community assists the individual, or rather, the

*241
476
421

13. Although we are dealing here with the agriculture of the present-day Mundurukú, let us note two pieces of information, gathered separately and in widely separated places, namely, one by myself among the acculturated Mundurukú of the Cururú River, and the other by the missionary Brother Angélico in a village of the interior, in Dekudyem. According to these data, the agricultural system of the ancient Mundurukú was slightly different as regards mutual assistance and ownership of the gardens. They say that, originally, the entire group prepared a large plot for all members of the community and that individual rights to the garden were based, precisely, on mutual

[178]

/25 cont./

*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard- [594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the [423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

● 178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sys- [621] tem of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal [342] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, [423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties [476] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*241 177 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

*241 602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

161 Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of
[221 families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the
342] woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

161 It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and
181 most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

115 In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

621 Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim
161 Caetano Corrêa.
103

NAME OF THE MALOCAS	POPULATION
Dauapone	1,500
Carucupi	2,300
Dairi	2,600
Capipique	2,000
Necodemos	2,100
Aikã (Samuuma)	1,500
Acupari	800
Areucrê	700
Arebaduri	400
Teiu Curupi	500
Ipsananti	600

554 In addition to the glory of being an owner of a head, he was a valuable economic asset due to the charm that the head exerted over game.

726 622 Warfare was an occasion upon which the position of the chief became of great importance. The young warriors depended heavily on his experience and leadership. His authority was not unlimited, but it was more fully exercised and more necessary to successful results than during any peaceful endeavor in the village.

726 181 This is only a brief sketch of Mundurucú warfare for its complexity rivaled the war patterns of the North American Plains Indians. To the Mundurucú, themselves, it was the most important single pursuit and characterized their way of life more than any other activity. Its results were extremely destructive to other tribes but was a source of élan and vitality in Mundurucú culture.

Religion

771 The following discussion of Mundurucú religion will be brief and will touch mainly on those points pertinent to the problem of socio-cultural integration. In conformity with Tropical Forest patterns, the religious system was of great simplicity. There were the typical Tupian spirits of animal, fish, and plant species, souls of the dead and certain malignant spirits.[22] Magic was simple and usually directed towards antisocial ends. The only specialist was the shaman. All the males participated in the ceremonials

22. cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 102-109; Oberg, 1953, pp. 53-4.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karökö*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them. 578 476 778

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent. 622 619

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject. 726 609 [181]

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but [186] 726 [484 501]

different in kind, for the central theme makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between desirable behavior within Mundurucú society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forests and savannah country east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

Mundurucú warfare represents one side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[2] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[2] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946). [p. 370(3)]

181 non-aggression to an extent compa-
577 rable to the Zuni Indians of Arizona; in this light their culture is Apollonian.

121 The apparent disparity between these two concepts of desirable conduct towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedict and others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a central theme which pervades all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If major ethical themes are analyzed, on the other hand, as being an integrated and integrative part of the social structure, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the total culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, does not have to show ideational consistency, for its rationality lies in the structure of the society and, ultimately, of the culture.

186 The major unifying theme of the Mundurucú view of humanity lies in the division which they make, explicitly and verbally, between those who are Mundurucú and those who are not. Only the former are called "people," while the latter are referred to categorically as "outlanders." In times
[609] past, all "outlanders" were considered to be enemies and proper objects of attack.

This is not a racial or genetic concept; the name "outlander" is frequently applied today to many fellow
[177] tribesmen who have adopted white men's ways to such an extent that they no longer operate within the closed circle of Mundurucú society. Further-

[p. 371(A)]

726 burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

728 It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú.

[626 A young man who made great claims
554] of prowess was pushed to the fore dur-
157] ing the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

181 The suppression of individual inter-
577 ests in favor of those of the collectivity
578 of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

754 The execution of sorcerers was the
[689] only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

[p. 572(A)]

754 ple were loathe to even speak of it. Interestingly, the sorcerer was not thought to practice his art against particular individuals, but was believed to make and disperse evil spirits which might attack anyone with whom they came into contact. A general malevolence was said to pervade the sorcerer; he was simply "angry at everything."

754 Sorcery provides interesting insights
181 into the mechanisms by which the
577 Mundurucú ethic was maintained and the dangerous forces which they believed to be inherent in man and nature kept in check. While the practice of black magic may be considered as a covert channel for the latent aggressions of the sorcerer, only persons who had inherited shamanistic power were able to manipulate the evil forces. But the locus of sorcery and its punishment was social and not individual. Just as black magic was directed towards society, at large, so was the ultimate function of retribution of importance to the well-being of the social system.

[726] The universe of the Mundurucú was permeated with potentially harmful supernatural beings and forces, which could be appeased and controlled with proper techniques, and the killing of the sorcerer was a personalized means towards this important end. Furthermore, the generalized anti-social tendencies attributed to the sorcerer were a projection of similar suppressed emotions carried by the population. The destruction of the practitioner of black magic was effectively the destruction of centrifugal tendencies within the society.

181
577 Internal harmony within the house-

[p.372 (B)]

181 Internal harmony within the house-
577 hold and within the village were
476 thought to be a necessary part of social and economic life. The men of the vil-
[562] lage as a whole hunted and cleared forest for gardens in cooperation, and the women of the large, extended family-household carried out their tasks in unity. Foods were shared among house members and by all the people of the village. The individual
[556] and the biological family of man, wife, and children had no independent existence external to their roles within the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in rec-
[554] ognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

554 Although prestige was attainable
156 through the above accomplishments,
577 it was not considered good for a man

[P. 373(A)]

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

139 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[141] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

186 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[72] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[754] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

181 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

[51] ganization of the men's house, which
577 also formed a focus for male social participation. Cooperation in the econ-
[476] omy was elaborated far beyond the minimum necessary for effective exploitation of the environment; warfare
[72] was pursued beyond the requirements of security and its overt magico-religious purposes.

War and fraternity were ritualistic in nature. The relationship between them was causal in the sense that they were interdependent; intense militarism was made possible by male cohesiveness and male cohesiveness was fostered by warfare. Mundurucú society was welded by kinship and the ethic of harmony and cooperation. No
[58] commitments were owed to those outside the system; the humanity of others was recognized, but it entailed no duties. To have extended the intense moral obligations between Mundurucú to persons outside the system would have effectively vitiated and devitalized it.

Robert F. Murphy
University of California

[p. 374 (A)]

[pp. 374 (A) — end not processed for the files. — Analyst]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the setting

In the Amazon valley, a region where ferociousness was the mode, the Mundurucú Indians enjoyed a reputation for unalloyed, untempered savagery until the turn of the century. Their war parties ranged outward almost every year, striking indiscriminately at tribes anywhere within a radius of five hundred miles, burning the villages, kidnapping children, and taking heads of adults as trophies of their exploits. They did not indulge in cannibalism, as so many of their neighbors, but the terror they inspired was so great that they themselves were seldom preyed upon and eaten. Their homeland on the upper Tapajós River, south of the Amazon, was rarely attacked, and though they no longer go to war their reputation still protects them from the hostile tribes of the region.

Wild and lawless though the Amazon may still seem by

THE SETTING

161 of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Mundurucú in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantins's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Mundurucú population of the upper Tapajós River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Mundurucú should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Mundurucú in the upper Tapajós area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

648 The Mundurucú enjoy a solid position of importance in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and [181] docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of attacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter the Mundurucú were the friends and military allies of the whites. The capitulation of the Mundurucú was a recognition of both superior force and the material advantages to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Mundurucú continued their pursuit of warfare against other tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colo- [182] nists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of the major goals of their wars.

171 Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that distinguished the Mundurucú from their Tupian neighbors. The Mundurucú have never manufactured any of [278] the common intoxicants of the region, although they are now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset me considerably. Bibai turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to beat his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Mundurucu activity or in their relationships with the outside world. He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our exquisite boats were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate him from his hardcore Indian fellows—shortly after one of his visits, my wife discovered that her boats were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so brash. They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Bibai would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we pointed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Bibai had other most unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal his hostility and contempt when someone inferior to him was near. But underneath this façade, Bibai was a frightened and anxious man. He would often confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be interpreted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were indeed talking about him, and Bibai had every reason to be anxious. Not only his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

Bibai's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucu expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should behave. Mundurucu society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are considered to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilineal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and individual strivings muted, for villagers in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the Mundurucu type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only demands solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[7] Given the structure of Mundurucu society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, unaggressive, serene, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Bibai presented a threat to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and aggressive—all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

/8/
241 which may easily be fitted into the following outline of the technical development of a garden plot:

1. Choosing the site and the quality of the soil.
2. Determing the size and shape of the new plot.
3. Clearing the undergrowth.
4. Felling the trees.
5. Burning the felled vegetation.
6. Piling up and burning the remaining brush.
7. Digging and planting.
8. First and second weeding of the plot.
9. "Tearing up" the plot (pulling up the manioc roots, gathering the harvest).
10. Replanting the garden.

Let us now take up these tasks, one by one.

242 [181] 1. Choosing the site and the soil. The Indian is, by nature, a practical person. When he is thinking of preparing a plot, he naturally looks for conditions that will most facilitate his task and ensure the safe growth of his garden. For this purpose, he chooses the land most favorable to horticulture, for all sites are not adequate to planting. Preferably, he sets up his plot on slightly sloping ground or on a mild incline, so that rain water and freshets will drain immediately. He takes flat ground only when it is somewhat sandy, permitting rain water to trickle down to the subsoil rather than remain stagnant in the field. This is also the reason why gardens are not set up in humid lowlands: the roots, the tubercles would rot. Aside from this, [125] he also makes sure that there are no ant nests or vermin on the chosen site. Ants would cut down all the manioc, ruining the garden completely.

Even when he finds a site in good circumstances, the Indian is faced with the question of what he can plant in this soil. As a rule, he has a good knowledge of soils and their qualities, and from the experience of generations he knows, almost intuitively, what he can expect from them. In other words, he understands /7/ empirically what he can plant there and what the result will be under normal circumstances. The size of the plot derives, at least in part, from

/22 cont./ This cooperative labor

*241 exists in fact up to a point in the villages, and must be understood
421 within the framework of the division of labor and its juridical bases,
[621] which apply first and foremost to the right to private or individual
[496] property. As regards garden matters, we are dealing with the joint task of two social elements, male and female, and their respective cycles of labor. Men and women, however, even after they marry and form a family, do not lose, through marriage, their individual property rights to their part of the garden, for the Indian is basically
[181] an individualist and does not recognize communal property rights. To compensate for this, they have recourse to a concept which we might call "right of indemnification" and which refers to the communal usufruct of the plot by the man, the wife, and, of course, the children for whom they are responsible.

*241 It is well to explain this matter of plot ownership in greater
423 detail.

I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between the owner of the plot, and the owner of the labors performed on this plot and of the results obtained.

The land, in the forest and even within the area occupied by the tribe, has no owner. Anyone may clear a plot wherever he wishes. But once the site has been chosen, it becomes a property for the entire period while it is producing; it is then the man's property. After it has been abandoned, however, it becomes once more anybody's and everybody's land, unnamed land. /23/ (12) There only

[171]

12. Among the Tenetehara, also a tribe of the Tupi group, a similar phenomenon is observed. "Garden lands, that is to say, land on which people have expended labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But as soon as he has

175 Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

561 [161] At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

65 The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separa-
609 tion of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

578 While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

726 Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy,
476 warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participa-
182 tion. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[ie. The middle of the nineteenth century.—Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path. 726 476 182

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú. [591]

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole. 727 796

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society: 591 614

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason 614 428

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

721 the individual who demonstrates proficiency in the attainment of a socially desirable goal will himself be valued and that this will motivate him to appropriate action, but this still does not answer the question of why the goal and the accompanying activity is valued. Newcomb (1950:329) has stated the same case with cogency in regard to Plains warfare.

727 The trophy head was prized as a symbol of Mundurucú prowess and of its owner's status, but it was also sought because it was the center of a number 782 of magico-religious observances. The trophy was thought to be pleasing to [825] the spirit protectors of the game animals because it had inherent power, contingent upon the proper observance of connected ritual acts. The possession of a trophy head thus resulted in greater economic abundance, and in this sense it served the same general purpose as does the Jivaro *tsantsa*. However, this aspect of the trophy quest does not cast much light upon Mundurucú headhunting, for alternate ways of pleasing the spirits were known and practiced. The ceremonial and shamanistic techniques of propitiating the spirit protectors of game animals were complex both in practice and in ideational content. In contrast, the linkage of the trophy head and the spirits was vague and ephemeral; it is probable that headhunting developed subsequent to the rites connected with the animal spirits and had become only loosely integrated with them. It is to be expected that any important social activity will become value and belief cathected in this manner, but it would be erroneous to proceed to explain the activity by its supporting ideology.

721 Finally, it should be considered that the Mundurucú looked upon fighting as a source of sport and excitement. The enemy was looked upon as game to be hunted, and the Mundurucú still speak of the pariwat in the same terms that they reserve for peccary and tapir. War was a relief from boredom, but it is not surprising that peace would be boring to people who consider themselves warriors. One might ask why they did not relieve boredom in log racing as do some groups, or in drinking bouts as did many of their neighbors. In short, can we not look upon activity and play drives as being inherent within the species and proceed from that vantage to explain the particular way they are manifested in particular cultures?

FUNCTIONS OF MUNDURUCÚ WARFARE

721 The manifest goals of warfare provide us with an understanding of the incentives that motivated the Mundurucú warrior. The religious and sportive ● 182 aspects of warfare were found to be considerably more ephemeral than were the economic and prestige goals involved, but even the latter two depended upon the existence of a social organization that allowed and encouraged intensive military activity by its very nature. Moreover, the most important single motivation to hostility was a generalized aggressiveness that recognized no specific aims, and this factor yields the most important single clue to an understanding of Mundurucú warfare. If specific goals do not fully explain the extent and intensity of the pattern, and if the pressure of external circumstances did not force battle, then the main dynamics of warfare must be sought

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world. 721 182

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Darekši, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads. 701 182

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe. 619 621 182

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house. 621 562 591 182

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt 621 182 578

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
●182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for
578 male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[591] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

182 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his
622 lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated-village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically, for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

CONCLUSION

721
182
578
121

Our analysis of the functions of Mundurucú warfare has concluded that the institution operated to preserve the integration and solidarity of Mundurucú society. These findings accord closely with Simmel's theory of conflict and are also substantiated by Fernandes' (1952:354) conclusion on the functions of Tupinamba warfare. The means by which this social end was accomplished can be viewed as a variable of the Mundurucú type of society. The latter was of a unique order; it was structured so as to ramify kinship bonds throughout the tribe, but it was extremely vulnerable to any open display of aggression within the group. This, and the ambivalent position of the men, resulted in the suppression of hostility and the emphasis upon solidarity that characterized male social relations. Such solidarity could be maintained only through the release of latent aggression in a socially valued manner upon surrogate objects. Mundurucú warfare thus corresponds to Coser's (1955:48) formulation of the "safety valve" mechanism in society:

> Social systems provide for specific institutions which serve to drain off hostile and aggressive sentiments. These safety valve institutions help to maintain the system by preventing otherwise probable conflict or by reducing its disruptive effects. They provide substitute objects upon which to displace hostile sentiments, as well as means of abreaction. Through these safety valves, hostility is prevented from turning against its original object.

The achievement of specific ends or the defeat of a particular enemy were secondary considerations in Mundurucú warfare. They fought any group and they fought for the sake of fighting. The ultimate source of their bellicosity was the repressed hostility generated within the society, and the ultimate source of repression was the potential destructiveness of intrasocietal aggression.

Safety valve institutions of one kind or another are probably universal in culture. Coser (ibid:41) distinguishes two means by which aggressiveness may safely be released by the members of a society. These are:

> . . . *Ventilsitten*, which provide a socially sanctioned framework for carrying out conflict without leading to consequences that disrupt relations within a group, and those safety-valve institutions which serve to divert hostility onto substitute objects or which function as channels for cathartic release.

Mundurucú warfare and sorcery fall into the class of "safety-valve institutions"; the structure of the society is such that Ventilsitten would be impossible insofar as the Mundurucú cannot publicly acknowledge the existence of intrasocietal hostilities. The institutionalized public arguments and wrestling matches of the Trumaí Indians (Murphy and Quain 1955:57–59) and the spear throwing bouts between Upper Xingú tribes (Galvão 1950:366) are illustrations of cases in which hostility is allowed to appear in a controlled and sanctioned context and is thereby dissipated. Sides are drawn and the issue is resolved among the Upper Xingú groups; the Mundurucú cannot even afford to take sides openly.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Coser (1956:156–7) has considered the relationship between conflict and the rigidity of the social structure, which he defines as "the degree to which it disallows direct expression of antagonistic claims," and concludes:

> Our hypothesis, that the need for safety-valve institutions increases with the rigidity of the social system, may be extended to suggest that unrealistic [i.e. cathartic and not oriented toward the frustrating object] conflict may be expected to occur as a consequence of rigidity present in the social structure.

Mundurucú warfare was clearly "unrealistic" and the social structure was rigid in Coser's sense. It is possible to broaden our example to include a larger category of rigid social structures and to consider their functional concomitants. I would propose as a statistically testable hypothesis that matrilocal societies must repress open aggression in order to insure cohesion and continuity. If we take any matrilocal and matrilineal or bilateral society as our model, the system of residence tends to disperse males at least throughout the local community. Thus, any male will have close ties of kinship and economic interdependence with his housemates, his natal household, the households of his maternal uncles, and the households of his brothers. The same is true of patrilocal societies from the viewpoint of the women, but males are the principal political role-players in all human societies. Any conflict involving men therefore becomes a matter of deep community concern. As among the Mundurucú, if the lines of allegiance in a conflict situation are drawn according to kinship in any matrilocal society, bonds of local contiguity will be sundered; if primary loyalty is given to bonds of residence, the ties of kinship will be broken. In short, when the residence and kin groups of the male do not coincide, he acquires multiple commitments that may come into conflict. Also, the individual male will more readily repress his grievances if he cannot rely upon the full support of a solidary group.

Brief reference to the ethnographic literature suggests that the social solidarity of matrilocal groups is not restricted to my model. Writing of the Apinayé, Nimuendajú (1939:129) says:

> I have never heard of a case of rape nor witnessed anything of publicly scandalous adultery, larceny, or slander. Only when intoxicated do these natives inflict damage on property and bodily maltreatment on persons or commit manslaughter. Compared with any Šerente settlement the village of Bacaba, at least, is a model of internal peace and harmony, and this would hold for Gato Preto, too, in the absence of alcohol.

The Šerente and the Apinayé are Gê-speaking groups of eastern Brazil and are culturally quite similar. The principal difference between them is that the fractious Šerente are patrilineal and patrilocal, while the harmonious Apinayé are matrilineal and matrilocal. Turning to North America, we have the classical example of the matrilocal and "Apollonian" Puebloans. Ellis (1951:199) has noted of Pueblo warfare:

> Beyond protection, warfare served to provide legitimate outlet for the frustrations and aggressions arising from unpermitted competition or suspicions thereof among peoples of the same general culture.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

171 The repression of open conflict among the Puebloans accounts for the latent
182 hostility that many ethnologists have seen seething below surface relations. Under modern conditions this often results in community fission, and the same process can be noted among the contemporary, nonwarring Mundurucú. Lacking adequate safety-valves for the release of aggression, the Mundurucú now tend to withdraw from the frustrating situation.

721 Not all matrilocal groups repress aggression to the same extent as do the
578 Mundurucú, nor are they as warlike. The greater emphasis of the Mundurucú
182 upon social cohesion and external aggression stems from the persistence of patrilineal clans in a matrilocal society. This factor, combined with intervillage matrilocality, made hostility even more explosive and internal release systems less workable. It oriented the group toward warfare and provided the organization for its effective pursuit. Some deviation from our model is expectable, for there is no fixed and unvarying reservoir of aggression in society; it has its roots in the social structure, as does its expression. Our thesis states only that matrilocal societies must repress the open expression of intrasocietal conflict and that this repressed hostility, variable in intensity, will be released through acceptable and nondisruptive means within the society, or through warfare, or through both. But warfare, it can be concluded, is an especially effective means of promoting social cohesion in that it provides an occasion upon which the members of the society unite and submerge their factional differences in the vigorous pursuit of a common purpose.

NOTES

122 [1] The field research upon which this article is based was conducted by my wife and me during 1952–53, and was supported by a Research Training Fellowship, granted by the Social Science Research Council, and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. Grateful acknowledgement is made to these institutions.

The present article was read in manuscript by David M. Schneider and profited greatly from his suggestions.

[2] This seemingly incredible sortie was still remembered by the Urubú Indians of the upper Gurupí River in the state of Maranhão, according to a personal communication from the Brazilian ethnologist, Dr. Darcy Ribeiro.

[3] A fuller description of the ceremonies held subsequent to a successful raid will be published in a forthcoming monograph (Murphy n.d.).

REFERENCES CITED

113 Almeida Serra, Ricardo
1869 Navegação do Rio Tapajóz para o Para (1779). Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro 9:1–16.

Ayres de Casal, Manoel
1817 Corografia brazilica. Rio de Janeiro.

Bates, Henry W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazons. London.

Chandless, W.
1862 Notes on the rivers Arinos, Juruena, and Tapajós. Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 36:119–128.

Coser, Lewis A.
1956 The functions of social conflict. Glencoe, The Free Press.

portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the Cururu River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururú River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

Political authority on the Cururú River was almost nonexistent. The migrants began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururú River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the Cururú River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

third village, however, the power of the chief's family must have been weak, 756
for both he and his son were slain as sorcerers by the other men of the village. 754
The tendency for villages to fractionate because of sorcery fears and accusations
is probably greater now than in the past. Not only is village cohesion in general 152
much weaker, but the disappearance of such leadership activities as heading war 578
parties and trading on behalf of the village as a whole has made it most difficult for the chief to obtain the consensus necessary to carrying out an execution. It must not be thought, however, that lack of unanimity in sorcerer killings indicates a decline in belief in black magic; it rather reflects distrust of the sincerity of the accusers and the existence of latent factionalism that may not be directly caused by witchcraft. But these occasions bring conflicts to a head and open breaches that are in many cases irreparable and can be resolved only by the removal of one party.

This analysis of the Mundurucú data indicates that although the institution 182
of sorcery may be viewed in one light as socially integrative, so far as it acts
as a cathartic for aggression, it may also be most disruptive of social cohesion, 152
for it often aggravates tensions.[6] It would seem that shamanism and sorcery have 754
become complementary to the central direction of social and economic change. 578
The ecological accommodation to increased participation in rubber production calls for the dispersal of the population into ever smaller units in the vicinity of the stands of wild rubber trees. Correspondingly, sorcery conflicts tend to disintegrate larger vi'lage units while being integrative for factions within the village, which then commonly establish themselves as small local groups. This is not the only means by which social fission occurs. Latent conflicts that do not involve sorcery sometimes cause families and factions to leave villages; others leave because of the economic expediency of residence near their rubber avenues. But sorcery remains as a contributing motivation for the participants in the process. The Mundurucú example thus suggests that the institution of sorcery may promote the cohesion of a society as a whole, but only where other bases for such cohesion exist.

The close relationship of religion to the social structure can be seen quite as 182
clearly in the context of change as in a synchronic dimension. As the society
has become progressively divested of those mechanisms that integrated tribe 178
and village, so also have group religious activities fallen into abeyance. What 771
remains are the essentially individual practices of shamanism and sorcery. This is the same process noted for other parts of South America by Steward, and which he has phrased as part of a change in "level of sociocultural integration."[7] But beyond the scope of participation in religious activity we have seen another selective factor determining which segments of religion will persist. This, in brief, is the simple question of whether the element serves some social function in the changed setting. By this criterion, the warfare ceremonies have totally disappeared, and the ceremonies for the animal spirits have declined with the shift of a large part of the population from hunting to fishing. Similarly, the

[6] Kluckhohn (1944, p. 71) has noted the presence of disruptive elements in Navaho witchcraft also, although the analysis of these tendencies were beyond the scope of his treatise.
[7] Steward, 1951.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182
771
178

religious complex of the sacred musical instruments is extant only in five villages. The beliefs connected with all these rituals remain, but, lacking expression in action, are no longer effectively transmitted to the young.

On the other hand, those aspects of religion that are keyed to the persistent problems of Mundurucú society show great tenacity. Sorcery beliefs may be currently disruptive of tribal and village integration, but they maintain a vital social function in terms of the needs of a society undergoing fractionation and individualization. These are beliefs that explain human malice and suffering and offer techniques for defense against them. They are not closely linked to and dependent upon the peculiarities of native Mundurucú culture, or of any particular lowland South American culture, and it is undoubtedly for this reason that shamanism and sorcery remain active among the peasants of the impoverished Amazon and can be found among the lower classes of its cities. The maintenance of specifically defensive functions of native religion is not peculiar to South America. We need only look to the United States, where the Sun Dance and the peyote cult have become primarily curing rites. These are flourishing parts of radically changed cultures and expressions of altered social systems and cannot be looked upon as lag phenomena. If there is a functional relation between religion and society, it must also exist in historical depth.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

1

the setting

In the Amazon valley, a region where ferociousness was the mode, the Mundurucú Indians enjoyed a reputation for unalloyed, untempered savagery until the turn of the century. Their war parties ranged outward almost every year, striking indiscriminately at tribes anywhere within a radius of five hundred miles, burning the villages, kidnapping children, and taking heads of adults as trophies of their exploits. They did not indulge in cannibalism, as so many of their neighbors, but the terror they inspired was so great that they themselves were seldom preyed upon and eaten. Their homeland on the upper Tapajós River, south of the Amazon, was rarely attacked, and though they no longer go to war their reputation still protects them from the hostile tribes of the region. 181 648

Wild and lawless though the Amazon may still seem by 182 648

[P. 1]

THE SETTING

182 648 American standards, it is tame in comparison with the situation of a century ago when the Mundurucú were still in the heyday of their militarism. The lives of the native peoples are shorn of the elements of excitement and danger; pacification has no doubt been a relief to the weaker tribes, but to the Mundurucú it has been destructive. The tribe is now a society without important goals or a future, and its members know this well. Even more important in the progressive deterioration of the social fabric, though more insidious in its operation, has been trade and the activities that go into the acquisition of salable commodities. The effects of the relations of the Indians with the whites are obvious to the most casual inspection. When my wife, Yolanda, and I first walked into a Mundurucú village in 1952, we hardly expected to encounter a flamboyantly warlike people, for we knew well that the warring had ended some half-century ago. But we were psychologically unprepared for the dismal sight of Indians dressed in tattered cottons, for the cheap metal pots and pans, the rubber-tapping apparatus, and the little suitcases that sat in the rafters of every house and in which the people packed their clothes for journeys to their rubber trees or to trading posts. Little children with distended abdomens played in the dirt, hollow-ribbed dogs fought over scraps of fish entrails, and an occasional, and very unaboriginal, rooster crowed. The effect of the sun beating mercilessly on the mud huts in the village clearing, of the surrounding monotonous forest, of our inability to communicate with the people, and of our total incapacity to fend for ourselves in this strange environment, was a most depressing experience. This, I believe, is what some anthropologists refer to as "culture shock."

[177]

123 We settled in the village, acquired a Brazilian interpreter who spoke Portuguese and Mundurucú, and began to

probe beneath the surface appearances. The Mundurucú were equally curious, and relentless to the exclusion of all personal privacy in their own ethnographic investigations on us. This is perhaps the worst part of field work, and it was more difficult for Yolanda than for me. The insect life forced her to dress in khakis, and only the canons of empiricism convinced the Mundurucú children—and many of the adults—that she was truly a female. The women shook her hammock before dawn to ask her if she was awake, and they made continuous and repetitive demands on her for bright glass beads. Her relations with the females were of a reciprocal nature: that she was another woman was more important than her role as a foreigner, and she was able to establish close rapport with them for field work. I, who did not hunt, fish, sow, or reap, could claim no such close identification with the men. Our research proceeded, and we found that there was still much that was distinctively Mundurucú below the veneer of material acquisitions. Beyond this, the grinding processes by which Mundurucú society had become transformed and is becoming transformed unfolded themselves through our observations of their continuing mode of existence. The headhunter's heritage, pale and secularized as it may be, was of consummate interest to us as social scientists.

This book, in essence, is the story of the relationship between the white man and the Mundurucú. It is a prosaic and simple tale, unadorned with episodes of valiant resistance and glory, and surprisingly lacking in oppression and suffering. But, perhaps for this reason, it contains an element of tragedy, because the processes of this history have worked inexorably upon Mundurucú society and culture for a century and a half and have brought a once proud people to the brink of social extinction.

The complex causes and processes of change in Mun-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians 56.9

THE SETTING

M 177 dureú society are the subject of this study. But fundamentally what has taken place is the attraction of a simple people by the new, glittering, and eminently useful objects proffered by Western civilization, and their ultimate reliance upon these items. These things, in themselves, have had limited effect on aspects of culture other than the material inventory. Rather, it has been the means of obtaining them and the social relationships in which they are exchanged that have altered the nature of Mundurucú society. These means have been the production first of manioc flour and later of wild rubber as cash commodities, and the establishment of a client relationship to white patrons in a mercantile economy.

M [439]

The experience of the Mundurucú is not unique. It has parallels throughout the world, especially in Amazonia. There, remnants of similarly fragmented tribes have merged into the racially mixed population, and others are on the threshold of assimilation. Incorporation into the neo-Brazilian, or *caboclo*, population of the Amazon valley is not as long a step for the Indian as the corresponding process in the United States. The term caboclo is used in Brazil to designate the lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior. In the Amazon it refers to the rubber collectors and farmers, whose racial composition is generally a cross of Indian and Caucasoid with a minor admixture of Negroid genes. No strictly defined racial demarcations prevent the transition of Indian to Brazilian. The barriers are social, linguistic, and cultural. That is, the Indian remains such as long as he identifies himself with a tribal society and plays social roles within it, and the extent to which he preserves the cultural and linguistic symbols of his own society makes possible life within it and inhibits communication beyond it.

M 172 563 177

Most Indian groups of Brazil are today transitional to

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians SL4

incorporation in Brazilian society. They have acquired a limited but adequate body of common understandings with their Brazilian neighbors, and their social structures have become accommodated to their relations with the whites. Straddling two worlds, their positions are not stable, and they push themselves and are pulled from the outside into closer relations with Brazilian society. The "pull" arises from the chronic demand for cheap labor in the Amazon; the "push" is a product of the native's increasing desire for manufactured possessions, coupled with disturbances in his society which resulted from this acquisitiveness. The outcome of the process is the disappearance of traditional Indian social systems. But the affected Indians are not left in a social limbo. Rather, they shift their principal bonds of dependency to their already extant relations with the whites and move into the general orbit of caboclo society.

An understanding of the process by which native societies of the Amazon have become economically and socially dependent on the white man, and of the effects of this dependence, are central to an understanding of the transition from Indian to caboclo. Other aspects of the native culture are secondary in importance; the Indian, once incorporated, has ample opportunity to learn the white man's ways. Or, if he is disinclined or unsuccessful in this respect, his children, who have been reared outside the traditional social matrix, certainly will become linguistically and culturally as much, or more, Brazilian than Indian.

These remarks are also pertinent beyond the Amazon valley. The final chapter of this book will consider the general relevance of Mundurucú social and economic change to an understanding of the broader problems of culture change.

[Text continues on page 9]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

as most of the population. These small one- or two-family groups do not have the social frame of reference necessary for the perpetuation of the native social system. And the social units are too small for the effective transmission of the traditional culture to the young.

Village life, relative isolation from Brazilians, greater population density, and, therefore, more intensive interaction with other Mundurucú, make for better preservation of the Indian culture among the residents of the Cururú River. But here, too, tradition is on the wane, and the native social structure has been drastically modified.

Actually, the stronghold of Mundurucú society and culture lies in the remaining savannah villages; and it is from the savannah area, once far more populous, that the contemporary dwellers of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers originally emigrated. It cannot be said that the Mundurucú of the savannah villages represent the "aboriginal culture," for they too have been deeply affected and altered by Brazilian society. But change has been the least among this population. A greater degree of political and economic autonomy is preserved, and the native social system persists, although it has been subjected to modifications. Society and culture in the savannahs is certainly not the same as one hundred fifty or even fifty years ago, but it is still more distinctively Mundurucú than in the Cururú villages and far more so than among the scattered Indians of the Tapajós River.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Planalto do Mato Grosso is a thinly forested and rugged upland, ranging in altitude from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, which forms the divide between the streams flowing north to the Amazon and south to the Paraguay River. The headwaters of the Madeira, Tapajós, Xingú, and Araguaya

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken. 175 648

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cupari River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[16] Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343; [182] [361] [177] 175 182 648 [161]

[16] *Ibid.*, 1963, p. 249.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 182 498 [161] 1869, 100; 1895, 50.[16] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[17]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife travelled on the Tarana-Miriu and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses [199] with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[18] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians [191] spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[19] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all were clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[20] [249] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco [314] and the collection of guaraná, sarsaparilla, and copaiba oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

[16] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[17] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[18] Agassiz, 1868, p. 308.
[19] Ibid., p. 312.
[20] Chandless, 1870, p. 424.

of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous."* Contact 175
between the two regions has completely terminated since 648
that time, and the modern Mundurucú of the upper Ta- 182
pajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only
by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but ver-
bal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area in- [177]
dicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

The assimilation of these Mundurucú has been made 582
complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the com- 648
mon-law type, between Mundurucú and caboclos. These unions are almost always between Brazilian men and Indian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it degrading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also, there has historically been a shortage of women in the Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have generally been unmarried men. The children of such marriages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer considered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically, the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the Tapajós is partly Mundurucú. The mother of the mayor of the municipality of Itaituba was Mundurucú, and he is quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the Tapajós agree that the Mundurucú are "good people and hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive con- 175
tact between Brazilians and Mundurucú in the region ad- 648
jacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the century these Mundurucú merged progressively with caboclo society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their homeland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

* *Ibid.*, p. 428.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ably principally undertaken by Mundurucú who had emigrated to this section. But their rapid engagement in trade and the resultant fragmentation of the native social organization made the migrants ill adapted to warfare, and the burden of mercenary activities shifted to those Mundurucú who had remained on the upper Tapajós. 175 648

Raiding on behalf of the whites continued throughout the nineteenth century. Coudreau described one such expedition in 1895.[15] Three white traders had been killed by hostile Indians on the Madeira River, and a group of merchants approached the Mundurucú to enlist their aid. The Indians were promised advance payment in manufactured goods, and a war party consisting of sixty men and forty women set forth. They traveled to the upper Secundurý River across an area of savannah between that stream and the Tapajós; this route had long been the major means of communication and emigration between the Mundurucú settlements of the upper Tapajós and those on the Madeira waters. This particular expedition met disaster, however, for the virulent malaria of the Secundurý River killed almost all participants. [721]

Their military service for the whites was an important factor in maintaining the stability of Mundurucú culture. The Indians had already become dependent on Western commodities, and warfare provided a means of obtaining them that did not necessitate direct labor for the whites in an extraction industry. Since the latter occupation is, as shall be seen, destructive of the traditional society, the Mundurucú were, in effect, granted a reprieve from more complete participation in commerce and its effects. Furthermore, they were encouraged by the white men to destroy other tribes and thus to continue a pattern that was dominant in the culture. Warfare contributed greatly to 175 182 648 721

[15] Coudreau, 1897, pp. 39–40.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 social cohesion also, because it provided a rallying point
●182 for tribal coöperation and a common goal in the pursuit
648 of which factional differences were forgotten. And it af-
721 forded an escape valve for aggressions that could not be safely unleashed within the society.

These factors helped to preserve the integrity and autonomy of Mundurucú society during a period of stress and encroachment. Their coöperation with the whites set a pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship. Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade [439] goods, and restricted their military activities (which were not by any means always or even usually at the immediate behest of the whites) to tribes that were not yet pacified. And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucú were gradually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in contrast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the transition is no doubt partly attributable to the ties of economic dependency and friendship which had become established.

Trade and exploitation of natural resources came late
175 to the upper Tapajós because of the impediments to nav-
439 igation imposed by its many rapids, and also because of
648 the specific commodities available there. The rich Tapajós rubber did not begin to assume great economic importance until well into the second half of the century, while the Madeira waters had abundant resources of *guaraná* and sarsaparilla, both of which were intensively sought in the early nineteenth century; and agricultural products were traded in the latter area on a large scale at an earlier date, also, because Brazilian markets were not far.

Shortly before the mid-century the Mundurucú of the

Second, warfare, for both mercenary pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because of the acquisition of firearms.[34] The continuance of warfare helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating their roles as war leaders. 175 182 648 721 [622]

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year. 175 439 648 [177] 175 464 648 221

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type villages no longer existed on the waters of the Crepory River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta- 131 175

[34] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 pajós,[37] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited
175 the headwaters of that river in 1860.[38] Thus, by 1895 at the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining
[177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization. They had acquired steel tools and clothes from the whites, and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber
182 economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and
648 mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was
177 a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads. It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men, who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically at the past.

175 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom col-
439 lapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension
648 to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased in importance and yielded decidedly less return. The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

[37] Coudreau, 1897, p. 30.
[38] Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

562 578 571 [184] mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male position, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here, unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

182 534 778 562 The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans but remain functional in protecting the village from supernatural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a solidary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling 342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Biboi returned to Cabitutú.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation 578
noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships 156
is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men 571
of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; 578
it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the 182
level of village organization; coöperative endeavors 571
among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare [628]
and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism [619]
has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social 771

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

771 structure.[6] The religious life of the contemporary savannah dwellers has been largely reduced to the practices of sha-
[182] manism and sorcery, and group ceremonial activities have for the most part disappeared with little prospect of revival. One or two half-hearted attempts have been made by older men to resurrect parts of the ritual cycle, but they have met with lack of enthusiasm on the part of the young and have failed largely through inability to organize properly. Today, the Mundurucú regard the decadence of their religion as part of their transition to the status of foreigner (pariwat), and have resigned themselves to this situation.

The focus of Mundurucú religion in the past was the relationship between society and the animal world. This was consistent with the cultural emphasis on hunting, in terms of importance to subsistence and as a highly valued
[773] masculine activity.[7] The mythology is concerned with the origins of species of animals, which significantly were
771 either human or had human form in mythological times,
776 and an important class of supernaturals is believed to exert protection over game. The latter spirits are of two kinds: there is a generic spirit "mother" of all game animals, and several of the more important species have their own particular spirit "mothers." If offense is given to these supernaturals through such means as killing an animal for its hide and leaving the carcass to rot, they take swift vengeance against the guilty party. This is usually done by supernaturally bringing injury upon the culprit. But the spirit "mothers" can also be benevolent and helpful to the community and can make game abundant, if humans observe proper relations with them.

[6] A full description of Mundurucú religion may be found in my monograph *Mundurucú Religion* (1958).

[7] It will be remembered that the Mundurucú believe that the males wrested the sacred trumpets from the control of the women because only men could supply the meat that must be offered to the instruments.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Few techniques for pleasing these animal spirits are now practiced, but in former times there were many. Powerful shamans, of whom there are now said to be but few, used to travel magically to the "Land of the Game" to "feed" the animal spirits, and the two most important ceremonies also had this purpose. These two rites, called the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip* were held, as all Mundurucú ceremonials, during the rainy season, and were almost identical but for duration; the former was said to have occupied almost the whole rainy season, while the latter lasted ten days. In both, the game animals were honored and their spirit protectors summoned and offered a food particularly pleasing to them. Annual observance was not mandatory, but either the long or the short festival was usually held every year. Villages usually rotated the duty of staging the rite, and the residents of several communities were invited. A number of powerful shamans were a prerequisite to the ceremony and had to be recruited from many villages, for only they could ward off the attacks of evil spirits that were attracted by the ritual food offerings.

Other ceremonies were also held to celebrate the trophy heads taken during war. These rites lapsed, of course, with the end of headhunting in 1912. The game-animal ceremonies persisted into relatively recent times, however. The last Araiarai was held in the early 1930's, and the shorter Dajearuparip lasted until about 1945. The Mundurucú explain the lapse of the ceremonial cycle as caused by the contemporary lack of powerful shamans. There is some merit in this view, for sorcery executions, the migration to the Cururú River, and general loss of population have greatly lowered the number of shamans available in the savannah villages. Also, the Mundurucú look upon themselves as being in a degenerated state; they feel that their

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 women are no longer as desirable as in the good old days,
796 nor are men as brave and strong. Correspondingly, the
[756] shamans are thought to have lost much of their power and knowledge. Besides, there are significant social and economic reasons for the lapse of the ceremonies. The larger ceremony fell into abeyance after the migration to the Cururú River had gained full force, and the shorter form was terminated after the exodus had reduced the savannah population to its present 360. Significantly, the Dajearuparip ended in 1945, at the conclusion of the period of rising rubber prices in World War II and the concomitant growing preoccupation of the Mundurucú Indians with extraction of latex. Thus, there is not only an insufficient number of shamans at present, but there are not enough people left in the savannahs to stage a large-scale reunion.
[224] Furthermore, only the campineiros, a bare one-quarter of the total Mundurucú population, still depend on game as
[226] the principal source of protein; the others rely primarily on fishing, and the ceremonies have correspondingly less economic significance to them. Finally, to the degree that the old social system has weakened, so also has this positive, affirmative aspect of the religion. The rites were vital to tribal unity and male activity and were a function of them. The decay of intervillage coöperation in other spheres and the inevitability of eventual abandonment of residence on the savannahs make the Mundurucú apathetic to the continuity of the group-based and group-affirmative rituals—actually, those aspects of relations with the supernatural that Emile Durkheim defined as "religion." [8] The people still believe in the game-animal spirits and still give credence to the efficacy of the ceremonial means of propitiating them. But the failure to translate the
[869] beliefs into the realm of action has robbed them of im-

[8] Durkheim, 1947.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders, this may constitute a significant bloc within the community under current circumstances.

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the number of shamans. This not only includes people who were actually executed, but also those who escaped or who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay, but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced with the unhappy prospect of being the only available scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the services that village life traditionally afforded.

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. Fellow clan members are no longer united by

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to
628 the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a
796 far more isolated existence than they did in former times, and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

314 The economic and social adjustments made by the Mun-
439 durucú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be
648 described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration. The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly mentioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rubber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader in the hamlet of Sae Cinza, but occasionally make transactions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá maintains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of his sons and another man maintain a separate residence not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú who work for the traders or live among the Brazilians. Some of these people maintain relations with the savannah dwellers and communicate to their residents knowledge of Brazilian culture. Other Mundurucú spent time among the Brazilians when young and later returned to the savannahs. They are few, but so are the remaining campineiros, and this is accordingly an important mode of influence. These sojourns among the whites take various forms. Some Indians are raised in the households of the traders, who claim that they do this only to "educate" and Christianize them. Actually the children perform household service without pay, but they are fed and treated well and are integrated into the household and family of the trader. They become well indoctrinated in Brazilian culture, as are other Mundurucú who have spent some years in the employ of the traders. Most such people do not return to the savannah villages, but the few who do go back for varying periods are significant in the introduction of Brazilian culture. But the structure within which this communication operates is set up by the patron-client relation —that is, cultural knowledge is transmitted through the agency of a social system that was established for the exchange of commodities.

COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

This section summarizes the factors that promote the cohesion of the savannah villages and the opposing factors that disturb social norms and cause losses in community membership.

The Mundurucú feel that their way of life can only be conducted successfully in the traditional village locales of the savannahs. To leave these communities is to become almost a foreigner. Considerable sentiment is thus attached to life in the savannah villages and many people,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

especially the old, cling tenaciously to residence there. In times long past, the alternatives to village life were privation and death at the hands of enemy war parties; the village was the basic unit in economy and defense and was fundamental to the workings of the social organization.

The pacification of the Tapajós River region, and the rubber trade, have presented the opportunity for an alternate mode of residence along the banks of larger streams. That it offers certain attractions is manifest from the fact that almost three-quarters of the surviving Mundurucú of the area have elected it. But the 300 people who still reside in the savannahs pursue a way of life which is distinctively Mundurucú. It is a changed culture, a changed social structure, but it is genetically rooted in the Mundurucú past. Life in these savannah villages obviously exerts a considerable hold over its members, for the communities have been persisting despite more than a century and a half of contact with Brazilian society and a constant population drain through emigration and epidemic disease. Some of the principal bases of this cohesion lie in the social means by which Mundurucú technology is implemented, for these provide fundamental ties of personal and familial interdependence.

The keynote of this organization lies in cooperation in production, and collectivism in consumption. Men depend on cooperation in hunting to bring game to bay within short range of their bows and to concentrate their fire power. Women share the arduous chore of farinha making and increase their efficiency by a division of tasks. The efficiency gained is perhaps sacrificed to convivality, but a dull and arduous job is nonetheless made more pleasant. The implements used in manioc processing are expensive and beyond the means of individuals, but the village buys

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid. 572

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence. 572 572 [602]

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe. 572 572 [621]

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers 572 572 572 645

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

152 578 759 683 as the single permissible occasion on which violence was condoned. Kluckhohn's* view is well founded that the sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is coloured within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

152 579 [587] Conflicts between persons and groups are not always connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men commonly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

[622]

152 579 596 [578] Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

* Kluckhohn, 1944.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives. 182 594 596

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to cooperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure. 182 602 614 [594] [596]

The most important force in the process of stripping the 182 439

182 439 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The quest of the Mundurucú for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi-
[164] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens
[241] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

182 166 361 621 Individual nuclear families sometimes move immediately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the desire for sociability and economic cooperation commonly motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Mundurucú who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together.
182 476 624 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gardening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

canoe and firearms. Fishing is easier with watercraft and solitary hunting more effective by firearms. Both may be bought by the individualized labor of rubber production, and both further free the individual of his dependence on a larger group.

The net effect of the social processes currently affecting the Mundurucú is to scatter the population into semi-isolated and economically independent units. When the now middle-aged and old people die, the process will probably accelerate and the savannah villages will pass out of existence. The families will presumably settle, as all now do in the dry season and several throughout the year, on the waters of the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. Those on the former two rivers will no doubt be customers of the post of Sao Cruz and the residents of the latter will be clients of the patrons of Carapal and São Martinho. Trips to the trader's store and increased use of canoes will allow the residents of each river to maintain frequent relations with each other, but the long distances between the streams will probably inhibit similar communication between their inhabitants. Beyond the membership of the hamlets in which small groups of nuclear families congregate, the only more inclusive form of economic interdependences will be that between patron and client. This relationship will probably grow in importance, and the Indians will become more firmly integrated into the local communities, typical of the Amazon, composed of the trader and his customers.

These predictions are not entirely conjectural, for the projected way of life is essentially that of the Mundurucú who have already migrated to the Tapajós River and its tributaries. The nature of the migration and the following life by the river prohibits the reconstitution of savannah-type villages.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and they too abandoned the annual return to the savannahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the people of Cabruú today, to choose avenues near their close kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails; other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farinha-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting, and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry season. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard.

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old cooperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

As the migration continued and the villages grew in size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased use of firearms, bought through the now larger proceeds of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was, comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campineiros.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the savannahs were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of gardening work were

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

done by the men, women, and children, working in common. 178 152 462

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family [592]

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reëstablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change. [562] [177]

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun- 178 152 345

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 796

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campinciro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

439 648 The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly 252
items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are consid- 422
ered to be the property of the chief, since they were pur- 415
chased through his and his extended family's labor. The [622]
large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cu- 623
rurú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. 182
Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position pri- 622
marily to recognition by the mission, but who is also ac- 554
corded some deference because of his age and his status [797]
as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão [476]
Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

622 554 182 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [754] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 754 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kinbonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost [574] always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 578 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative 182
isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the 578
Cururú and are found near its mouth on the Tapajós. Not all fission arises from factional splits such as that described. Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the move from one village to another or to permanent residence in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal conflicts. [166]

These disputes are frequently over women, who are 162
scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah 184
villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow 578
but continuous emigration of the more mobile young 182
males, which results in hostility and competition between the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself. At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long concealed in small villages. Extramarital sex relations are [137]
common in the savannahs also, but there are enough unmarried girls to make female adultery less frequent and competition over women less intense. Correspondingly, there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs caused by sex.

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and 182
sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land 578
near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fis- 311
sion. When one's village house gets old it is often more 166
convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

166 It does not require a particularly strong motive to in-
182 duce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weak-
602 ening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same
[835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively
[594] smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship
[551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-
621

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion in their short histories. The main reasons for their creation were the perpetuation of kinship ties and the desire for companionship and coöperation; all these bases of solidarity are now deteriorating. Finally, the Mundurucú social system is incompatible with heavy preoccupation with the rubber industry. The nature of this trade and the ecological conditions of rubber exploitation tend to produce an atomized and scattered society. The economic and, to a lesser extent, social integration of such a trade-oriented economy is provided by the market. The Mundurucú of the Cururú River are being drawn increasingly within the orbit of the Amazonian credit system. The traditional bases of integration are now gone, and social change can have no other direction.

182
621
177
182
439

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

8

the changing social system

This study has analyzed how Mundurucú society operates to wrest a livelihood from its environment and the connected problem of personal and group relationships. In its focus on Mundurucú social structure and the processes by which this system becomes realized in action to form a coherent way of life, it has been a functional study. But unlike most functional studies, it has been plotted on the coördinate of social time in addition to that of social space. The Mundurucú social system has undergone major transformations, and it is impossible to understand fully what it is until some understanding is achieved of what it was, at least in its key institutions. And it is further necessary to consider the dynamics of the change, because the processes are still continuing. The student who would consider his data only from the point of view of the contribution of

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the elements of a society to its stability would miss the major problem area. Many social institutions and modes of action did little to maintain a smooth flow in the Mundurucú system of social relationships, and some tended to disrupt and destroy the fabric of the society. The working hypothesis used by social anthropologists that social systems tend to establish a new equilibrium when disturbed has great methodological merit but is of limited utility in the present case, because Mundurucú society is hurrying to its own demise.

If the social system has ceased to function smoothly, one might ask how this study can be called a functional analysis; and how Mundurucú society can be said to be systematized if there are great incongruities between its parts. These questions may be answered by stressing that the Mundurucú still maintain a social life, despite its manifold changes and internal strains. The presented data suggest that human societies are less bothered by inconsistencies than the social scientist, who abstracts and constructs his systems from a mass of observed behavior. Moreover, Mundurucú society was at no time fraught with absolute contradictions, and there remain important accommodations and adjustments between some of the central activities that make up the totality of their social life.

A major source of change resided in the fact that continuing and patterned relations have been established with another society, that of Amazon Brazil. The adaptation of institutions and modes of behavior to the new system of relationships with the whites called for corresponding adjustments in Mundurucú society itself. Beyond this, the Mundurucú were brought into contact with a larger world through the medium of the market, and the Indians became sensitized to its demands. These demands of the market changed in type of commodity sought and in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

amount, and the native social structure was directly affected.

That Mundurucú society was not isolated and was not stable, were advantages to a functional analysis rather than disturbing factors. Through observation of change in a component part of a system, it was possible to examine and determine with some degree of verifiability the ramifications and strength of relationship between the changing part and other parts. Functional links of interdependency did indeed exist, and change had repercussions through at least part of the system. As A. R. Radcliffe-Brown phrased it: "It is a corollary of the hypothesis of the systemic connection of features of social life that changes in some features are likely to produce changes in other features."[1] Thus, the functionalist method, when used in the dimension of history, has led to the study of social causality. It further illustrated that the direction of change was profoundly influenced by the structure of Mundurucú society; in this way the social system acted as a field of plural determinants, and social change derived therefrom its order and regularity.

At the time when the tribe erupted so violently into history the Mundurucú were patrilineal and patrilocal and appear to have been undergoing expansion in population and territory. Their social structure was well adapted to such growth, because the equivalence of kin and territorial unit permitted a segmentation process whereby small kin-local groups split off from larger ones. The offspring units, composed of residential nuclei of patrilineally related males and their wives, were miniatures of the parent groups, and they maintained a relation with the parent units through the over-all structure of lineage, subclan,

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 7.

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the cooperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully cooperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mandaruca SQ13

the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.* He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant cooperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

* Murdock, 1949, pp. 206-211.

12:Murphy K-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucú SQ13

structure of authority must have followed closely along lines of patrilineal kinship in patrilocal times. Under the new conditions, the man was not only assigned to permanent proximity to the father-in-law and his house, but was left with no unit in which he could exercise a political role. The Hopi man, for example, may move to his wife's household upon marriage, but he rarely moves out of the village; and he maintains an important position in his own lineage. But, on the other hand, the rule of matrilocality in a patrilineal society leaves a man without a lineage in which he may hold membership or play a political role. That the man had no important rights and duties in his natal household undoubtedly contributed to the persistence of inter-village marriages despite his consequent departure for a new locality. But this raised other problems, for life in a new village placed the man under different leadership and away from a solidary group of kinsmen. The situation was partly resolved by allowing the men to continue residence in the men's house beyond the normal period of bride service. Thus, young married men remained independent of the households of their wives during the early years of marriage and became more fully integrated into them after they had been married for several years. By this time, age and seniority allowed them to become significant figures in the extended family; they were no longer potentially at the mercy of the father-in-law. Matrilocality did not bring the man into another patrilineage under the new circumstances, because the father-in-law was also an outsider. The man's ultimate increased participation in the life of the household was correspondingly eased.

That Mundurucú society gave all members free access to natural resources and had a prominent men's house organization are important to an understanding of the change in residence rules. The two factors were struc-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence may well have caused the Mundurucú to adapt to increased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Mundurucú certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.[3] Mundurucú "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs; and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied cooperating, interacting groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior.

The impact of the change was felt throughout the social structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors became a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with these supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

[3] It has been suggested that I use the term *duolocality* to describe Mundurucú residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals.

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mundurucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups.

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the nonequivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

weak corporate character of descent and local groups. The dispersal of male patrilineal kinsmen also attenuates and weakens ties of relationship, and the men's house results in a rather marginal membership in the extended family. There is potential disruption through conflict of roles, but the loyalties imposed by the roles are somewhat weakened, and the danger to social integration accordingly mitigated.

The incongruity of descent and residence makes for a most unstable social system, and one may well ask how it persisted from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In part, of course, it may be answered that persistence has not been perfect. The clans are becoming vestigial, and cultural residence is now weakening. Moreover, increasing numbers of people are leaving the traditional Tapajós villages. But the fact remains that the Mundurucú still exist as a social entity after a period of contact that witnessed the virtual extinction or absorption of nearly all tribes of the region.

It might be argued that the weakness and instability of the patrilineal and matrilocal social structure was, paradoxically, a source of its strength during the contact period. The accumulated aggressions generated, and repressed, in the social system were released in the continued pursuit of the traditional institutions of warfare. Lacking any strong modes of internal segmentation, social integration was obtained by the opposition of the entire tribe against the outside world. This outward direction of antagonism functioned to demarcate rigidly the boundaries of the social system, and to provide a framework of common endeavor. The cross-cutting ties of residence and descent were the basis of a highly developed sense of tribalism among the Mundurucú males and facilitated the recruitment of war parties from a number of villages. This martial disposition and effectiveness of the Mundurucú

12: Murphy R-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SOI: Mundurucú SOI3

made the tribe useful to the whites. It was important to the Brazilians to maintain the friendship and virtual autonomy of the Mundurucú; the group was accordingly spared some of the severe contact traumata experienced by other Indian tribes of the rain forest.

The social system resulting from the first set of changes in Mundurucú social structure of which we have record persists (with some further modifications) in the present-day savannah villages. From one point of view, it might be said that these early alterations had one over-all function: they fulfilled the new social need of accommodation to Brazilian society. Peaceable relations were established through mercenary service and trade in marine fauna, and these were the means through which the Mundurucú acquired trade items. But the fact of a system of interrelations between Brazilians and Mundurucú meant that the social system of the latter had become vulnerable to changes in the former. Thus, when the direction of the Amazonian economy turned to rubber extraction, the Mundurucú were accordingly affected.

The rubber boom was roughly concurrent with the general pacification of the middle Amazon region. The Mundurucú were needed then as workers, and not as warriors. For the most part they turned to rubber tapping to get merchandise. The total lapse of military activity undercut some of the bases of Mundurucú social solidarity and exposed the institution of leadership to the strife inherent in the political organization. Witchcraft and the execution of sorcerers continued—there are no data to indicate either an increase or decrease of the practices—but in a new social setting. The formerly prevailing consensus in executing sorcerers, which was a reflection of social solidarity, is now difficult to obtain, and the custom today disrupts cohesion.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CHANGING SOCIAL SYSTEM

The problems of leadership and sorcery are not the only causes of contemporary breaking up of traditional Mundurucú society. Forces external to the society merit consideration. It was stated that the rubber industry caused no immediate ecological disruption, but this is true only as long as the Indian remains a marginal producer. His absorption into Amazonian economy and his obligations to the patron eventually increase to such an extent that the Indian cannot participate effectively in the native social system. His role as a member of a village and of an extended family becomes incompatible with the obligations of clientship because the bitter demanding period of rubber production that overlaps the village horticultural cycle. When access to and dependence on trade goods grow, dependence on the individualized labor and personal holdings of the rubber avenue grow also. This, too, is incongruent with the cooperative labor and collective economy of the native social system. As the participation in the two social systems becomes increasingly incompatible, the fears and factionalism of village life cause the Mundurucú to move more completely into the patron-client relationship. The dilemma of role conflict and group tensions is resolved by withdrawal from village life and by the restructuring of their interpersonal relations in the lower framework of Amazonian society.

The Mundurucú are forced into their new mode of existence by several factors. Some of these are elements of the native heritage, such as the conflicting modes of residence and descent, chieftaincy, and sorcery. Others, as for example, trade relations and rubber production, originate from the outside. Social systems are not self-contained structures that respond only to their own needs; they are related to other social systems through networks of structured relationships. For this reason Mundurucú society can

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

be understood only with reference to the well-defined social roles of the enemy and the trader, to name the two most important. The relations of the Mundurucú with their enemies were sudden and violent. Communication and, therefore, diffusion of the forms of culture were minimal due to the mode of interaction, but this by no means vitiates the importance of the hostile outer social world for an understanding of inner social processes.

The trader, on the other hand, is met under peaceful and mutually desired circumstances, and relations with him have different effects. In contrast to the enemy, he communicates knowledge of a different culture to the Mundurucú; his role in this regard was formerly mediated through the chiefs with whom he dealt but is now more potent, for he has face-to-face relations with a much broader segment of the population. This, however, has not been the most important concomitant of the trader role. It is rather to the trader as the purchaser of commodities and the purveyor of goods that attention must be turned, for it is through these activities that Mundurucú society has been most deeply changed and the populace become dependent upon outer sources for felt necessities. Economic autonomy, once lost, is rarely regained. As Mundurucú wants grow, their bond to the trader tightens at the expense of similar ties to kinsmen and co-residents. When the economic life of the individual Indian is confined to the traditional relation of patronage-clientship, he is effectively a cabocla. The trader, like the enemy, is regarded by the Mundurucú as given in the nature of things and beyond the control of the members of the society. Thus, while individual traders are often mistrusted and despised, the institutionalized obligations to the patron and the role itself are never questioned. But, in the final analysis, the patron is the surrogate of the Western economy, and his

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the tribes in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study. For it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns their tribes are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patriliocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of large village and familial units. Murdock* is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most only modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That the factors have a broader relevance can be best

* Ibid., p. 211-212.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

determined comparatively: cross-cultural studies of social and cultural change may well use the factors of ecological adaptation and types of relationship between social systems as constants. This is a different common denominator than the genetic one suggested by Fred Eggan as a means toward controlled comparison,* but it has been used by Steward and myself in a comparative analysis of the rubber-tapping Mundurucú and the Indian trappers of Canada.* In the latter study, we attempted to demonstrate that the two populations experienced similar relationships with mercantilist, extraction economies, which entailed similar ecological adaptations. Both groups underwent disturbances of traditional patterns of postmarital residence, and both eventually underwent transitions in which the population became reorganized into local aggregations in which larger bonds of economic dependency were transferred to patrons.

Finally the relevance of the present work for the study of "acculturation" must be considered, for I have given little attention to the borrowing of the symbolic forms of Western culture by the Mundurucú. The term "acculturation" has had a varied history and much ink has been spilled over its definition. It is generally defined as comprising those changes that take place as a consequence of [illegible] usually referred to the absorption of the content of European culture by a primitive group. Acculturation studies have been characterized by a concern with the phenomenon of diffusion, although on a large scale, and with the processes through which the content of other cultures is accepted and incorporated. Although such studies are interesting and valuable, I have not chosen acculturation as

* Eggan, 1954.
* Murphy and Steward, 1956.

/4 cont./

|4 Tocantins appears to have provided some additional materials on Mundurukú agriculture. But his work is not available to me at the moment.

*24| [22] The Handbook of South American Indians summarizes the subject in these few lines: "The Mundurukú subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugar cane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco and gourds. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in Mundurucu economy." (6)

6. Steward, 1948: 272.

*24| |2| [71] And this is all, more or less, that is known of these Indians' agriculture. The present article, therefore, attempts to amplify this knowledge, although the author is well aware that in many respects, and especially regarding garden methods, the Mundurukú system does not differ materially from that of other tribes in the region, or in the Amazon basin in general. /5/ Practical experience in the matter teaches us that agriculture among the Indians of the Amazon forest allows for slight variations, but not for basic differences.

II. Garden methods

If we regard the agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians as a cul- [illegible] is the purely material, manual, or technical element, which will be discussed here. The other is made up of various social factors which render agriculture not a lifeless task or factor, lacking all influence, not an isolated complex within the tribe, but something vitally integrated into tribal life, something upon which the well-being of the community and of the family now depend. In this sense, agriculture itself becomes a social element in native life. (7)

[12]

/9 cont./

*241 or if other relatives have come to live in the house, then the plot is
[104] made larger. The calculation is thus basically intuitive, even though it is based on practical experience gathered through generations.

*241 Nowadays, the Indian usually plants a little more than he needs
197 for his own use, to obtain a surplus (along with the surplus of rubber
[43] he has gathered) and improve his lot by using it in the purchase of clothes, rum, machetes, etc. The garden, therefore, helps him to maintain his economic balance at his present stage of acculturation.

[245] Another factor which also depends in part on the terrain is the shape of the plot. Here, however, other elements are already in evidence, especially the influence of neo-Brazilian acculturation. Whenever possible, the Mundurukú prefer the traditional shape, which is rounded or elliptic-oval. Thus did the ancestors make their plots, and thus they are made to this day in the villages of the interior. Still in 1957, this garden shape could easily be distinguished when flying over the villages of the Kabitutu and Paranaita. But this is no longer an iron rule. "It depends on the terrain," they told me. But I believe that the influence of the peasants is stronger than that of the terrain. Thus we find gardens of various shapes, elongated, rectangular, and even square. The latter predominate especially in
[361] the Cururú and Tapajós region, and this is areas where the Mundurukú no longer live in village communities but in isolated dwellings. The
[112] dismembering of the community and the emancipation of the Mundurukú family from the village system are reflected here as they are in many other aspects of the culture.

---

*241 growth with the machete, removing from the site of the future garden shrubs, young trees, and brush. This is done to prepare for the next task, which is the felling of the trees. In this way, the woodcutters have greater freedom of action. After the trees are felled, it would be impossible to clear the ground of undergrowth. As a rule, the clearing is done in three days' work, and some time is allowed to elapse for the brushwood to dry.

/19 cont./

Thus, certain rights of exclusivity are established beforehand for the individual. This is expressed in the principle of the sexual division of labor. For example, the raw materials and the products of basket making are exclusively the property of the man; clay and pottery articles, of the woman. Traditionally, basket weaving is done only by men, pottery making only by women. In all sectors of tribal life, the tasks devolving to each sex are determined by these traditional principles. Thence derives the concept of private property.

Throughout the material culture of the Munduruká, as well, the two work cycles—of men and of women—are clearly evident. This "muscle-bound" division only concerns us here as regards agriculture. The subject, however, is almost a borderline case, where these two work cycles meet. In agriculture there are tasks performed exclusively by men, especially in the initial phase of the preparation of the plot; and there are tasks performed exclusively by women, especially from the time /20/ of planting onward; but there are also joint tasks, in which both sexes participate, such as in the planting of bitter manioc. There the man opens up the pit with the digging stick and the woman places the branch or shoot of manioc in the open hole and closes it by stepping on it.

The tasks at each garden stage are thus determined by the system of "muscle-bound" cycles. An outline provides the following panorama:

TASKS

of the man	of the woman
1. Choosing the site and the soil	- -
2. Determining the size and shape	- -
3. Clearing the undergrowth	- -
4. Felling the trees	- -
5. Burning the felled vegetation	- -
6. Piling up the remaining brush	- -

/25 cont./

*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife: the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the tundurukú family regard-
[594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the
[423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? 177 Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sy-
[291] stem of life in tribal communities. For them, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. They are no longer communal
[343] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result,
[423] they own private plots and gardens. Just as each family lives alone, thus too each man or each family plants his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. Showing to existing difficulties
[479] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are used to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent our assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*241 177 As an essential conclusion, there rests from this that among [illegible] aspects of garden tasks according
● 182 to sex groups and to work cycles, the [illegible] system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very this [illegible] 443 476 have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the [illegible], non-Brazilian environment.

*241 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could 238 421 be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

*24 [12] [21] [44]

/29 cont./

From this relationship of garden and village, and also, of garden and community, there result: the relatively slight local stability of the tribal groups, which, however, does not reach the stage of nomadism, and perhaps not even that of seminomadism in the strict sense of the term. In fact, there is a certain amount of group migration resulting from the agrarian situation, since it is the soil that forces the Indian to keep moving on. But these migrations are a slow process which is not unknowingly noticeable because the moves from one location

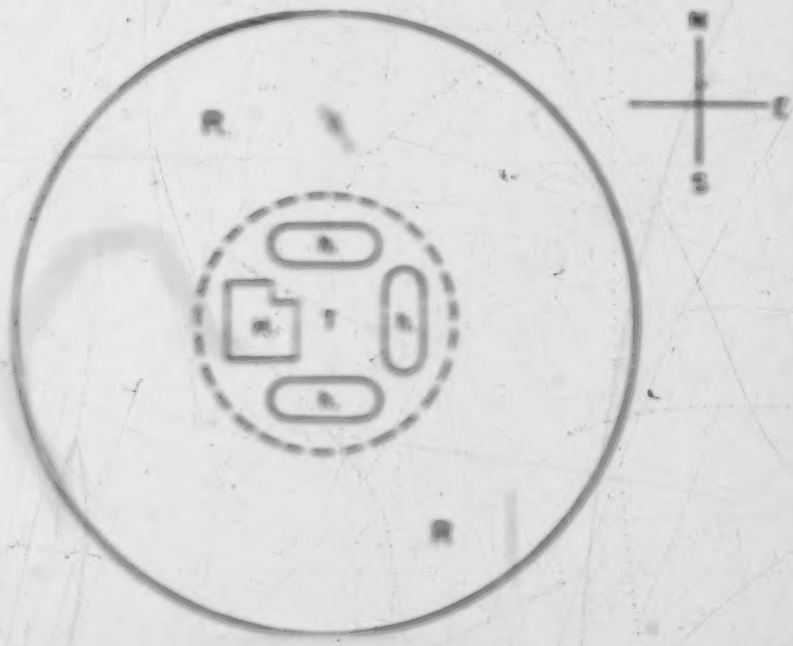


Figure 3. Plan of a Mundurukú village
T: plaza; H: hakusa; B: bok-ay; R: Garden plots.

/29 cont./

241 to another only occur at long intervals, within decades, and because
361 they occur within a certain well-defined area which is precisely the
166 habitat of the tribe. When these moves overshoot the boundaries of the pertinent territory, the causes must usually be sought in other spheres: in war, pressure by other tribes, or, as is noted among the present-day Mundurukú, in the influences of trade and of rubber gathering. But, in their original and usual sense, these "internal" migrations, that is, these displacements and movements of groups within the area peculiar to the tribe, are based solely on the agrarian conditions mentioned above. Martius had already said of the Tupí of the upper Tapajós, as quoted earlier: "They practice a primitive agriculture, and therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (16) He had, thus, already noted these moves

16. Martius, 1857: 301.

[42] and had recognized the fact that agriculture was responsible for the greater or lesser stability of the Indian within his territory. In fact, the same thing may be said in a concrete way of the Mundurukú. They are not nomads, precisely because of their agriculture. But neither are they entirely stable within their habitat for the same reason—agriculture—which, owing to soil exhaustion, forces them into repeated moves which, in the last analysis, result in slow internal migrations which I have termed intra-territorial /ital./.

/30/

241 30. Native terminology referring to garden plots and cultivated plants

1-4 1) Referring to the garden. (17)

17. The phonetics have been adapted to Portuguese whenever possible. Hence the following, however:

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider even to find out who collects the most rubber.

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be.

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible.

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the ekai whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, [illegible] Notice is given to the boys. After the evening meal, the occupants of the ekai lie in their hammocks [illegible] converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on cooperation between the men transcends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to dissociate himself

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1940
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such social and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Cooperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men. Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

This emphasis on harmony and cooperation among the Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origin, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that cooperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strain imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But there are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social [illegible] only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in which the sacred trumpets (karikó), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruú measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruká. Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They acquired a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell furniture to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their compensation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruká had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that compensation should be given to any task in which your effort is possible.

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no [illegible] social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, as obvious among the men, is not as complete among the women, however. The household unit of fa-

Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
BQ13 Mundurucu BQ13

the new setting, the position was stripped of legitimate [78]
authority and divested of the attributes that commanded [79]
greatest respect. The strength of the chief's group thus be- [80]
comes a sore point in village life.

These problems are amply illustrated by the contemporary chieftaincies of the sawmill villages of Cabruá and Cabituná. Until two years before my investigation, an old Mundurucú whose Portuguese name is Caetano had been chief in the village of Cabituná. He did not occupy the office by patrilineal succession, but was appointed by a trader who maintained exclusive dealings with the villagers. The residents of Cabituná respected and accepted Caetano because of his age and the fact that he was not aggressive in promoting the interests of the trader. When the old chief of Cabruá, who possessed the office legitimately, died, the trader decided to shift Caetano from Cabituná to Cabruá and to install Caetano's son in the vacancy created. The latter, a young man named Biboi, had been raised by the trader. In contrast to the usual unassertive, retiring, cooperative, and nonaggressive Mundurucú conduct, Biboi was loud and vociferous in his claim to be "the only one in Cabituná who knows how to tell the people to work and who can deal with the trader." The villagers looked upon an older man, who was also a shaman, as the rightful possessor of the office and regarded Biboi as a usurper and tool of the trader. They were prepared to kill him, but relented because of respect for his father, Caetano, and his family. To kill Biboi would have caused endless trouble, and the Mundurucú assiduously avoid such situations. [81]

In the meantime, Caetano's tenure of the chieftaincy of Cabruá was somewhat uneasy. More than one-third of the men residing in the village did business with another trader than the one who had made the appointment, and

6

social solidarity and social fission

Each Mundurucú village is an autonomous political unit, and there is no permanent multicommunity decision-making body. However, the Mundurucú feel themselves to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dji ugui*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people," and the *pariuat*, a term which is applied to all non-Mundurucú. All the "people" consider themselves to be related, and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship system. All, however, are expected to show cooperation and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the whites, the *pariuat* are enemies and, in former times, were the objects of warfare.

[p. 126]

DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL I: WHAT MAKES BIBOI RUN

Robert F. Murphy

I

Biboi, the young chief of the Mundurucu[1] village of Cabitutú, visited the village of Cabrua with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the ten hour round-trip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Biboi was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Cabitutu, he kept a young and pretty wife in the house of his father, the chief of Cabrua. Whenever he visited his wife, his "followers" in Cabitutu busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Cabrua, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Biboi, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time we lived in Cabrua, Biboi gravitated between the two communities--to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of his fellow Mundurucu.

157
622
[578]
[837]

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Biboi run. But the key questions of why the men of Cabitutu plotted against him and why those of Cabrua pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Mundurucu society and culture and of Biboi's position within it. For Biboi was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to re-establish the normal flow of social interaction. Anthropologically, this is a study in deviancy and social control. Humanistically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

578
837
183
626

II

Biboi's personality was most deviant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Mundurucu men and their chiefs. I know nothing of the socialization of Biboi, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who traded in the village headed by Biboi's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Mundurucu, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Biboi, he addressed me in backwoods Portuguese and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Biboi, son of Caetano [the chief of Cabrua] and chief of Cabitutu." This contrasted markedly to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Mundurucu addressed me, and

183
157
114
157

114 each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months
with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset
157 me considerably. Bibei turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He
cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me
for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to
lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything to either the realm of
traditional Mundurucu activity or in their relationships with the outside world.
554 He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of
material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this rea-
555 son our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate
him from his barefoot Indian fellows--shortly after one of his visits, my wife
discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so brash.
157 They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Bibei would demand a
cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we point-
ed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Bibei had other most
unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and
did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal
his hostility and contempt when someone inferior to him was near. But under-
neath this façade, Bibei was a frightened and anxious man. He would often
158 confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be inter-
preted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were
indeed talking about him, and Bibei had every reason to be anxious. Not only
his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

157 Bibei's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucu
183 expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should
behave. Mundurucu society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the prin-
[61] ciple of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are considered
to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilin-
[61] eal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal
clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move
to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the
villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he
obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the
man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also
acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a
classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-
cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an
576 extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and
181 individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range
along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may
pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a
population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such
stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the
Mundurucu type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only pro-
duces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[7] Given the structure of
Mundurucu society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative,
unaggressive, serene, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity
183 before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Bibei presented a threat
to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered
and acquisitive--all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

Like all people, the Rankanai are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the mirage of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Eikei's tastes were traditional and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. In this violated a value shared and at the same time alienated the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows.

Eikei not only misunderstood the ends of Rankanai prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should let one's prestige be let in one's to his naturally. For example, bravery to one was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Eikei's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he sought so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Rankanai social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that made this adjustment, Eikei had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievance against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and allegiances emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role constraints. Rivalries and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Rankanai, but they are carefully repressed or neutralized for the functioning of Rankanai society. The average Rankanai is well-trained in disguising aggression and in presenting the blank face of neutrality, but Eikei's non-acculturation was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the native society. Like any outsider, he had been drawn to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly alienating to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian outsider but not for a Rankanai native.

IV

Eikei's alienation from Rankanai society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabiuna. The contemporary Rankanai chieftainship must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians of manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. Thus the trader seeks increased production by both the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he may do such to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely control the patrilineal rule of inheritance of

[illegible] against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was based their existence. Ndeli refused to divorce the new wife, he died in her greatly attached, but took her to Zakrak where he left her in the care of his father. He validated his polygamy by pointing to the tradition that this was a passage-time of death.

•

This brings us through each of the two features of Bedouni culture and social structure and to the point at which this paper began. But since this is to examine a tragic hero, we will see in this final section how his strong ment inevitably close on Ndeli. He had offended all the Bedouni canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of disrepute in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Ndeli returned to Zakrak to see matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his kin in Zakrak. This was an important collective decision by the residents of Zakrak, for the execution could set off a train of repercussions that would seriously disrupt their relations with Zakrak and with the tribe. However, Ndeli did not have characteristic peak and the chief motive explanation for the killing of a sheikh—that he was a perpetrator of black magic—could not be used in his case. But his political prowess was even more dangerous, and Ndeli's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

In the meantime, the parents of the young wife did not as secure as Ndeli thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather spoiled girl, whose outlook the possessed was seriously at odds for the lustrous attention upon her body by the men of Zakrak. Now, all of the men of the village would have prohibited by tribal regulations—and there are some exceptions even to this—were enjoying the favors of Ndeli's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, on the shoals, in the forest, in the gardens, or whenever they might find her alone. The attitudes of the men are understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another consideration to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to us, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Ndeli. For the Zakrak men, too, disliked Ndeli with some intensity. Due to his father's village his presence threatened the small bases of social relations, and he also considered cowardly derisive. No physical sanctions against Ndeli would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Zakrak attached his earlier lectures. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, and of the success in dealing a mortal blow to Ndeli's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Ndeli soon heard of the events in Zakrak from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned by Brazilian soldiers (probably correctly) as being among those

B cont.

*241
192

7. Let us explain further the Indian's notion or idea of the concept "garden" (ka). To him, "garden" is, basically, a garden of bitter manioc, or in a broader sense, tubercles such as sweet manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, coladium, etc. This narrow concept probably arose in the time when tubercles, especially bitter manioc, were the only cultivated plants. Nowadays, of course, the Mundurucú have at their disposal a much greater variety of cultivable plants which they grow in their bitter-manioc gardens. Speaking of these products, they usually amplify on the "garden" concept with terms which, to our minds, would seem unnecessary, such as: "the pumpkins which I grow in my bitter-manioc garden," etc. If they have prepared gardens of products which are not tubercles, such as for example maize alone, they will clarify the matter beforehand by speaking of a "maize garden," etc. But "garden" means, to them, a bitter-manioc garden. As for the dual term for garden used by men and women, we shall speak of this when we come to social factors.

*241 The entire process of native agricultural work, especially the application and execution of what we could call "garden methods," *[25] is based on fixed, traditional norms, which in turn are determined by the conditions imposed by nature as to climate, seasons, soil, etc., and also by the logical sequence of agricultural tasks.

The Minister of Agriculture, in an order dated December 22, 1876, excused Fr. Pelino de Controvalva from his duties as head of the Mission of Barabal, at the same time, immediate and equitable means were taken to maintain the Mission and to serve as vigorously as heretofore the cause of christianization in those remotenes.

XIV

Tie between the barbeiro and the Indians of the Upper Tapajos.

The tie fight waged between the leading citizens of the Barbaba District and the missionary of Barabal had no other cause than the Indio trade.

I refer to to those Indians who live at the Mission of Barabal and other points of the Upper Tapajos riverbanks, and not to the Mularies of the central villages, such as Necodemus and others, "whicha called villages of the plains.

The lam, who are truly savage, carry out no trade whatever, and mind appear to avoid contact with both missionaries and petty traders.

The missionary of Barabal held the combined functions of director of the Mission, head steward, schoolmaster to both male and femle pupils, and parson. He was not eager to obtain assistance frothe government to help him in his various tasks, and kept the Indos usually isolated from any contact with the inhabitants ofe district and especially with the barbeiro. [146]

All theaden trade in Barabal was carried out through him directly withe Para market, and he gave no account whatever of these transhons to the government.

We thatmo endeavor to provide a general idea of the manner in whi trade is carried out on the Upper Tapajos.

The dioce of Imitoba, which stretches beyond the Mission of Barabal tow borders of Mato Grosso, is one of the richest in natural returns to the valley of the Amazon.

[illegible]

The relationship of the long acculturative processes since a high degree of acculturated population. Both Montagnais and Mundurucu populations are divided into loosely integrated and dispersed communities centering about particular trading posts with which the individual families have ties. The Indians still hunt, maintain, and intermarry with one another, but the nuclear family is now the stable socio-economic unit. It is the highest level of integration found among the native population itself, but it is linked to the nation through the intermediate of a regional economy. The integration of the family with the national level is highly specialized and limited. These families do not yet share a substantial part of the common development of the national culture or even of the regional subculture of their neighbor-neighbors.

There is a level given, which, though occurring at different dates in the different societies, is characterized by acculturation of the Indians on a local subculture of the national socio-cultural system and normal loss of identity as Indians. At this point, the acculturational processes and results diverge, since the Indians participate to a much greater extent in the national culture. So long as the families maintain their marginal relations with the national society, they are quite within the basic proportions of the culture in which they lived and much more like one another. Even, however, they learn the national language, intermarry extensively with neighbors, and acquire many of the neighbor values and behavior patterns. They have to be classed with the special regional subcultures that have developed in portions of these nations.

It can be predicted that the family will be more and level of integration will not both be higher the loss of ethnic consciousness. Farms has especially emphasized the relationship between social structure and ethnic culture. Consider in such a situation:

> "I would suggest that a culture is a social inventor as it is that by a bounded social structure. In this sense I would agree that the social structure or the functions of the whole social life of any continuing society ..... The social structure of a group does not mean without the contained norms and a history which goes through it. We might safely conclude that where congruent patterns there must be some permanence of corresponding norms, and where social systems there must be some structural basis for that [illegible] (1951, pp. 1942).

5. Further Integration

In the minds and values the Sandwich-Algonkian parallel to the cross-cultural transmission of structural changes caused by acculturation in other areas. We will not seek further parallels, however, but will discuss cultures in which convergent aspects resulted. The instance of such apparent convergence in the Northeast Coast, where the fur trade at first strengthened or introduced native that weakened the aboriginal social structure. The Kiowaccans of the prairie are close kin to the Northeast Coast as a result of the shift in trade goods to a trade which has been also connected by a number of students (cf. Ramsey [illegible] Swanton [illegible] Lowie [illegible]). It seems to be very worthwhile, however, to consider the trade in furs as the central factor. What really mattered was the [illegible] of furbearing animals. The new other was the prominent fur hunters in the Northeastern Coast tribes, and relationship between [illegible] affairs and decreased hunting. The amount of land required was probably fairly limited and in any event did not affect the aboriginal efforts of the great Indian empire which required employment mainly of men population by hunting, gathering, and fishing people.

The hunting activities of the Sioux of Upper Lower were mainly specialized those of the Northeastern Algonkians, according to Indian ethnographies (1951, p. 1951).

patrilineal clans, ranked hereditary into command phratries and divided almost equally between exogamous moieties, persisted, but the residential basis of patrilinearity disappeared. Males formerly remained in the house and village of their birth, but now they were dispersed by the new marriage rule. Clans lost their lineage market and correspondingly suffered a loss of function. Bride service fell to a mere become permanent, and the men's house, formerly the dwelling of village bachelors and young men in bride service, became a permanent dwelling of the men.

That is essentially the situation in the contemporary savannah villages. But the social organization of the Cururu River settlements marks a further change from the savannah pattern. Matrilocality is still rather vaguely regarded as the ideal residence rule for all but the sons of chiefs, and the custom is followed in a significant number of cases. Actually, however, many marriages are patrilocal, and there is an increasing tendency for couples to become neolocal eventually.

Furthermore, family life and the social division of the sexes has been drastically modified on the Cururu River. The Cururu villages are the result of migrations by mother and extended families from nearby savannah villages and do not represent the simultaneous move of entire villages. The men's house was never instituted on the Cururu and dwellings were characteristically small. Thus, the Cururu River houses are the residences of one to three related families, whereas those on the savannahs, even under present conditions of depopulation, have an average number of about four families each. This results in the same houses as do their wives and children on the Cururu River, and the nuclear family approaches being an independent social and economic unit. Under these conditions the village has little cohesion, and recurrent factionalism results in the proliferation of new and smaller villages. Among these units there are individual ties of marriage and kinship, but the mission provides almost the only context in which the residents of different villages interact in a group.*

Other factors have modified Mundurucu social structure and religion. The population is probably about one fourth of what it was 100 years ago,* this has resulted not only in greatly reduced villages and households, but it has increased the number of shamans. Other influences have aggravated this decline. The end of warfare did much to devitalize the Mundurucu and to promote the growing dominance in the native culture. It also eliminated a whole range of religious ceremonies that formed part of the head-hunting complex. Finally, there has been a profound shift in subsistence here among those Mundurucu who have moved to the shores of the Tapajós and Cururu rivers. In contrast to the savannah dwellers, who are vigorous hunters, these Indians depend primarily upon fish for protein. This has significance for the religious concepts and activities centered on the animal world and hunting.

* The respective social and economic organizations of savannah and Cururu River villages are compared and contrasted with reference to the ecology of native societies in another work. (Murphy, 1958).

* According to some sources, this decline has been even greater. Martius (1867, p. 891) estimated the Mundurucu population to be 30,000 in 1818, and Nimuendaju (1952, p. 10) estimated the population to be 10,000 in 1950.

The *patcha ki* sends two types of malignant object, called the *gabip* and the *ovadwi*. The latter has already been explained as a supernaturally powerful, sonolike object in which the *patcha ki* is sometimes found. The *gabip*, on the other hand, is thought to be an evil force that is found in the form of a loon. Both the *ovadwi* and the *gabip* are parts of a general, dangerous power, called *shawi*, that exists in all animals. The Manitoulin believe that every animal possesses a *ovadwi* and a *gabip* as part of its power (*shawi*); these malignant forces apparently can be controlled by the *patcha ki* and used by it to avenge the grievances visited upon the animal world by humans. The *gabip* or the *ovadwi* can also be sent by the animal souls as well as by the *patcha ki*. One shaman stated that the *gabip* often enters the victim to weaken him, and the *ovadwi* then arrives to kill him.

Finally, every species of game animal has a mother spirit that exerts protection over the species. These mothers are decidedly secondary in importance to the *patcha ki*, or mother of all game, and the only ones that figure importantly in Manitoulin thought are the *Wa ki*, the *daje ki*, the *mpesa ki*, and the *lend ki*, or the mothers of the tapir, the porcupine, the deer, and the grape monkey, respectively. The species mothers are given offerings at ceremonies and shamanistic performances, as is the *patcha ki*, and they are capable of avenging any affront given to their respective children. However, the Manitoulin commonly speak of "feeding the *patcha ki*" and of the "vengeance of the *patcha ki*," though equal reference is given to the species mothers in these connections. Also, the species mothers are never found in the land tortoise or the vervet monkey, nor are they believed to be manifest in the form of *ovadwi*. On the contrary, the species mothers are found only in certain of these children, and their presence in the animal can be detected only by a shaman.

Another class of mothers is associated with aquatic life and is of less importance than the animal mothers. The *mema ki* is the mother of the fish, a position equivalent to that of the *patcha ki* in the animal world. The *mema ki* reposes in small alligators and can be found by the shaman in many places where fish are known to abound. In addition to its association with all species of fish, the *mema ki* is also believed to be the mother of all aquatic reptiles, amphibian, and mammalian life.

Individual species of fish do not have mothers, but the *mthengo* and *tawaji*, species of river tortoise, have mother spirits that are found within some of their children. The only other aquatic species having a mother is the pickerel, or *mmaso*. The mother of the pickerel can be found only within certain tapirs. There are no special ceremonies for these spirits, for they, too, are propitiated in the general ceremonies for spirit mothers.

This account of supernatural beliefs associated with game animals represents the sum of informant responses on the subject. Manitoulin beliefs are not, however, absolutely uniform and rigid, and there was a certain variation in individual views on the subject. There was, for example, some disagreement on the nature of the *ovadwi*, although all informants agreed that it was like a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dead and alive and strong. The *wirafed* is evidently a rather abstract notion of a mystic force that is an attribute of many classes of beings. But beyond this minimal explanation, there is a degree of permissible deviation in interpretation. Some informants said that the *patoba ñ* was a *wirafed*, but others said that it was merely found in a *wirafed*. Another body of conflicting information pertained to the belief that there was only one *patoba ñ* but that it could simultaneously be found in many places. Again, a minimal explanation was given that there is but one *patoba ñ*, but it is divided into many. Deeper questioning *does* reveal different answers from different informants. In this, and elsewhere, I have given the most common explanation. It is to be understood, of course, that a range of variant belief and practice is to be found in all aspects of culture.

Evil Spirits

In spite of the great power to do harm possessed by the spirits associated with the animal world, the Mundurucú do not look upon these supernaturals as inherently evil or malignant. They attack people only when unjustly provoked and are beneficial when properly propitiated. Since also, knows the rules that must be followed to maintain the benevolence of the spirits of the animal world, their vengeance is due to human frailty and not to supernatural caprice or malevolence. The proper attitude toward this class of supernaturals is one of respect and caution, and not of intense fear.

However, the Mundurucú believe in other spirits, some of which are dangerous at all times and which attack humans without provocation. The most powerful of these is the class of spirits called *Farapari*, belief in which is commonly widespread among the Tupian-speaking peoples of South America. The Mundurucú recognize three types of *Farapari*. The first is said to be composed of the real *Farapari* and includes the souls of people who have been killed by attacks of the *Farapari*. Another type of *Farapari* is that created by sorcerers to accompany their souls on predatory journeys. These *Farapari* are neither as prominent nor as powerful as the first type, but they are, nonetheless, greatly dreaded. The last category of *Farapari* includes the fresh-water porpoises that inhabit the Amazonian rivers. The porpoises are believed to swim in the rivers only by day; at night they are transformed into handsome men or beautiful women who dress in white clothes and travel on land. These are believed to be the least dangerous of all the *Farapari*, although they are still considered malevolent and capable of attacking humans.

Mundurucú shamans report that the porpoise class of *Farapari* frequently complains to them that the other *Farapari* are the real demons and that they themselves suffer from their assaults. This third class of *Farapari* is distinguished from the first two types by other characteristics, also. Only the porpoise-spirit travels on land, the others travel through the air. The porpoises are visible to all people in their natural human form, and their beauty frequently leads the unwary to approach too closely. The sorcerer-created *Farapari* and those whose lives and souls were taken by the *Farapari*, however, are invisible to all but the shamans.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1960
SQ13 Amazonas SQ13

as most of the population. These small one- or two-family groups do not have the social frame of reference necessary for the perpetuation of the native civil system. And the social units are too small for the effective transmission of the traditional culture to the young.

Village life, relative isolation for Brazilians, greater population density, and, therefore, an intensive interaction with other Mundurucú, make a better preservation of the Indian culture among the colonists of the Cururú River. But here, too, tradition is once worn, and the native social structure has been drastically modified.

Actually, the stronghold of Mundurucú society and culture lies in the remaining savannah villages, and it is from the savannah area, once far more populous, that the contemporary dwellers of the Tapajós of Cururú river originally emigrated. It cannot be said of the Mundurucú of the savannah villages represent a "aboriginal culture," for they too have been deeply acted and altered by Brazilian society. But change has been the least among this population. A greater degree political and economic autonomy is preserved, and the new social system persists, although it has been subject to modifications. Society and culture in the savanna is certainly not the same as one hundred fifty or eventhy years ago, but it is still more distinctively Mundurucú than in the Cururú villages and far more so than among the scattered Indians of the Tapajós River.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Planalto do Mato Grosso is a tolly forested and rugged upland, ranging in altitude fm 2,000 to 3,000 feet, which forms the divide between streams flowing north to the Amazon and south to the Paraguay River. The headwaters of the Madeira, Tapajós/Juruá, and Aragaya

THE SETTING

very few among the Mundurucú—interviewed in 1952 was born in 1862. Since his most reliable recollections probably date from his adolescence, his memories of things seen and heard will be of value only for the time after about 1875—and I am being generous here. The period of 1875 and shortly thereafter is within the last decade of the rubber boom and is well over a century after the first contact between Mundurucú and whites. In short, it has been necessary to exercise great caution with these data.

A good deal of the data from informants were datable, within broad limits, by their context. Thus, when I heard that a duty of the chief in times past was to "buy goods for the people," I knew that I was out faced with the pre-time. And, fortunately, there is some highly useful documentary history on the Mundurucú. One does not get a smooth historical continuum replete with detail, but it is possible to discern in the written records some of the large-scale changes that have taken place in the society. I have avoided the method, common in acculturation studies, of working with two cultural base lines, the aboriginal and the present, and comparing the two. This procedure may have some value when the transfer of items of culture from one society to another through diffusion is studied, but it does not lend itself to the analysis of the continual interplay of the forces of stability and change acting on a social system.

The Mundurucú present advantages for the student of social change. It has been said that there are three spatially and culturally distinct Mundurucú populations, which differ in degree of change—a differentiation that took place only during the past twenty-five years as a result of migration. This study does not include the population of the Tapajós River, where Mundurucú society is most drastically changed, but concentrates on the people of the seven-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[12] [19] nale and the Cururú River. The differences between the savannah villages and those of the Cururú, and between the modes of social life of the two groups in general, are profound, and I believe that they can be traced to the degree of participation in trade and the rubber-extraction industry. A comparison of the two groups is rewarding because it reveals two points of Mundurucú history. And since the savannah villages will probably be abandoned in a generation or two, and their residents will move also to the banks of the larger streams, a comparison also gives a glimpse of the future. Beyond these considerations, an element of control over the data is introduced. Processes of change that may be assumed to be at work in the savannah communities may be seen to have run their course on the Cururú. Conversely, we need not speculate on the antecedents of social structures on the Cururú River, for we see them on the savannahs.

[18] [27] I start my analysis with a presentation of Mundurucú history, based on published sources and information given by the priests of the Cururú mission. The next four chapters, the main body of the book, present general material on traditional Mundurucú culture and social structure in the savannah communities. The last of these four chapters, chapter 6, discusses the contemporary bases of social integration, and the centrifugal tendencies in Mundurucú society. This is also the logical place to discuss relations with the whites. Chapter 7 shifts attention to the Cururú River villages and analyzes the progressive disorganization of Mundurucú society there. The final chapter summarizes the findings on social change and discusses their implications for general anthropological theory.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1830 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

Except for the village of Cururú, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the campanero, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campanero for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campanero as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campanero, on the other

THE CONTACT PERIOD

775 hand, refers to the people living on the Cururú as pariwat, 897 or "foreigners," because they live like the Brazilians. How- 886 ever, his feelings toward the Cururú people are not inspired by the fear and alienation felt by the latter. Rather, he is puzzled and chagrined that they remain aloof from him and will not accept him, although they are all Mundurucú.

775 The split within the tribe occurred only during the past 897 three decades, but it has contributed to a decrease in migration from the remaining savannah villages to the Cururú. People are still leaving the savannahs, but usually 944 to move to the Tapajós or to the lower reaches of the streams on the headwaters of which they live. The ambivalent attitude of the Cururú people makes that river decidedly unattractive to them.

CHRONOLOGY

775 For purposes of greater clarity, the history of the contact between the Mundurucú and the whites can be conveniently divided into four distinct periods. These are based on significant changes in the structure of Brazilian-Mundurucú relations.

1770-1795.—During this period, the warlike Mundurucú came into contact with the Portuguese colonists and directed attacks against them in the region along the Arinos River between Cuiaba, on the east, and the lower Madeira River, on the west. The first Mundurucú settling of the latter area took place during these years and was probably motivated by the desire to obtain trade goods. In 1795, a punitive expedition against the villages of the east side of the upper Tapajós River, the original Mundurucú territory, ended hostilities.

1795-1830.—The Mundurucú, at peace with the whites,

12: Murphy R-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

3

economic life

Until about 1925, the bulk of the Mundurucú population of the Tapajós area lived in the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest that begins some twenty to thirty miles east of the upper Tapajós River. The population of about 300 living in seven villages in this area today is constantly diminishing. The villages and their approximate populations are: *Aró*, 90; *Cabituná*, 45; *Cabruá*, 67; *Aipiko*, 30; *Dobodyem*, 30; *Caui*, 25; and *Peruwaritikú*, 30. The last-named village is in the traditional savannah area and has some antiquity, but in recent years the organization of village life has shifted to the characteristic pattern of the Curuá River. Caui was established in recent times by conservative Mundurucú who became dissatisfied with their new way of life on the Curuá River and wished to revert to more traditional practice. How-

ECONOMIC LIFE

[24] even, the people of the village still maintain trade relations and their closest social contacts with the Cururú River settlements.

The other five communities are those which before the migration to the Cururú were farthest removed from its shores. A glance at the map will show that communication by water with the dwellers of that river is not feasible, and a two or three days' march would be necessary by land. Thus, geographical removal has combined with the social gulf that has arisen between campeiros and Cururú residents to make contact between the two groups most speculiar.

THE SATURNAO VILLAGES

[25] Most of the research in the uncontacts was done in the village of Cabeuá. The cluster was made primarily for physiological and sanitarily reasons; it had the least insects and the most food of all the villages. A vacant house was also available and ready to be occupied. Beyond considerations of creature comfort, Cabeuá was suitable because it had the second largest population, several excellent old informants in residence, and it was a typical community of the more traditional type. Its five houses were arranged in the customary circle around a central plaza, and its male population lived in the traditional men's house. My wife and I accordingly settled in Cabeuá during the second half of our Munduruká sojourn.

[26] The Munduruká are essentially forest dwellers. Although their villages are on high uncontacts, they depend on the resources of the forests and rivers for their subsistence. Their ecological adaptation does not differ greatly from that of other tropical forest tribes except in varying emphasis on different pursuits. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening were and still are the basis of Mun-

THE LOCAL GROUP

mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male position, and the modern acculturated woman commonly objects to the fact that the usual division of labor is maintained here, unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as futtoko making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly serious and drew closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the dingghot, the men immediately peppered the women with pulu seeds.

The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans but remain functional in protecting the village from supernatural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a solidary body. That the women also culture under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the women in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which futtoko is made by all village women. The external physical arrangement of the dwelling house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is then divided into three unwalled sections, each end contains

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

7

the mundurucú of the cururú river

The Cururú River was permanently settled by the Mundurucú in the 1820's and 1830's through much the same processes that are observable today along the Cabitutú, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. The people who moved to the Cururú came largely from the southernmost savannah communities, and they settled on this particular stream because their dry-season residences and commercial lands were there. When people move from the more northerly, contemporary savannah communities today, their choices of particular streams are dictated by the same reasons. There is no other cause for the differential migration that has split the northern and southern villages than proximity to certain rivers and corresponding ties to

[p. 158]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

particular patrons. Two or three decades ago, all savannah communities were much alike and, except for differing places of dry-season residence, the populations of all maintained frequent contact through intermarriage, visiting, and joint participation in ceremonies. The cultural and social differentiation of Cururú and savannah dweller is thus quite recent.

There are two major points of difference between the migration to the Cururú and that to the more northerly rivers. First, in the former large numbers of people moved in a comparatively short period. Secondly, the patrons on the Cururú River were not Brazilian rubber traders, but a group of German Catholic missionaries who were deliberately attempting to attract the population and modify their culture. The missionaries achieved little success during their first ten to fifteen years of activity and attracted large numbers of Indians only after the price of rubber rose. On the other hand, the autotenem of this example of applied anthropology should be given recognition, for the missionaries offered high rubber prices and low-cost merchandise, and thereby accelerated the migration process.

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRATION

The population move to the Cururú occurred in piecemeal fashion, for, as in the contemporary savannahs, nuclear families or segments of extended families shifted and not whole villages. Co-resident groups of Indians who commonly collected rubber and fished on the banks of the Cururú during the dry season were lured into setting up permanent residences there by the attraction of trade goods and the persuasion of the missionaries, who sought thereby to bring the Indians more directly under their influence. Other rubber-season residents perceived the economic advantages of all-year occupation of the Cururú,

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 796

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

439 648

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more 177
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- [422]
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [323]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear
and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress.
The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men
of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these
articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and
a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the
overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [658]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected,
the people are not deeply affected by the missionary
teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and re-
spected without any commitment or great interest on the
part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who
have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 759 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost [574] always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 578 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the Cururú and are found near its mouth on the Tapajós. Not all fission arises from factional splits such as that described. Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the move from one village to another or to permanent residence in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal conflicts. [144]

These disputes are frequently over women, who are scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow but continuous emigration of the more mobile young males, which results in hostility and competition between the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself. At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long concealed in small villages. Extramarital sex relations are common in the savannahs also, but there are enough unmarried girls to make female adultery less frequent and competition over women less intense. Correspondingly, there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs caused by sex. [137]

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fission. When one's village house gets old it is often more convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.

Mundurucú who work for the traders or live among the Brazilians. Some of these people maintain relations with the savannah dwellers and communicate to their residents knowledge of Brazilian culture. Other Mundurucú spent time among the Brazilians when young and later returned to the savannahs. They are few, but so are the remaining companions, and this is accordingly an important mode of influence. These sojourns among the whites take various forms. Some Indians are raised in the households of the traders, who claim that they do this only to "educate" and Christianize them. Actually the children perform household service without pay, but they are fed and treated well and are integrated into the household and family of the trader. They become well indoctrinated in Brazilian culture, as are other Mundurucú who have spent some years in the employ of the traders. Most such people do not return to the savannah villages, but the few who do go back for varying periods are significant in the introduction of Brazilian culture. But the structure within which this communication operates is set up by the patron-client relation—that is, cultural knowledge is transmitted through the agency of a social system that was established for the exchange of commodities.

COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

This section summarizes the factors that promote the cohesion of the savannah villages and the opposing factors that disturb social norms and cause losses in community membership.

The Mundurucú feel that their way of life can only be conducted successfully in the traditional village locales of the savannahs. To leave these communities is to become almost a foreigner. Considerable sentiment is thus attached to life in the savannah villages and many people,

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

.2
.65
621

equally the old, cling tenaciously to residence there. In the long past, the alternatives to village life were private death at the hands of enemy war parties, the village was the basic unit in economy and defense and was fundamental to the workings of the social organization.

.2
621
[364]

Its pacification of the Tapajós River region, and the rubber trade, have prevented the opportunity for an alternate of residence along the banks of larger streams. Their offers certain attractions is manifest from the fact that most three-quarters of the surviving Mundurucú of the 19 have elected it. But the 300 people who still reside in 9 savannah pursue a way of life which is distinctively Mundurucú. It is a changed culture, a changed social stream, but it is genetically rooted in the Mundurucú past. Life in these savannah villages obviously exerts a considerable hold over its members, for the communities have been persisting despite more than a century and a half contact with Brazilian society and a constant population drain through emigration and epidemic disease. Some of the principal bases of this cohesion lie in the social means by which Mundurucú technology is implemented, for these provide fundamental ties of personal and familial interdependence.

.2
.76
621
[364]

The keynote of this organization lies in cooperation in production, and collectivism in consumption. Men depend on cooperation in hunting to bring game to bay within shotrange of their bows and to concentrate their fire power. Women share the arduous chore of farinha making and secure their efficiency by a division of tasks. The efficiency gained is perhaps sacrificed to conviviality, but a chill and arduous job is nonetheless made more pleasant. The implements used in manioc processing are expensive and beyond the means of individuals, but the village buys

villages were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *kawés*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supra-village leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazonia" (Kinietz Jesus 1960:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated, and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres: there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiaká Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Barro (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Aguagás."[8] Teixeira (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled widely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

complex societies are a part of the same social system. Therefore, the moral values of in-groups are commonly extended outward to a considerable degree. Moreover, the ethical norms reflected in everyday social interaction are complicated by class differences and other categories of sub-cultural variation. The individual is an actor in many situations, each of which presumably evokes different modes of behavior. He may be the bearer of several standards of ethics, which become manifest according to the particular status and role contexts in which he is acting. Our "real," as opposed to "ideal," values are heterogeneous in the extreme.

The complexity of our ethical values arises from the very complexity of the social structure of which they are an integral part. Beyond the realm of situationally desirable behavior, the general ideal value system, or thematic moral values, in Kluckhohn's terms, shows somewhat more uniformity and internal consistency.[1] But they are frequently in conflict with sentiments, which, while less lofty, are just as strongly value charged.

577 Since it is more simple, and because
176 it is less ambivalent, the Mundurucú ethic should provide some insight into our own. It varies from our own in degree of intensity of ingroup harmony and outgroup hostility and is perhaps

[1] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: an Exploration in Definition and Classification" in *Towards a General Theory of Action* (Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, eds., Cambridge, 1952). [p 57 n 2 (4)]

[577 differens in kind, for the central theme makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between *desirable* behavior within Mundurucú society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

[.05 The Mundurucú first came to the [.1] attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forest and savannah country east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú [.24 warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a [.05 peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

[.3 Mundurucú warfare represents one 577 side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[2] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[2] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946).

[p. 370(2)]

[illegible] over-aggression is an element comparable to the *Dionysiacs* of Arizona; in this light the culture is Apollonian.

[illegible] The apparent disparity between these two conceptual desirable conduct towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedictand others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a central theme which permeates all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If majorethical themes are analyzed, on the fore hand, as being an integrated andintegrative part of the social structu, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the tal culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, doesnot have to show idealional consistency, for its rationality lies in the structu of the society and, ultimately, of the ihave.

[illegible] The major unying theme of the Mundurucú viewof humanity lies in the division whi they make, explicitly and verbly, between those who are Mundurucú and those who are not. Only the forer are called "people," while the lter are referred to categorically as "olanders." In times [illegible] past, all "outlands" were considered to be enemies an proper objects of attack.

This is not a rial or generic concept; the name outlander" is frequently applied tiay to many fellow [illegible] tribesmen who be adopted white men's ways to suchn extent that they no longer operat within the closed circle of Mundurucú society. Further-

In turn, children were captured from other tribes and raised as Mundurucú without prejudice. To adult "outlanders" of either sex, however, the Mundurucú gave no quarter; the enemy was summarily dispatched and the head severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

The establishment of peaceful and symbiotic relations with the whites added a further dimension to the values connected with warfare, which the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they conceived their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The means used to attain the new ends were traditional. Enemy villages were

[illegible] so much can far above his fellows. A
[illegible] Mundurucú never boasted of his
[illegible] achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is still difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

[illegible] The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
[illegible] culture is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[illegible] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and
[illegible] consider their antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is coloured by the same dualism as coloured in their warrior period.

[illegible] The duality of Mundurucú ethics
[illegible] is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[illegible] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[illegible] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

[illegible] Manly virtues were esteemed in
[illegible] Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

[p. 373] gustations of the man's house, which also formed a focus for male social participation. Competition in the economy was eschewed for beyond the minimum necessary for effective exploitation of the environment; warfare [p. 374] was pursued beyond the requirements of security and its overt religious purposes.

War and fraternity were simultaneous in nature. The relationship between them was causal in the sense that they were interdependent: intense militarism was made possible by male cohesiveness and male cohesiveness was fostered by warfare. Mandaruna society was welded by kinship and the ethic of harmony and cooperation. No commitments were owed to those outside the system; the humanity of others was recognized, but it entailed no duties. To have extended the intense moral obligations between Mandaruna to persons outside the system would have effectively violated and devitalized it.

Robert F. Murphy
University of California

[p. 374 (a)]

[pp. 374 (a) – end not processed for the files. – Analyst]

THE CONTACT PERIOD

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1800 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

Except for the village of Cani, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

THE CONTACT PERIOD

175 hand, refers to the people living on the Curuá as parintí, 97 or "foreigners," because they live like the Brazilians. How- 66 ever, his feelings toward the Curuá people are not inspired by the fear and alienation felt by the latter. Rather, he is puzzled and chagrined that they remain aloof from him and will not accept him, although they are all Mundurucú.

The split within the tribe occurred only during the past three decades, but it has contributed to a decrease in migration from the remaining savannah villages to the Curuá. People are still leaving the savannahs, but usually 175 98 [66] to move to the Tapajós or to the lower reaches of the streams on the headwaters of which they live. The ambivalent attitude of the Curuá people makes that river decidedly unattractive to them.

CHRONOLOGY

175 For purposes of greater clarity, the history of the contact between the Mundurucú and the whites can be conveniently divided into four distinct periods. These are based on significant changes in the structure of Brazilian-Mundurucú relations.

1770–1795.—During this period, the warlike Mundurucú came into contact with the Portuguese colonists and directed attacks against them in the region along the Amazon River between Gurupá, on the east, and the lower Madeira River, on the west. The first Mundurucú settling of the latter area took place during these years and was probably motivated by the desire to obtain trade goods. In 1795, a punitive expedition against the villages of the east side of the upper Tapajós River, the original Mundurucú territory, ended hostilities.

1795–1830.—The Mundurucú, at peace with the whites,

THE LOCAL GROUP

that the only proper place for "people" is the savannah. Residence beyond this heartland is testimony to becoming a pariwat, or "outlander."

THE VILLAGE

Each village contains two to five dwelling houses and the men's house, or ohal. The former have rectangular ground-plans of about 20 by 40 feet in dimension and are internally uncompartmented. The walls are made of the bark of the tawari tree and extend to approximately two feet from the roof. The intervening space is either left vacant or loosely covered with palm fronds to allow ventilation. The roofs are steeply pitched and made of thatch placed over a pole framework. This architecture represents a departure from the traditional type. Until recent times, houses had roughly elliptical ground plans; structures of 60 to 100 feet in length are said to have been common in the more populous past.

The houses are arranged in a circle around a central plaza that is now underbrush and weed-infested. The men's house is always located on the west side of the village perimeter, and faces east into the plaza. It is totally unlike the dwellings in design and construction. Made in the form of an open-sided lean-to, it consists only of a roof that rises from the ground on the west side to a height of about 15 feet, and is supported by posts at the middle and both sides at four points along its length. Men's houses of twenty to thirty years ago were said to measure some 100 feet in length, but that of the contemporary village of Cabruá is only 50 feet long and 30 wide.

Modern Cabruá is typical of the savannah communities, except for certain situational factors of population and immediate environment. It is accessible from the Tapajós River by either the Cabitutú or Tropas rivers; the former

This is the squatting position which was also used by the Quechua and the Egyptians. [The Mundurucu] bury with the deceased a few objects he had used in life, such as weapons, feather ornaments, etc. My interpreter was an intelligent Indian and spoke, besides his Mundurucu dialect, the Portuguese and Tupi tongues. He would translate without hesitation into Mundurucu the following sentences: "I miss my mother -- Nheben uexi cahi" "I miss my son -- Nhebẽn opute cahi." The word nehbẽn means "to miss." "My soul goes to heaven -- Ubiumbẽ cabi cahi dhẽ."

This knowledge of the heavenly bodies, though still quite rudimentary; these beliefs in a future life, free from odious superstitions; this faculty to conceive and express abstract ideas and the purest and sweetest feelings of the human heart, such as nostalgia for mother or son -- all this surprised me on the part of a people that has always been considered one of the fiercest and most barbarous in the valley of the Amazon.

If the Mundurucu did not derive their beliefs and knowledge from some of the civilized groups on the Andean Plateau, I presume at least that for centuries they must have lived as the inhabitants of the plains villages do today -- that is, in centers as densely populated as [118] a savage economy based on hunting and the meager resources of a crude husbandry will permit. These villages are in constant communication with each other and preserve the same uses and customs. As I mentioned above, the Mundurucu tattoing pattern is really a blood initiation which stamps them with an indelible mark -- a sacred tie binding in brotherly communion all the members of this numerous and powerful tribe.

I will, however, abstain from drawing any conclusions whatever. My purpose is to observe facts with scrupulous care and to describe them with fidelity.

It may be that the light sketch I am tracing of the life of a savage tribe will be pondered by one of those superior minds who cogitate on human destiny and on the problems of mankind.

Theirs is the task to plumb the mysteries of Providence, to search for the beginnings of man's journeys on this earth, for the paths he has followed and the destinies that await him.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 182 649 [161] 1869, 100; 1895, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirím and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses [797] with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians [191] spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[22] [249] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco [314] and the collection of *guaraná*, sarsaparilla, and *copaiba* oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[20] Agassiz, 1869, p. 308.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 424.

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

439 484 574 648 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their excursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main business is with their own patron, they often make side trips to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

171 648 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent, and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 648 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 648 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual

XX

The Mundurucu language

192

We shall now list some phrases and words from the Mundurucu language.

[English]	Tupi	Mundurucu
Good afternoon	ianẽ caruca	oui caxitengue
good morning	ianẽ eoema	cabiá
so long [até a volta]	acuri cha iuera ramé	repite bimé
goodnight	ianẽ pitũna	iaicate
how are you?	catu meri será?	chi pateene?
I am well	catu teẽn	une chipate

[English]	Mundurucu
sun	coxi
moon	caxiate
man	anhocate
woman	aiatiate
day	cabiá
night	ximãn
star	tacẽpetá
rain	mambaũte
thunder	beru-xixi
sky or heavenly regions	cabi
cloud	cabi crereate
water	iribi
boy	berechata
Let us eat	nhachecon
wart	querẽra
nose	ueramboque
tooth	ueirei
eye	ueta
tongue	ueicu

[English]	Mundurucu
192 mouth	ueibi-xéc [?]
face	ueirupá
head	uiaã
ear	oenhemboe
leg	uiraũ
foot	uiei
arm	uibá
nail [finger or toe]	ueinrãn
[127]	
beard	uibirape
hair	uiarape
hand	uebaraná
finger	ueibê
eyebrows	ueitá embite
toe	uiei
breast [chest]	ueicametá
abdomen	uêiecca
navel	uêrampeá
throat	uecumbirá
neck	uanhembé
mole [spot]	ueixiquetique
arm-pit	ueinhembi
nostril	uiabingta
hammock	caran
I	une
you	ene
he	inhedhe
they [masc.]	inhedheanhe
friend	ubeixi
older brother	uamu
younger brother	ocouto
sister	uêixite

192
193

[English]	Mundurucu
to give--unheme	
I give	une unheme
you give	ene unheme
he gives	inhedhe-ate unheme
they [masc.] give	inhedianhe unheme
to be a man--anhocate dhẽ	
I am a man	une dhẽ anhocate
you are a man	ene dlhẽ [sic] anhocate
he is a man	inhe dhẽ anhocate
they are men	inhedianhe anhocate
to eat--uchecune	
I eat	une uchecune
you eat	ene edhuũ
he eats	inhedhẽẽ udhuũ
they [masc.] eat	inhedianhe udhuũ

[128]

[English]	Mundurucu
I'm coming [eu já vou]	udhebeque
regards to yourself [?] [lembranças para ti mesmo]	ecatu dhe euẽ bẽ
all Mundurucu are kinsmen	Mundurucus [sic] nheẽn dhiu anhum umain
my soul goes to heaven	ubiumbé cabi cahi dhe
I miss my mother	nheben nexi cahi
I miss my son	nheben opute cahi
I am your friend	une ubei xixi
I shall not see you again	nhan sẽn ehuame dhei une

197
171 The following table will facilitate comparison of the Mundurucu dialect with the three principal American languages. [129]

/5 cont./

*241
•192

7. Let us explain further the Indian's notion or idea of the concept "garden" (ko). To him, "garden" is, basically, a garden of bitter manioc, or in a broader sense, tubercles such as sweet manioc, yams, sweet potatoes, caladium, etc. This narrow concept probably arose in the time when tubercles, especially bitter manioc, were the only cultivated plants. Nowadays, of course, the Mundurukú have at their disposal a much greater variety of cultivable plants which they grow in their bitter-manioc gardens. Speaking of these products, they usually amplify on the "garden" concept with terms which, to our minds, would seem unnecessary, such as: "the pumpkins which I grow in my bitter-manioc garden," etc. If they have prepared gardens of products which are not tubercles, such as for example maize alone, they will clarify the matter beforehand by speaking of a "maize garden," etc. But "garden" means, to them, a bitter-manioc garden. As for the dual term for garden used by men and women, we shall speak of this when we come to social factors.

*241 [183] The entire process of native agricultural work, especially the application and execution of what we could call "garden methods," is based on fixed, traditional norms, which in turn are determined by the conditions imposed by nature as to climate, seasons, terrain, etc., and also by the logical sequence of agricultural tasks,

/14 cont./

*241
•192
262

a) Plants cultivated in the gardens:
bitter manioc—masok, six varieties
manicuera—maso, manikue, two varieties
sweet manioc—makachi, two varieties
yams—awai, 11 varieties
sweet potato—wechick, four varieties
caladium—various names (poririt, kurudyudyut), two varieties
pumpkin—yurumu, yurumu a, various kinds
watermelon—borãchia, borãsia, three varieties
sugar cane—kanya
pineapple—ipara, five varieties
maize—mora, two varieties
rice—arũida
beans—feijáu, wetoi, three varieties
peanut—wenambone
tobacco—he, e
curauá pineapple—ipara he

Also:
pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties
banana—aku, 11 varieties
cotton—buru, two varieties
urucú—tyuku, tyoku a
papaya—asãu a, two varieties

b) Plants cultivated outside the gardens:
gourd—ua e, wa e
jamarú gourd—uai a, wai a
/15/ arrowhead—opipa
coffee—kape, kape ip, various types
cacao—wadye, three varieties
genipa—warem ap, warem ap a
inga—chiriri
lemon—brimão, brimãu
orange—yarai, yarai ip
mango—mãga, mãka, various types
cashew—murese, muroso, three varieties

/15 cont./

*241 Also:

•192 pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties
262 banana—aku, 11 varieties
cotton—buru, two varieties
urucú—tyuku, tyuku a
papaya—asãu a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Mundurukú also have a certain number of vegetables which back-
[302] woodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor.
[157] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet
[189] are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 From this list, it becomes clear that the Mundurukú must have
177 had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Mundurukú are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (9)

[171] 9. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation

/20 cont./

*241
462

of the man	of the woman
7. Burning the remaining brush	- -
8. Planting: opening the pit	Planting: burying the manioc shoots
9. - -	Weeding the garden
10. - -	Doing the second weeding of the garden
11. - -	Harvesting: pulling up the manioc roots, tearing up the plot.

This basic outline applies to normal cases. If there is pressing need or urgency, the man may help, at times, in weeding, cleaning, and even harvesting tasks. But in themselves, these are tasks peculiar to the woman, and they devolve by right to the woman in accordance with the working cycle.

This division of labor presents yet another facet. It does not exist merely as regards the preparation and usage of the garden, but also as regards the very species of cultivated plants. There, too, there is a certain exclusivity, to wit: the man alone plants and cultivates watermelon, pumpkins, peanuts, papaya, and beans.

In the case of most cultivated plants or seeds, however, there is a joint task involved in the manner already mentioned: the /21/ man opens up the pit and the woman puts in the shoots or seeds of bitter manioc, yam, sugar cane, maize, rice, pineapple, banana tree, etc., etc.

*241
● 192
462

The terminology applying to the concept "garden" is also dependent upon this division of labor into two cycles according to sex. There are two words for "garden": the man says kat, the woman ko. These two terms are not, properly speaking, a dual designation of the garden, but they refer to the garden while it is under the care of one of the sexes. These are relative terms. Thus, kat, the term used by the men, covers the preparation of the plot until planting time—the clearing job performed by the men. Ko, the women's word for "garden," covers the woman's labors in the plot from the

*241 /21 cont./
192 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these
462 two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does this, but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

*241 It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected
621 in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Mundurukú who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those
[178] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate
[591] nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Mundurukú Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Mundurukú who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc. rivers.

*241 /22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or
476 less the primitive or traditional form of the Mundurukú agricultural
621 system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance. Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Mundurukú/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

*241 /30 cont./
104

w — as in English.
ü — as in German, but shorter.
c — as the German umlauted "o," but shorter.
r — always dental.
s — always strong.
z — always weak.
Final consonants (as: k - p - t) are not plosive.
The tonic accent, unless otherwise noted, is always on the last syllable.

*241
●192
[412]

a) Tools:

spade	purure
iron digging tool	chit
digging stick	ip mararairarab ip

b) Garden and garden tasks:

garden (while under the man's care); he says:	kat
garden (while under the woman's care); she says:	ko
to clear the undergrowth	tyup tatabm
to fell (the trees)	yup chign; yup chichign
to burn	imapign
brush	taipa
to pile up the brush	taipa chign; taipa chichign
to burn the brush	taipa mapign
to plant (bitter manioc)	(masok) taizabm; (masok) ip maum
to weed, first cleaning	tip ogn
to weed, second cleaning	karit ogn
to pull up the manioc roots	masok ta ogn
to replant	warabm ypu maum; yab; kuon

/31/

*241 ●192 [248]

2) Referring to cultivated plants.

cotton (Gossypium)	buru
• large variety /long staple?/	buru chichi
• small variety /short staple?/	buru anan
pincapple (Ananas sativus)	ipara
• large, sour variety	ipara chichi
• field variety	ipara dyõ dyõ
• thornless, sweet variety	ipara biraprap
• small variety	ipara anan
• small, yellow variety	ipara rem
rice (Oryza)	arúira
banana (Musa sapientum)	aku
• São Tomé variety	aku rabõ chichi; (aku robõ)
• caiena or caiana variety	aku ãnya
• inajá variety	aku an an pa
• purple variety	aku pakpak
• white variety	aku ririt
banana white variety	aku rorot; aku rign rign
• "water" or chorona variety	aku ipapan; aku chik pa
• (Musa paradisiaca);	
pacova variety	aku chichi
• large pacova variety	aku ok pirur chichi
• • • •	aku ok pirur an
• • • •	aku hi ba beredn pa
sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas)	wechik
potato yellow variety	wechik pakpak
sweet potato purplish variety	wechik tuitui
• • white •	wechik ririt
• • (spotted inside)	wechik pirã parurak
cacao (Theobroma cacao)	wadye
• domesticated, planted	wadye
• wild (sometimes planted)	wadye buruburu—pa
/32/ • • •	wadye akarap pa
coffee (Coffea)	kape (ip)

*241
192

/32 cont./

cashew (Anacardium sp.)	murese; muroso
" white variety	murese ririt ta
" red "	murese pakpak hat ta
" field "	murese krau
sugar cane (Saccharum officinarum)	kanya
yam (Dioscorea)	awai; puira
" half-purple, half-white-inside variety	awai kurep (ta)
" darkish variety	awai pugnpugn (ta)
" " "	awai ruirui
" black, small variety (/eaten/ mixed with manicuera)	awai tutu
" ("looks like a human hand") variety	awai panaryat
" "large ball" variety	awai puira chik a a
" long, slender, white variety	awai puira brechidn (puira beredn; puira ririt)
" red-inner-coat variety	awai puira ara be pak
" large variety, cará-assu	awai puira
" red variety	awai puira pakpak
" round, red-and-white variety	awai-ra
gourd (Crescentia)	ua e; wa e
curauá pineapple (Bromeliaceae)	ipara he
bean (Phaseolus sp.):	
large	feijáu; wetoi
small	wetoi anan
common (small with elongated bean)	hadyorõ
genipa (Genipa americana)	warem ap (a)
pumpkin (Cucurbita)	yurumu (a)
inga (Inga)	chiriri
jamarú gourd (Cucurbita; Lagenaria /33/ vulgaris)	uai a; wai a
orange (Citrus)	yarai ip
lemon (Citrus)	brimão, brimáu, brimáu /sic/

/33 cont./

*241 192 sweet manioc (Manihot sp.—palmata?)	makachi
• • white variety	makachi taritat
• • yellow variety	makachi potpot
papaya (Carica papaya)	asãu a
• purple	asãu rom rom (asãu rem rem)
mango (Mangifera indica)	mĩga, mĩka
manicuera (Manihot sp.?)	maso; manikue
• purple-leaf variety	maso
• white-leaf •	maso yubritat
bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima)	masok
• yellow variety	masok pekpek
• purplish-leaf variety	masok tchukumai
• large-leaf variety	masok yairupnyen
• purple-leaf variety (parafso)	masok paraisu
• white variety	masok tatya ĩim ĩim at
• small-leaf variety	masok anan
watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris), red flesh	barĩchi, burĩti-a
• white-flesh variety	barĩchi a biu chep nyen a a
• small variety	barĩchi an an a
• purple-flesh variety	barĩchi rem rem a
maize (Zea mays)	mura, mora
• hard grain	mora tyatya (ta)
/34/ soft grain	mora tya am am (ta); mora hat
peanut (Arachis hypogaea)	wenambone
pepper (Capsicum)	achi (a)
• green pepper variety	achi chichi (a)
• odoriferous variety	achirew
• red-pepper variety	chi kaf (a)
• round variety	achi kurctanyen (a)
[276] tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum)	he; e
caladium (Araceae sp.), bush variety, planted	poririt
• dragonaroid variety	kurudyudyut
timbo vine (Paullinia? Serjania?)	sĩ ok, sĩ ok papa
urucú (Bixa orellana)	tyuku (a)

192
193

[English]	Mundurucu
to give--unheme	
I give	une unheme
you give	ene unheme
he gives	inhedhe-ate unheme
they [masc.] give	inhedianhe unheme
to be a man--anhocate dhẽ	
I am a man	une dhẽ anhocate
you are a man	ene dihẽ [sic] anhocate
he is a man	inhe dhẽ anhocate
they are men	inhedianhe anhocate
to eat--uchecune	
I eat	une uchecune
you eat	ene edhun
he eats	inhedhee udhun
they [masc.] eat	inhedianhe udhun

[128]

[English]	Mundurucu
I'm coming [eu já vou]	udhebeque
regards to yourself [?] [lembrança para ti mesmo]	ecatu dhe eu ẽ bẽ
all Mundurucu are kinsmen	Mondurucus [sic] nheẽn dhiu anhum umain
my soul goes to heaven	ubiumbẽ cabi cahi dhe
I miss my mother	nheben nexi cahi
I miss my son	nheben opute cahi
I am your friend	une ubei xixi
I shall not see you again	nhan sẽn ehuame dhei une

197
171

The following table will facilitate comparison of the Mundurucu dialect with the three principal American languages.

[129]

192
193

[English]	Mundurucu
to give--unheme	
I give	une unheme
you give	ene unheme
he gives	inhedhe-ate unheme
they [masc.] give	inhedianhe unheme
to be a man--anhocate dhẽ	
I am a man	une dhẽ anhocate
you are a man	ene dlhẽ [sic] anhocate
he is a man	inhe dhẽ anhocate
they are men	inhedianhe anhocate
to eat--uchecune	
I eat	une uchecune
you eat	ene edhuũ
he eats	inhedhẽẽ udhuũ
they [masc.] eat	inhedianhe udhuũ

[128]

[English]	Mundurucu
I'm coming [eu já vou]	udhebeque
regards to yourself [?] [lembranças para ti mesmo]	ecatu dhe euẽ bẽ
all Mundurucu are kinsmen	Mundurucus [sic] nheẽn dhiu anhum umain
my soul goes to heaven	ubiumbe cabi cahi dhe
I miss my mother	nheben nexi cahi
I miss my son	nheben opute cahi
I am your friend	une ubei xixi
I shall not see you again	nhan sẽn ehuame dhei une

197
171

The following table will facilitate comparison of the Mundurucu dialect with the three principal American languages.

[129]

[130]

(97
171)

COMPARATIVE OUTLINE

[English]	Quechua	Aymara	Tupi	Mundurucu
man	runa	hake	apgaua	anhocate
woman	huarmi	marmi	cunhã	aiatiate
head	uma	ppekeña	akanga	uiaã
face	ceakila	Nauna	rua or çuá	ueirupá
eye	nahui	nayra	teçá	ueta
ear	rinri	inchu	apiçaqua	oenhembóe
hand	maki	ampara	imbó	ubaranã
sun	inti	inti	guaraci	caxi
moon	killa	phakhi	jacy	caxi-âte
I	noca	na	ixé or xé	une
water	jacu	uma	y	iribi
he	pay	hupa	abé	inhendhe
to eat	micumi	mankatha	u	uchecne

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

PRIMITIVE MAN

Quarterly Bulletin

of the

Catholic Anthropological Conference

Vol. VII October, 1934 No. 4

MUNDURUCU MOIETIES

REV. ALBERT KRUSE, O.F.M.

Kururú Mission, Correio de Santarém, Estado do Pará, Brazil

INTRODUCTION

101 THE warrior tribe of the Mundurucú is divided into four chief groups: the Tapajós, the Madeira, the Xingú, and the Juruena Mundurucú. The Tapajós Mundurucú, numbering about [161] 950 souls, inhabit the Tapajós river country from the Cururu to the Rio das Tropas, these two rivers being affluents of the Tapajós flowing in from the east. According to native tradition, the [197] Wiaunyen, who are related by language to the Tapajós Mundurucú, should be included with them; they live in the region around the source of the Rio Mutum, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing in from the right. I have no data on the population of the Wiaunyen. The Madeira Mundurucú came from the Tapajós in the second half of the eighteenth century and acquired territory for themselves in the State of Amazonas. They were visited by Martius. 101 Nimuendajú estimates their strength at approximately 800 souls. 161 The Xingú Mundurucú are the Kuruáya. They live in small groups of from one to four houses along the uppermost left tributaries of the Igarapé da Flecha, a large easterly tributary of

174 formed a war-like tribe far in the south along with other fellow tribesman with whom they then grew at odds and fought their way toward the north over the boundaries of their earlier common territory. What strikes me here as particularly remarkable is the contrast between a bodily structure according to all reports remarkably uniform and a very mixed dialect. On the one hand their light skin and the collossally [142] powerful muscular build makes them appear, in contrast to the other Indians, like thoroughbreds among ponies and would indicate that they developed these striking bodily characteristics over a long period of time, unmixed and under consistent external conditions. On the other hand ●197 words occur in their language which can be considered to be echoes from tribes living far to the south and the north. *

*The Mundrucu word for "bird" is nuässa and among the Guaycurus far to the south it is nioche. Several words belong to the Guch or Coco tribe: "heaven," capi Mundr., capu Tamanaco, apex Chiquito. "Tooth (my)": woi noi M., nuoi Moso. "Body": oi täpit M., pitpeté Tamanaco. "Sun": üäschi M., veju Accawai, Tamanaco, saache Moxo. "River" is described by the Mundrucus better than in the lingua geral, (where the word is yguacu) by the word icuri, or yghcori, which is to say "fast water"; it is called by the Galibis in Cayenne eicourou (or epouliri), by the Chiquitos ogirus. Two color names: white and red in Mundrucu are yuristat and ipacpec, in Kechuan yurac and paco.

The principal elements of their dialect belong without any question to the Tupi and in particular to the speech as practiced in the north rather than to the Guarani dialect, though to this latter it is more similar in hardness and unwieldiness than to the more fluid and vowel-richer sounds of the lingua geral. * In the table which follows [397]

*Some relevant examples: oca "house," Mundrucu: öcka. T. cururü, "toad,"

●197

M. gorãgorã. T. camy (cama hy) "milk," M. icamutũ. T. paia "father," M. paipai. T. maia "mother," M. maihi. T. pacóba "banana," M. bacobã.

on page 398 we have collected several words for comparison with other dialects. As with many Guck dialects there is in Mundrucu a possessive pronoun (oi, ui, woi, in Tupi it is xe or ijé) prefixed to parts of the body. Individual words from the Galibi and Island Caribs languages are echoed here but not so clearly as in the instances showing relationship to the Guck dialects. There is no connection whatsoever with Aruac, although some words of this latter tongue belong to the female dialect of those Caribs who have taken as wives the women of the conquered Aruac.

As far as similar words from the dialects of the Moxos, Chiquitos, Tamanacs, Vilelas, Galibis, Omaguas and Kechuan are concerned we are far from any idea of laying any linguistic weight on such isolated phenomena. But an ethnographer who is interested in understanding the nature of the splitting and regrouping of the American tribes can permit himself to use such evidence which indicates a restless, continual recasting of human society in forms which, however new, are still essentially identical. If phonetic similarity of the words is not a matter of sheer chance we have to assume, as in many analagous cases, that the Mundrucus too have come in contact with the above-mentioned tribes and have taken over words from them, in pure or corrupt form. Or we must assume that their present dialect, like other dialects, is the remainder from a long process of linguistic change and decay in a common original tongue. For further comparison a list of such words is inserted here.

[398] [399]

English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Caraib	Tamanaco	Aruac
head	oi jã	acanga	yakaih, yacae	oupoupou, opoupou	boũpou, ichic, (my ichéukê	prutpe	isihi daa (my schi, da sey
eye	ui etã	teca	sisasay	enourou	énoulou Fem. aku	januru	da kusi
nose	ue inampõ (1)	tim	tiy	enetali, natali	ichiri	jonarri	da siri, isihiri
mouth	woi pi	yuru (2)	yuru	embatari,	tiboũtali,	mãari	da liroku,
tongue	wai co	apeco	ghumüela, cumuera	nourou, enourou	inigné	nuru	
hand and finger	woi põ	po	pur	apori (5)	capo (6)	jamnari	da kabbuhu

1. Nampõ, "nose" reminds one of namby, "ear" in Tupi.
2. In Aruac jũru means the cylinder woven of guaramà (maranta) cane for squeezing grated manioc.
5. Finger: amo, yamori in Galigi.
6. Hand and finger: nu ("my" bouki, nu boupé in Moxo.

English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Caraib	Tamanaco	Aruac
stars	cassutá	jacytata	seso	serica, siricco	oualoucouma	chirica	wiwa
earth	ipy	yby (aeghwy)	tuyuca (4)	nono, soye	nonun, f. monha	nono	wunabu, ororu
night	üschüma	pytuna	üepusa, epuessa	vooquo	huétou, f. araibo	coco	wai
water	hü	hy, ügh	uni	touna	tonê	tuna	wuni, wuniabbo
fire	taschá	tatá	tata	ouato	ouattou, illeme uapto (8)		hikkihi, ikhihi
river	igury, yghcori	yguacu	balaná	eicourou, ipoliri	tona		wuin
yes	nlemai	pa, f.	aisy	terré,	hanhan,		he kurrü, ehé
no	gaamnuö	hehe aaninhe		teré luayá	terée ouane, oua ouati		hesé kurrü, kaké, koake (or ne suffix.

4. Tuyuca, in Omagua "earth," means in colloquial Tupi "mud."

8. Is it a matter of pure chance that among the Tamanacos, Galibis, and Island Caribs a fish is called uoto, oto and áoto, the name for fire is uapto, ouato, ouatto (which is also the name for gadfly)? Or is there here a conventional transfer of meanings in things which stand in a kind of contrast?

English	Mundrucu	Tupi	Omagua	Galibi	Insular Caraib	Tamanaco	Aruac
arm	woi pa	gyba, (jua)	ytïca, iehua	yaboule, apori	aréunna	japari	da deneina
foot	woi cana-pütta	py	püeta	ipoupou	Caraib oupou(7)	ptari	da cuty
shoulder	woi aipia	atyba(3)	ytïca hanuahla	imötali	imoütali	mgoi	
belly	woi öck	teghe	ce hueca, syrica	onimbo	huémbou, f. oullacae	ueni	da deybayou
blood	tuy	tughy	shüe	moinou	timoinalou, f. ita, itaheu		curisa
sun	uäschi	coaracy	ghualachy, huarassi	veiou hueiou	huéyu, f. cachi	vejü	haddali
moon	uaschiat	jacy	yactï	nouna, nouno	nonum, f. cäti	nuna	katsi, katti

7. Foot: ni bope in Moxo.
3. Atycupe means in Tupi "on the shoulder," yatacupi means in Omagua "on my shoulder."

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCU[1]

By Donald Horton

TERRITORY AND NAME

101 [131] [197] The *Mundurucú* are a *Tupí*-speaking people in the southwestern portion of the State of Pará and the southeastern corner of the State of Amazonas, Brazil (map 1, *No. 1;* map 4; lat. 5°–8° S., long. 56°–60° W.). When first encountered by Europeans in the late 18th century, the *Mundurucú* were a warlike people, aggressively expanding their territory along the Tapajóz River and adjacent areas. Their expansion reached its limits at the beginning of the 19th century, when they were defeated by the Neo-Brazilians. Since then their territory has dwindled; remnant settlements are located on the Canumá and several of its tributaries (Abacaxis, Paracury, Apucitáua), in the municípios of Maués, Parintins, and Jurití, and on the Cururú River (a southeastern tributary of the Tapajóz). The principal settlements are located along the middle Tapajóz River and especially on its southeastern tributary, the Río de Tropas (between lat. 6° and 7° S., and long. 56° and 57° W.). Communities formerly established on the lower Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Amazon have been absorbed or wiped out by Neo-Brazilian settlers.

Kruse (1934) distinguishes four regional groups of the *Mundurucú:* The Tapajóz River group, living on both sides of the Tapajóz between the Rio de Tropas and the Cururú River; the Madeira River *Mundurucú,* on the Secudury, a tributary of the Canumá; the Xingú River *Mundurucú,* known also as the *Curuaya,* on the uppermost left tributary of the Igarapé de Flecha, itself an eastern tributary of the middle Rio Curuá do Iriri; and the Juruena River *Mundurucú,* known also as the *Njambikwaras.* Nimuendajú (personal communication) regards the name "*Madeira Mundurucú*" as unsuitable, since the rivers on which this group is located do not flow into the Madeira; he also believes that the *Curuaya,*

[1] The writer is indebted to Dr. Curt Nimuendajú, who through personal knowledge of the *Mundurucú* and familiarity with literary sources not available to the writer, was able to provide additional information on the distribution and history of the tribe which has been utilized in the present account.

[128] Where the literature clearly indicates that a custom is no longer practiced, the past tense is employed; otherwise the account is given in the present tense even though it is probable that much of the culture so described no longer persists.

197 101 The Mundurucú are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors 302 101 and with the lingua geral. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

726 701 The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never [576 319] between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the [422] chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Trubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Horton, 1948, p. 273.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of descent, is one of the preconditions to the development of matrilineality. [2] That the latter change never occurred among the Mundurucú can be partially explained by the fact their subsequent involvement in the commercial exploitation of wild rubber has resulted in bilocality and neolocality (Murphy 1954).

It is because of this later breakdown of unilocality that my description of Mundurucú social organization will refer to mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society. Much of the social structure described below is still observable in certain conservative Mundurucú villages and served to supplement and corroborate information obtained from old informants.

THE MUNDURUCÚ

Since Mundurucú culture is not well documented, even for a South American group, a few prefatory remarks are in order. Linguistically, the Mundurucú have been classified as "remotely" Tupian by Nimuendajú (1938:975). However, a summary comparison of Mundurucú and Tupí indicates that if a genetic relationship does exist, it could only be very obscure and distant. It is possible that the substantial number of Tupian loan words in the Mundurucú lexicon had led Nimuendajú to an erroneous conclusion. The final resolution of this problem will be of importance to the prehistory of the Mundurucú and of the entire central Amazon basin.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of the chroniclers in the late eighteenth century when they launched a series of strong raids against other Indian tribes and white colonists in the lower Amazon Valley. Their late appearance on the historical scene and subsequent northward thrust into the waters of the lower Madeira River suggest that the Mundurucú originated in the highlands of Mato Grosso and thence migrated northwards. However, their only known homeland is in the region of mixed gallery forest and savannah east of the upper Tapajós River, between 6° and 8° south latitude. This is where the remnants of the tribe are located today.

After their pacification by Portuguese colonial forces at the end of the eighteenth century, the Mundurucú entered into a long period of peaceful symbiosis with the whites (Almeida Serra 1869:4–5). Traders and government officials capitalized on the renowned aggressiveness of the Mundurucú by employing them as mercenary warriors against tribes still hostile to the whites. In 1835, their services were sought in the suppression of the Revolution of the Cabanas (Hartt 1885:132), and at the end of the nineteenth century their war parties were still being enlisted by the rubber traders of the Madeira River (Coudreau 1897:59). Fighting was not the only source of trade goods for the Mundurucú. Since earliest times, the white settlers of the Amazon valley have exploited the natural products of the region to the neglect of agriculture. The resultant shortage of local sources of subsistence forced them to rely in part upon the products of the Indian gardens. Thus, the Mundurucú were deeply involved in the sale of surplus manioc flour as early as 1819 (Martius 1867: 395). Manioc flour continued to be their principal trade commodity until the late nineteenth century, when wild rubber assumed primacy (Tocantins 1877).

The middle of the nineteenth century found the Mundurucú of the upper

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestizo colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Uxituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

The Relations Between the Mundurucu and the Tupi

Kurt Nimuendajú

197 On the basis of the comprehensive study of the language of the Mundurucu, one of the Indian tribes of Brazil, undertaken by the Rev. Father Albert Kruse, the learned Franciscan missionary and indefatigable explorer of Brazil, Mr. K. Nimuendajú [976] traced the relationship between the Mundurucu and Tupi. He established their kinship, which manifests itself "in vocabulary as well as in grammar. With regard to vocabulary, it is striking that precisely the most important nouns from the categories 'parts of the body' and 'natural phenomena' are without exception related to Tupi. In the field of grammar the close relationship of the pronouns is of great importance. [177] These similarities cannot be possibly explained by the influence of the Apiakás and Parintingtings, quite apart from the fact that while such an influence might conceivably have been exerted on the Tapajós-Mundurucus and Madeira-Mundurucus, it must be ruled out entirely for the Xingú-Mundurucus, who do not even know the names of these tribes. I, therefore, classify the Mundurucu language with the Tupi family, without saying, however, that the Mundurucus are [174] Tupis ... What little information I have at my disposal makes me doubt that the Mundurucus were originally Tupi.." (Lose Blätter vom Cururú, 1938, p. 80)

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

I. HABITAT AND HISTORY

10 13 [161] The Mundurucú Indians are a tribal group of some 1,250 people living on the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. The remnants of a formerly much more numerous population, they have maintained a considerable part of their native culture despite more than one and a half centuries of contact with Brazilian society. 197 Linguistically, the Mundurucú are Tupian-speaking, but their language is not mutually intelligible with the so-called classical Tupian of the Brazilian littoral. 101 Rather, they appear to form a Tupian substock in company with the near-by Shipaya, Curuaya, and Juruna Indians of the Xingú River drainage. Other cultural characteristics indicate some discontinuity between the Mundurucú and the bulk of the Tupian-speaking peoples and suggest that Mundurucú history had a relatively independent course from that of the coastal groups. Some of these differences are manifest in mythology and religion.

Habitat

133 The Mundurucú habitat is rather different from what might commonly be expected in the Amazon Valley. Although stretches of flat jungle terrain abound, the area is in a northward-reaching finger of the Planalto de Mato Grosso; the topography is characterized by low hills, and the forests are interspersed with rock outcroppings and large stretches of grassy savannah. Actually, the northernmost extension of these central Brazilian highlands overlooks the Amazon behind the city of Santarém at the mouth of the Tapajós River.

131 The traveler en route to the Mundurucú country usually ascends the Tapajós River from Santarém; recent completion of an emergency landing field some 300 miles upstream can shorten the weeks-long trip to a matter of two hours flight.[1] During the first 150 miles of the water route the steamer or launch carries one up the deep blue and usually tranquil stream between shores that are at first more than 10 miles apart, but which narrow to a width of about one mile. The hills on either side rise to a few hundred feet and are covered with the vegetation characteristic of most areas of terra firma in the Amazon. At the point where the more elevated country and the banks of the river finally merge to form a narrow gap, the Tapajós River plunges furiously over the almost impassible rapids called the Cachoeira de Maranhão. These rapids form an effective block to navigation, and the traveler must debark and by-pass them by truck or on foot. The truck and the road, which are frequently not usable, are the property of a rubber-trading concern that maintains warehouse and commercial facilities at the lower end of the rapids. The company town has a population of less than 1,000, but it is the metropolis and entrepôt of the upper Tapajós; one can continue for 1,000 miles farther upstream without finding a settlement one-fifth that size.

The next stage of the trip is made in a shallow-draft diesel launch, especially built to negotiate rapids. The shores of the lower Tapajós River are lined with pleasant sand beaches and are broken by occasional villages, but the upper reach

[1] The reader will find it convenient to consult the maps on pp. 2 and 3 during the following discussion.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE SETTING

The Mundurucú Indians live in the State of Pará, Brazil, in a region east of the Tapajós River between 6° and 7½° S lat. Other members of the tribe, now largely assimilated into the rural Brazilian population of the Amazon Valley, live north and west of this region on the lower reaches of the Tapajós River and on the Maué-Assú, Secundurý, and Abacaxis rivers; the latter three are tributaries of a channel of the Madeira River. 131

The Mundurucú are usually classified as a Tupian-speaking group, although the linguistic relationship has been described by Curt Nimuendajú as remote.[1] Within this general Tupian language family, however, the Mundurucú language has its closest genetic links with the speech of the Curuaya Indians of the Xingú River. The affinity between Curuaya and Mundurucú was sufficiently close for Rev. Albert Kruse, an anthropologically minded missionary, to classify the former as a regional subgroup of the latter.[2] This classification, and also Kruse's identification of the Nambíkuara as the "Juruena Mundurucú" are erroneous.[3] The Mundurucú originally were an autonomous tribe that had little or no political relations with other native groups. Their territory at the time of their first recorded contact with the whites in the latter part of the eighteenth century was in the described region east of the Tapajós; their occupation of the waters of the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers was the result of a migration that occurred after their contact. 197 [101] [114] 101 134 66

The present-day Mundurucú population consists of about 1,250 people, a considerable decline from past times. Although the population figures of early explorers and chroniclers are generally too high, we may get some idea 161

[1] Nimuendajú, 1938, p. 975.
[2] Kruse, 1934, p. 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

by Fa. Antonino and Fa. Pelino de Carrovalva. This mission holds some five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe.

The missionary Fa. Pelino who was alone there, his companion having already left Bacabal, lent me as an interpreter a Mundurucu Indian who understands and speaks the Portuguese and Tupi languages in addition to his own dialect.

I continued my journey up the Tapajoz and reached the mouth of the Cadereri River, an eastern tributary of the Tapajoz, five days after leaving the Mission of Bacabal.

There, according to what I had been told, I was supposed to meet a bold frontiersman who knew the way to the central villages. Unhappily, however, I did not find him, and the members of my crew knew nothing about the course of the Cadereri River.

Here I was, perplexed for lack of guides and information, when two Mundurucu savages appeared upon the beach.

We asked them, through the interpreter, how long it would take us to reach the source of the Cadereri.

The older of the two savages responded with the following sign: with his index finger he pointed due east, and then he traced a semicircle following the apparent course of the sun to the west, accompanying this gesture with expressive looks, motions and sounds; and he repeated this slowly and distinctly six times in such a way that before the interpreter could explain his message I had already understood that the savage meant it would take us six days.

He also told us that we would meet other Indians at the headwaters of the Cadereri, who could guide us to the village of Necodemos whence he and his companion came. [75]

I was impressed by this name of Necodemos which the Mundurucu gave one of their main villages, for it is the name of the generous and compassionate Jew who bestowed simple funeral dignities upon Christ -- a shroud to enclose his body and a sepulcher to protect it.

I do not know why the Mundurucu gave this name to their village, but I imagine that the coincidence of names is no more than a mere accident.

In any case, I decided to seek the village of Necodemos in preference to any other.

202 In the afternoon I nearly lost my way among the trails leading to the village. The Maué Indians who accompanied me, as well as the guide and the interpreter, had forged ahead, leaving me behind with two companions, and had already reached the maloca while I still attempted with difficulty to find my way, guided only by the sound of a horn which I could hear somewhere ahead of me.

It was a Mundurucu Indian from Necodemos, who had generously come to meet me, and who blew on his instrument to guide me.

My satisfaction was great when at nightfall I came upon this savage, who was about thirty-five or forty, and who was short, fat, dark and ugly, but so happy and cheerful that he seemed like a child. [81]

I arrived in Necodemos at seven o'clock in the evening.

I was finally realizing one of my fondest wishes, namely, to see a savage tribe in its primitive state, exactly as it must have been before the discovery of Brazil; living according to the laws of nature and lacking all contact with the ideas of other peoples that might serve to alter its beliefs and traditions.

There are thinkers who do not acknowledge biblical tradition and who hold that mankind began its earthly journey in darkness, in the state of nudity and savagery I saw before me, and guided by the light of reason and by Providence climbed to the present state of civilization. This doctrine is more comforting than the one which represents man as fallen from a paradise of light and bliss; fallen, for minor sins that were not his own, into the extreme misery of these unhappy savages.

609 When I arrived, some eighty stout Mundurucu awaited me on the village grounds and received me with a display of open curiosity.

32 To me, the appearance of these men was no less curious, painted as they were with such identical designs that they looked like uniformed soldiers. Dozens of fires which burned on the square lent this picture a sinister quality, casting reflections on the broad, naked, bronze-colored chests.

609 I greeted them, bidding them good evening with one of 57 the few words in their language I had memorized for such purposes: "Chipate." They all answered: "Chipate." One of them addressed

726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and they are guarded by patrols who signal with the toré (beni), a rasping [534] cane trumpet, or with the kiohoa, a whistle. With this instrument [208] the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the 727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy [578] which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like 846 the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry [132] season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and 554 aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the pariwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent [561] direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

721 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party 202 was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group [575] of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs [701] and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and [534] was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who 701 took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this 722 was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1831:1313) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness. 708 726 756

No warfare rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments abroad to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew ant-eater hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow shaft, were ignited and loosed at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support. 726 [825] [411] 727

The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in rigor mortis. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the waiting warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran [202]

it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajeboiši* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Mundurucú villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajeboiši*. Come, drink *werú* and *mörí*. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Mundurucú style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting.

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Muchacha*[4] society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajeboiši* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the *pem*, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other moiety. The captor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (i.e., during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Darekši* society returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Darekši* enter the village would be killed during the next war.

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajeboiši*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with beijú (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and beijú and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten.

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vultures had to eat apart from the other *Darekši*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he died. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the yellowing sickness, or *ujewaií*. To prevent this a shaman examined the

[4] The identity of this term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

726 A campaign might start at the beginning of the dry season in one year and end at the end of the next dry season, a total of a year and a half in the field. During its course, several villages of different tribes might be attacked. The warriors sustained themselves principally by hunting, and the collection of wild foods.

721 The purpose of aboriginal Mundurucú warfare was to secure trophy heads and to bring back captive children to adopt into the tribe. Wars were usually initiated by young men eager to gain war prowess and prestige by taking heads and captives. These young men would resolve among themselves to go to war and would then approach the chief to ask him to lead them. If the chief and the older men approved of the project, the chief took over the organization of the party. [203] Invitations were sent to other villages via a messenger who [729] belonged to the Muchacha'anyen, a society of older, valiant [375] warriors having an intimate knowledge of certain songs. On [534] his route, the muchacha carried a special trumpet known as the pem, on which he gave a distinctive signal when just outside one of the villages to be invited. A muchacha of that village gave an answering signal and then went out to meet him. Upon their encounter they played a song of the society on their trumpets and danced slowly back and forth towards each other. They then proceeded to the men's house where the messenger, in front of the assembled warriors, addressed an invitation to join in the war. The two most distinguished chiefs of the participating villages assumed

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper 648
Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a
prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or 743
private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém 759
visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but
medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There
is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company
rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural
experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for
most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants 371
who read and write usually learned to do so in another [212]
area or through literate parents. Actually, the Mundurucú 648
are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, be- 658
cause both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service
post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educational facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the 361
Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical [342]
habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle
and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower
Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher section of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods.
These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the
major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers,
often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the
barracões (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local
traders, who buy the produce of the caboclo and sell him
needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm
clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses adjacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same
forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the
houses of rubber tappers whose rubber avenues are
nearby, and others belong to people who live there during
the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive
439 sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú
175 had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifica-
648 tions had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained
[178] intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigor-
ously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard
core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other
[177] Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it
was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by
them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains
to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published
sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn
now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during
this period.

22 The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savan-
361 nahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essen-
tially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was impor-
tant throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity.
241 Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits,
439 and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in
Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their
most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

621 The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic
[462] aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried
out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the
[591] horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and
the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen;
each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each
Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house;
the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate,
worked, and relaxed within its confines.

611 The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent.
The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by
591 loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between
patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the
resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages
continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village,
578 and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and
476 cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the
778 minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggres-
sion between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the or-
ganizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

184 ever, the people of the village still maintain trade relations
361 and their closest social contacts with the Cururú River settlements.

The other five communities are those which before the migration to the Cururú were farthest removed from its shores. A glance at the map will show that communication by water with the dwellers of that river is not feasible, and a two or three days' march would be necessary by land. Thus, geographical removal has combined with the social gulf that has arisen between campineiros and Cururú residents to make contact between the two groups most sporadic.

THE SAVANNAH VILLAGES

121 Most of the research in the savannahs was done in the village of Cabruá. The choice was made primarily for physiological and nonscholarly reasons; it had the least insects and the most food of all the villages. A vacant house was also available and ready to be occupied. Beyond considerations of creature comfort, Cabruá was suitable because it had the second largest population, several excellent old informants in residence, and it was a typical community of the more traditional type. Its five houses
[361] were arranged in the customary circle around a central plaza, and its male population lived in the traditional men's house. My wife and I accordingly settled in Cabruá during the second half of our Mundurucú sojourn.

22 The Mundurucú are essentially forest dwellers. Al-
[361] though their villages are on high savannahs, they depend on the resources of the forests and rivers for their subsistence. Their ecological adaptation does not differ greatly from that of other tropical forest tribes except in varying emphasis on different pursuits. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening were and still are the basis of Mun-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

durucú subsistence. Trade is for Western manufactured 22
goods only; all food is obtained from the immediate en- [439]
vironment.

The village is the basic unit of social interaction and co- 619
operation among the Mundurucú. Strong ties exist be- 621
tween the residents of each community, and all feel them-
selves to be members of the tribe as a whole; there are no linguistic or cultural differences between any of the savannah villages, and feelings of localism are but weakly developed. But despite the fundamentally pan-tribal identification made by the people, the local community is the essential framework in which their daily existence is passed, and it is the largest social unit with a continuing political organization. Each village is autonomous within terms of the subsistence economy, and its membership constitutes the significant group engaged in production and distribution.

HUNTING

Of the four principal subsistence-seeking activities, hunt- 224
ing and horticulture contribute more to the food supply than fishing and gathering, except during the dry season when residence shifts to the river banks. To the Mundurucú man of the savannahs, the proper daily activity is the hunt. The men are tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prize game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. Many, but by no means most, men now have firearms, usually muzzle-loading shotguns. The principal animals hunted are tapir (*Tapirus americanus*), wild pig (*Tayassu albirostris*), catitú (*Tayassu tajassu*), several species of deer, *paca* (*Cuniculus paca Acs.*), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. Although the men enjoy

/4 cont./

114 Tocantins appears to have provided some additional materials on Mundurukú agriculture. But his work is not available to me at the moment.

*24| The Handbook of South American Indians summarizes the subject
[22] in these few lines: "The Mundurukú subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugar cane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in Mundurucu economy." (6)

6. Horton, 1948: 273.

*24| And this is all, more or less, that is known of these Indians'
12| agriculture. The present article, therefore, attempts to amplify
[171] this knowledge, although the author is well aware that in many respects, and especially regarding garden methods, the Mundurukú system does not differ materially from that of other tribes in the region, or in the Amazon basin in general. /5/ Practical experience in the matter teaches us that agriculture among the Indians of the Amazon forest allows for slight variations, but not for basic differences.

II. Garden methods

If we regard the agriculture of the Mundurukú Indians as a culture complex, we can easily single out two distinct elements. One is the purely material, manual, or technical element, which will be discussed here. The other is made up of various social factors which render agriculture not a lifeless task or factor, lacking all influence, not an isolated complex within the tribe, but something vitally integrated into tribal life, something upon which the well-being of the community and of the family now depend. In this sense,
[182] agriculture itself becomes a social element in native life. (7)

161 Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of
[321 families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the
342] woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

161 It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and
181 most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

115 In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

621 Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim
161 Caetano Corrêa.
103

NAME OF THE MALOCAS	POPULATION
Dauapone	1,500
Carucupi	2,300
Dairi	2,600
Capipique	2,000
Necodemos	2,100
Aika (Samuuma)	1,500
Acupari	800
Areucré	700
Arebaduri	400
Teiu Curupi	500
Ipsananti	600

But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadcreri.

In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly united although divided into twenty villages.

It is true that the villages owe allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the ubá or warriors' quarters.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Santarém and *Gurupá* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Cawahiba*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Steinen, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796. 175 726

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajós in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajós region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Steinen, 1937). [197] [177]

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajós is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Rio de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Neundenun in this area. [173]

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Iririá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey. 241 222

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them. 231

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, harts, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush. 234 [221]

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 543

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [544] [542]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by wave and cold seasons as in Lebrabar, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224 226]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family households, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [431]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [423]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce: 439

"They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioc, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

439 Mundurucú traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Mundurucú product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucú acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

221 314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-26]. [171]

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucú, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individual hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucú. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Mundurucú villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucú, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader. [224] [291]

A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucú dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, firearms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucú barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour. [415] [323]

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Despite the flourishing trade in gewgaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucú economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous. 439 177

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucú and the Montagnais are probably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucú, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inexorably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucú families, like those of the Algonkians, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucú. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucú were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucú country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucú villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucú was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucú to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucú warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective. [622] 721 177 439 [797]

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucú acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucú society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucú who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy. 177 621

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucú villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large [221] 314 361 177

36 portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods
34 could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their
[182] resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable
[571] during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues. and like their Brazilian neighbors and the western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the
177 Cururu River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the
747 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururu River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

177 The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organiza-
621 tion, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy,
544 it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

621 Political authority on the Cururu River was almost nonexistent. The migrants
178 began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururu River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the
[221] Cururu River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Second, warfare, but both mercenary,
pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced 175
scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because 182
of the acquisition of firearms.[24] The continuance of warfare 648
helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as 721
social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating [622]
their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional vil- 175
lages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not 439
as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian so- 648
ciety as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap [177]
rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more 175
valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the 464
end of the century was netting the traders fabulous mon- 648
etary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber col- 221
lecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional- 131
type villages no longer existed on the waters of the 175
Crepory River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[24] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the rainy season to fish by wading through the *igapó*, 226
or flooded forest—impractical because of poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

These formidable obstacles restrict the savannah people to one or two trips per rainy season to streams where small fish are taken by drugging. The yield is unimportant in the total rainy season diet, and the expeditions do little more than satisfy a desire for variety in food. Fishing is quite important during the dry season, however, when the people move to their rubber-avenue homes on the banks of large streams. This, as has been mentioned, [221]
represents a continuation and intensification of a pattern that predates the rubber trade; in those times, the villagers spent several weeks every dry season in temporary camps along the rivers, where they hunted and caught fish.

Dry-season fishing is done by two means. The first is to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms are often built in the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it is preferred to the hook and line, which was intro- [177]
duced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth, and the turgid flood waters make the bow and arrow useless.

A second and equally important method is by poisoning the waters of lakes and medium sized streams with *timbó*, a generic term for a variety of fish poisons used throughout the Amazon. The timbó paralyzes the gills of the fish and suffocates it, but the fish remains edible as it does not become poisoned internally. Timbó is found in wild form in forest lianas, but the Mundurucú use

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the Tropas, but some do business with the trader of São Martinho, on the Tapajós. The people of Cabruá live in three separate hamlets on the Tropas. At one, the most powerful shaman of the village lives with two younger men of his household, and another is occupied by another man of the same house and his son-in-law. These two men trade on behalf of their rubber-avenue co-residents, and the chief of Cabruá is not considered to be their representative in trade. The Cabitutú River has only one or two all-year residents, and these are Brazilian. A number of families of Brazilians and eight Mundurucú families maintain regular homes on the Tropas, however. The latter Mundurucú associate to a varying extent with the villagers during the rubber season and occasionally come to Cabruá to seek the services of a shaman or simply to visit, but they remain marginal to village life.

The Mundurucú of the savannah communities collect less rubber than those of the Cururú and far less than the the Brazilian tappers. The latter generally commence production as soon as the flood recedes in May or early June and collect until the rains and rising waters make their rubber avenues inaccessible in November or December. The efforts of the campineiros, however, are limited by their alternating residence between village and rubber-avenue dwelling. The residents of Cabruá have to clear land for gardens before they may depart, and this generally holds them until May. But only the more industrious Mundurucú leave at this time; many linger in the village until June or July, and in 1952 one man stayed until August. Rubber is collected until August, at which time the trees lose their leaves, and the yield drops off sharply for two to three weeks. Some Indians use this occasion to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in their garden sites and then return to the rubber avenue until

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

221 planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in
314 the village. The average collecting season of the savannah
[241] Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed
342 frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm
[343] leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often
[592] house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

361 There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the
592 membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days
314 a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely
461 works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may
512 have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

lages and easy transportation is lacking. But on the Cu- 439
rurú, even the man who has a separate dry-season resi- 461
dence has direct access to his village by canoe.

THE CURURÚ VILLAGE

The Mundurucú population of the Cururú River has for 162
several years maintained an average figure of 700. This in- 361
cludes 200 Indians with permanent residences at the mis-
sion and 70 to 80 who live at the Indian post. Part of these
latter two groups spread out every summer to collect rub- [221]
ber while the others work for the two agencies as garden-
ers, general workmen, fishermen, and crew members on
the launches. The post and mission Mundurucú settle-
ments are in no way autonomous villages, and all general
economic and political direction is provided by the Indian
agent and the priests.

The rest of the population is principally distributed in eleven settlements ranging in size from hamlets of two or three houses with populations of 20 to 25 people to the largest settlement, Missão Velha,[1] with eleven houses and 90 inhabitants. In addition there are many scattered dwellings along the banks which are the all-year residences of one or two nuclear families. In 1942 there were only about seven villages on the Cururú and practically no isolated dwellings, although the population then was substantially the same. The increase in number of villages and of families living in isolation is the result of a fission process in which segments of villages split away to form new communities. The Cururú River settlements are in this sense more unstable than the contemporary savannah communities. Thus, the average population of the five traditional savannah villages, excluding Parawaröktiká, which has no

[1] Old Mission. So named because it is near the site of the first mission, abandoned in 1921.

221

[For a discussion of the cycle of activities involved in gardening, see category 116, pp. 6-21.]

/9/

*241 313 4. Felling--yup chign or yup chichign. The felling of the trees is almost an art in itself, for doing it in good style requires knowledge and ability, a steady eye and calculation, especially as to how the trees will fall or how they must be cut in order to fall in the most desirable way. There is a certain method involved in felling trees: a larger tree is chosen (whenever possible, in one of the corners, or at least on one of the higher sides of the ground), and an imaginary line is drawn enclosing a strip /of ground/ that broadens out in the shape of a wedge. Within this strip, all trunks are chopped about halfway through, until they begin to snap. But the larger tree is chopped last, all the way through, and felled. It falls on the neighboring, half-cut trees, dragging them down in its fall, and through them all the other trunks within the chosen and prepared wedge. An entire strip of forest thus goes down at one fell swoop with a big noise, opening an enormous clearing, sometimes 100 meters long or more. Then, whatever timber may have been left standing is felled, and so are the remaining corners, "to straighten out the shape," rounding off or squaring off the plot. But "only these are cut down one by one."

[221] The felling of trees is usually carried out in April and May. The time of felling is determined by that of clearing, which precedes it by about two to four weeks. As a rule, the Mundurukú takes three days' work to do the felling on an average plot.

*241 372 5. The burning—imapign. The vegetation felled to clear the new plot is kept "resting" for two months or more, in order to dry thoroughly. The Mundurukú usually burn their clearings around the month of August. They grant the sun sufficient time to dry even the larger trunks. This relatively long spell /is granted/ so that the vegetation may burn as thoroughly as possible. The burning then becomes a light and easy task. Whatever trunks may still chance to remain after the burning are left right there, and are frequently utilized as a source of firewood for the village or house. As a rule, the plots of the Mundurukú are quite thoroughly burned.

/10/ To set the fire, they choose a breezy day when the wind is not too strong. Thus the breeze feeds the flames but does not allow

/10 cont./

*241 them to work too quickly, or else they would merely burn the small
372 branches and foliage and leave the trunks intact. The trees would be charred rather than burned.

To set the brush on fire, the Mundurukú use torches made of dry straw or of certain resinous woods. With them, they set fire to various parts of the clearing. If there are other gardens or even houses nearby, and danger that the fire may reach them, they often
[816] burn first a narrow strip of brush lying below the wind, so that later on the great fire in the clearing will meet a firebreak and will not go on to the neighboring forest or house. As a rule, they also prefer to burn the clearings before they set fire to the grasslands, as is their
[821] custom. According to them, the burning of huge expanses of grasslands would attract rainfalls that would interfere with the burning of the clearings.

6. The remaining brush. Taipa is "the brush"; "to pile up the brush" — taipa chign or taipa chichign; "to burn the brush" — taipa mapign or simply imapign, "to burn."

While the thin branches and trunks burn within hours or within a day, the larger trunks take longer, burning down slowly. Then comes the turn of the remaining brush. Foliage, branches, and pieces of timber which have not burned up completely are gathered together and piled up on top of the thicker, still smoldering trunks, the better to destroy them. Then fire is set once more to this pyre, in order to reduce the remaining timber to ashes and clear the ground for planting.

Like all garden tasks, the burning, the piling up of the brush, and the burning of the pyre require practice and ability. Otherwise the Indian will get a poorly burned field.

*241 7. Digging and planting. Next comes the time of planting, in
● [221] the month of September or October, depending on the first rains. Men and women go to the new plot to plant together. Planting is a dual task consisting of two distinct acts: digging or opening up the ground, and planting, /11/ that is to say, slipping the bitter-manioc
[462] shoots into the ground. The first task is the man's, the second the woman's.

241
824

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
large bean	ueitei
banana	acouba
S. Tomé banana	acoreqempa
large taja	pan-an-uan
maniqueira	mocera
reed	bepa
jamaru (gourd)	uiaia

[120] Wild Fruits

Fruits of the forest and brush

222
824
137

Para chestnut [Brazil nut]	hennain
assaí	oaporeme
muriti [fruit of that palm]	inherepea
bacaba	haruruxê
patauá	uadhu
uxi	tarua
pequia	xaa
abio	anacarea
forest caju	herecera
maracock? [passion fruit]	maracuia
bacuri-pari	uaremeça
sage	utua
araticu	bocubocu
mocaja	uacuria
anaja	uaritaia
copu-ahi	acarapa
pajura	cobican-a
cumai ([Port.] solvashinha [small sage])	iubaa
massaranduba	cirara-â
forest cacao	uadhera
jutaí or jatuba	[sic]
copu-assu	acarapa

Fruits of the Fields

222
824 jaboticaba
137 mangaba
field caju
axiua
muruci
marmelada
field araticu
pineapple

jubã
unhua
hacerãcaraũ
eten-ã
quenhen-ã
hera-ã
bocubocu baru
iparã

252 Daũ is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared
137 with Pará chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Pará yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectoliters.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

252 To prepare daũ, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daũ keeps for a long time.

262 They also make another kind of daũ from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assai; patauá; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

[272] In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uteima.

[273] They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

261 They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daũ, etc.

251 They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pnyc*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracereru. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat,[1] the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceara ?], the Carawat,[1] known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nyc*,[1] the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826,[1] starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá[1] fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [41] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [231] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The [222] wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can 261 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

342 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibê, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[1] [See errata sheet, category 116, p.57—A.—Analyst]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Santarém and *Gurupa* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Cawahiwa*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Strömer, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796. 175 726

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajóz in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajóz region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Strömer, 1932). [197] [177]

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajóz is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Río de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area. [173]

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Irariá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey. 241 222

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them. 231

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush. 224 [221]

226 These communal fishing trips were usually undertaken by the people of one village but occasionally involved hundreds of people from several communities. The efficacy of this system of fishing can be attested to by the writer who took part in one such expedition in which over one hundred people from four different villages participated and approximately three tons of fish were killed. The fish were pre-
[251] served by smoking, salting, and sun drying and remained edible for a period of one week to ten days. Modern tinhó fishing
● 222 is done in the same manner as in aboriginal times. This is also true of the gathering of wild fruit, nuts, and berries.

Gathering of wild vegetable products

Gathering is and was the least important subsistence activity and food source among the Mundurucú and was often done incidentally to hunting, fishing, or trips to the gardens. Among the main articles gathered were several species of palm fruit, Brazil nut, the fruit of the caiú tree (Anacardium corymbosum), wild cocoa, mangaba, and several varieties of berries.

Those wild vegetable foods found only at long distances from the village were always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they had been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees were near the village, one man or an older boy usually went out with a party of women, the boy to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it home. Climbing was done with climbing ring, a

223 Climbing was done with climbing ring, a 23

[17] loop of vine passed around the feet causing sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps. For fruits located far out on limbs, hooked sticks were used to drag the limbs down or the climber chopped the limb off. These fruits were not a staple, but they were a valuable adjunct to the diet and a greatly appreciated delicacy.

24/ Horticulture

Mundurucú gardening was done by the slash and burn method used all over the tropical areas of the New World. The garden was cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation was allowed to dry throughout the dry season, and the plot was burned over before the first rains. [illegible] smaller trunks were dragged off to one side and the ground was then ready for planting after the first rains, usually in the beginning of September in this region.

Among the plants of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú were several varieties of bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima) and sweet manioc (Manihot aipi), yam (Dioscorea sp.), sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, and pepper. At some time after the advent of the [17] whites in the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, potato, and sugarcane were introduced. Cotton, although native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the Mundurucú until the 19th century. The staple garden product and chief starch source of the Mundurucú was bitter manioc.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

timbó parties the water is poisoned by two or three separate groups at points about 1,000 feet apart along the stream. As soon as the fish begin fleeing downstream from the group farthest upstream, a sentinel stationed a short distance downstream gives several loud shouts to the next group, signaling them to start beating the drug into the water. The fish thus have little opportunity to escape to pure water. To prevent any from making their escape, a dam made of branches set into the stream bottom is sometimes placed about a mile or two downstream from the fishing location. A space is left open until the morning of the fishing to allow fish to swim upstream during the night. This system is particularly effective to catch the *matrinchão* (*Brycon hemimelanus* Cuvier), which ascends the smaller streams every night to sleep and then returns downstream with the coming of day. 226

These communal fishing trips are undertaken by as many persons as can conveniently gather together; lack of canoes and the long distances between rubber-avenue dwellings limit the size of these gatherings among the contemporary campineiros. The efficacy of this system of fishing is remarkable. My wife and I took part in one such venture on the Cururú River in which more than one hundred people from four different villages participated, and approximately two tons of fish were killed. The surplus yield is preserved by smoking, salting, and sun drying, but due to the crudity of the process it remains edible for a period of only one week to ten days. [123] [251]

GATHERING OF WILD VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Gathering of wild vegetables and fruits is and was the least important subsistence activity and food source in Mundurucú economic life; it is often done incidentally to hunting, fishing, or trips to the gardens. Among the main 222

222 articles collected are several species of palm fruit, the Brazil nut, the fruit of the *caju* tree (*Anacardium coryzobosum*), wild cocoa, *mangabe*, and several varieties of berries.

222 462 Wild foods found only at long distances from the village are always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they have been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees are near the village, one man or an older boy usually goes out with a party of women, the male to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it home. Climbing is done with the climbing ring, a loop of vine passed around the feet, which gives sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps—similar to the principle employed by our lumbermen using a belt. For fruits far out on limbs, hooked sticks are used to drag the limbs down, or the climber chops the limb off. [262] Fruits are not a staple food, but they are valuable adjuncts to the diet and greatly appreciated delicacies.

HORTICULTURE

241 Mundurucú gardening is done by the slash-and-burn method used throughout the tropical areas of the New World. The garden is cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation is allowed to dry during the dry season, and the plot is burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks are dragged off to one side and the ground is then ready for planting after the first rains, which usually occur in the beginning of September in this region.

241 262 Among the crops of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú are several varieties of bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which form the dietary staple, sweet manioc (*Manihot aypi*), yam (*Dioscorea sp.*), sweet po-

But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadeteri.

In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly united although divided into twenty villages.

It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the elica or warriors' quarters.

XVIII

Means of subsistence of the Mundurucu -- Hunting -- Cultivated Plants -- Wild Fruits.

224 The Mundurucu, living as they do among vast plains and virgin forests, being skillful hunters and possessing excellent hounds, owe their subsistence largely to hunting.

[241] They also practice some husbandry which, though still quite rudimentary, is of considerable help to them. [119]

Many wild fruits also grow in the region, some of them excellent.

I will not enumerate all the various kinds of game which are to be found in those parts, where tapir, deer, wild pig, mutum [?] and the inhambu and jacamin birds occur in such abundance. 241 824 137 I will, however, provide below a list of all the plants cultivated by the Mundurucu, and another of the wild fruits, with the corresponding names in their own language:

Cultivated Plants

241 824

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
manioc	mocetá
sweet manioc	mocepean
large white yam	puerá erechache
large purple yam	puerá aniucate
small white yam	auairá
small purple yam	anauerá aniucate
sweet potato	nixiá
pineapple	para-ã
papaya	acho-ã
pepper	aium-ã
sugar cane	canipec
timbó liana	comopi
cotton	bruun-ã
maize	muirarã

765 Finally, a vertical grave is dug inside the dwelling of the warrior's family, and the head in whose honor the ceremonies took place is buried there.

XXII

Hunting, fishing, and agricultural celebrations

796 224 Each Mundurucu village also carries out every year at the start of winter a public ceremony which celebrates hunting and fishing on alternate years.

To this end the village elects a ceremonial leader who is chosen among the most reputed warriors and who must also be a good singer. [133]

They accumulate beforehand ample quantities of game, beiju (a kind of manioc bread), sweet potatoes, and other foodstuffs.

The women paint themselves with genipap, urucu, and other highly effective colors.

Men and women, adorned with feather ornaments and necklaces of enemy teeth, assemble in groups wherever they please and begin to make music, to dance and to sing.

They gather the skulls of tapir, deer, and other species of game or fish, and offer them the best delicacies -- dau, tarubá, maniqueira, and other foods.

At midnight the shaman retires to a special room, beyond the reach of unhallowed glances. There, in the midst of absolute darkness, he first calls in loud voices upon the tapir's "mother," if the ceremony is in celebration of hunting.

After a while, those who surround the mysterious hut hear within it the sharp scream of the tapir.

[225] It is the shaman imitating the cry of this animal to notify his audience that the spirit has answered his call and has come down to the hut.

There ensues a lively debate in loud voices between the tapir's "mother" and the shaman. He requests her to favor the

village hunters during the coming year by keeping her children close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

In addition to those ceremonies consecrated to the tutelary deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called ken; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers" of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way:

"Oh, 'mother' of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we entreat thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu runs as follows:

"Mucẽipixi eirũ bere bereme u tiedié imenedié diei chipanme mucẽ dẽ aipanem itabungue diẽe taraibote ama epõtepõte diẽe imenedié tutu utié-die aratarai utecõpe ixi abime pame euatu abime eirũ bereremé bate que meaipanhate uéré mon utie caroi diẽai panme tuman."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the lap of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Sanizáres and *Guraps* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Cawahiwa*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Strömer, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Troças (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796. 175 726

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajós in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajós region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Strömer, 1932). [197] [177]

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajós is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Rio de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area. [173]

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Irariá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey. 241 222

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them. 231

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush. 234 [221]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
● 224 Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

252 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made [272] from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water. [273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in [276] tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

342 The dwelling house (ekça, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a
[562] long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents. 584

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the fatally ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Mundurucú* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes. 888 734

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars. 764

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (kaduké). The ceremony is repeated at yearly intervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finaly buried in the house of the deceased. 766

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Mundurucú* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes success in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic dialogue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc. 796 756

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in holding off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes. 796 535 224

1 [Martius (Source #3) says this was done by the children -- Analyst]
2 [Martius says female rather than maternal - Analyst]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
535 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
224 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

796 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants.
786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred
796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[776] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibō, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
[578] When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kaibō (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

105 tribes except in varying emphasis on different pursuits. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening were and still are the basis of Mundurucú life.

Hunting

224 Of these four activities hunting and horticulture contributed more to the food supply than the other two. To the Mundurucú man, the proper daily activity was the hunt. The men were tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prized game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. The principal animals hunted were tapir (Tapirus Americanus), both the wild pig (Tayassu albirostris) and peccary (Tayassu tajassu), several species of deer, the paca (Cuniculus paca Acs.), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. The men enjoyed hunting, but this must not obscure the fact that it is extremely exhausting work. The hunters left the village in the morning shortly after dawn and traveled long miles through the forests and across sun baked savannah before raising the tracks or scent of game. There then followed an arduous pursuit that sometimes lasted for hours. The successful hunter often ended his day by carrying a 100 pound wild pig on his back for three hours on the homeward trail to the village. Occasionally, he had to spend the night in the forest if he made his kill too late to return by daylight. The men hunted nearly every fair day except for those happy occasions when a great quantity of game was brought back to the village. All activity then stopped and the people sat around eating the

224 meat which would otherwise spoil after about three days.
[264] The pressure of maintaining a meat supply was great when one considers that a village of eighty people can eat one tapir or four wild pigs in twenty four hours.

Of all the Mundurucú hunting techniques, the collective hunts were most important. The usual system was for three or four men to go ahead with their dogs to raise and chase the game. The rest of the men waited along the path which the animal would probably follow in its flight, usually at a point where it crossed a stream, in order to ambush the fleeing beast. Needless to say this called for a great deal of teamwork in addition to an intimate knowledge of the country and the habits of game. The pursuing hunters informed their waiting companions of the specie of the animal by sounding signals on bamboo hunting horns. If the ambush was not possible, the dogs ran down the animals and brought them to bay, allowing the hunters to approach and make the kill. Although individual hunters frequently stalked game, the above techniques were most important for the killing of wild pig, the principal game food. Whereas it was possible for only three or four men to hunt the other animals, the entire male population of one or two villages might participate in a wild pig hunt. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to fifty to one hundred pigs. Under these circumstances a single hunter could only kill one, or at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men could surround the animals and kill a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, peccary, and

224 deer were also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal, especially at longer range, and, if there are two or three hunters, the possibilities of successfully dispatching the animals are increased.

226 Fishing

Fishing was an economic activity definitely secondary to hunting, although as we will see later, the circumstances of acculturation have changed one large section of the tribe to a group which relies primarily on fish for proteins. The 361/723 aboriginal Wundurucú generally built their villages in places several hours inland from the nearest navigable streams. Thus their defensive position was improved while in no way impairing their attacking power. This settlement pattern was well adapted to a warrior society, but removed them from the best [226] fishing sites. The small streams within easy reach of the villages yielded only smaller species of fish and in limited quantity. That the Wundurucú relied little on the water system for food or transportation is shown by the fact that 501 only in recent times has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The usual modern Wundurucú canoe is of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders. In pre-contact times, the only water craft used was the bark canoe of the type described by Von den Steinen on the upper Xingú River.[8] Not even this canoe was native to the Wundurucú for they acknowl-

8. Steinen, 1894, pp. 222-223.

476 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the parti-
571 cipants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the timbó.

[224] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

[796] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Mundurucú
157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain
554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Mundurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today. 000

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to 174 incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not 621 inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned [423] under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with [586] the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen [622] for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacri- [619] ficed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowl- 174 edge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special signifi- 591 cance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men [227] on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monog- [595] amy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. [422 There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal 428] possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 765 [616] Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the [578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 554 784 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 554 [609] [825] The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajeboiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 224 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiši

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores. 727 224 [834]

The Dajeboiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house. 796 727 [301]

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[3] 796 575 533

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported. 727 597 [554]

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular 721

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 543

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [586] [462]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by warm and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224 226]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [439]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [622]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce: 439

"They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of mandioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

439 Mundurucú traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Mundurucu of the upper Tapajós "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Mundurucu product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucú acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

221 314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, [171] out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-2].

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucú, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individual hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in [224] isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucú. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy [291] the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Mundurucu villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucu, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucú dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, firearms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be [415 323] made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucú barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the woman and blows upon the women, giving it life. Such atypical intervention 797
in everyday affairs by the culture hero remained puzzling until it was learned 773
that the nuns explain pregnancy to the girls at the mission school by telling 842
them that Tupan places babies inside their bodies.

In all his activities, Karusakibi is accompanied by his constant companion, 775
Daibu, a trickster armadillo whose plots and interferences are essential to nearly all of the culture hero's acts. In spite of the hero's great power, he finds it difficult to eliminate the wily armadillo and succeeds only at the end of the myth cycle, when he turns him into a tree that now holds up the sky.

The other Mundurucú culture heroes are of decidedly less importance and do not appear in the body of Karusakibi myths. There is a three-part saga in which two men named Karutacubi and Wakurumpi ascend to the sky and become the visible sun. The latter was an especially powerful shaman whose powers were so great that he once caused the sun to grow dark. He ended the eclipse by magically scraping off the face of the sun.

Morsichiki is the subject of a brief tale in which he is credited with making the rock paintings that are frequently encountered in the country adjacent to the Tapajós River. Since most of these paintings are on inaccessible cliffs, Morsichiki is acknowledged by the Mundurucú to have been a person of considerable supernatural power.

A series of four other stories surrounds Nung-rung, who is now in the Milky Way. In other stories, a man named Karuibewe was transformed into the tree from whose wood bows are made, and an old woman named Kapiru was responsible for the origin of horticulture. Thus, although Karusakibi is viewed as the most important and powerful of the culture heroes, he was not responsible for the creation of all Mundurucú culture.

Another class of culture heroes had no part in the creation of the natural or human environment, but are figures in sagas. A long legend is told about the wanderings of Perimut, and the wars of Turichungpi and Karudaibi are related in a two-part cycle. There are several such personages and, though many have some supernatural gifts, none is as powerful as Karusakibi and Wakurumpi. Nonetheless, the stories of these mythical characters are important in the education of the young and in the expression of themes central to Mundurucú values and world view.

Spirit Mothers

The most important single class of supernaturals believed to be active in the 776
world are the spirit mothers of the game animals.* The generic spirit mother 229
of all game animals and the various mothers of certain species must be continually

*Belief in spirit mothers, owners, or protectors of animals and plants is widespread in the Amazon basin. For example, Oberg (1953, pp. 55-56) reports the concept of spirit mothers of plants and animals from the upper Xingú River, and Wagley and Galvão (1948, p. 102) describes two Tenetehara spirits, the Owner of the Forest and the Owner of the Water, which are closely related to the Mundurucú spirits. Belief in these both supernaturals is evidently extremely tenacious, for Wagley (1953, p. 232) reports the concept of the "mãe do bicho" among the Brazilian residents of the town of "Tu." Most groups in eastern Brazil visualize these protector spirits as mothers; in contrast, the Tenhipong refer to them as fathers (Kloß-Gerstberg, 1925, pp. 276-277).

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community. Moreover, great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to these spirits lest they strike back at the offender. The major Mundurucú ceremonies functioned mainly to secure the benevolence of the spirit mothers, and one of the chief duties of the shaman was to make periodic offerings to them and thus insure their cooperation.

This preoccupation with animal spirits reflects certain basic facts about Mundurucú culture. The society is male-oriented; women are by no means passive actors in the social structure, but the major foci of the culture were male values and activities. And to the Mundurucú men, at least those of the remaining savannah villages, few activities are more important than the hunt. The male self-image is that of the warrior and hunter, the wayfarer of the forests,* and the Mundurucú are intensely concerned with all things arboreal. Hunting was as important as horticulture in the traditional subsistence economy and may well have been more basic to the diet in earlier times. There is some speculation about a more southerly origin of the Mundurucú,* which suggests the corollary hypothesis that horticulture was less important in their former habitat. If this were true, it would help to explain why hunting is so heavily emphasized in Mundurucú religion, and horticulture is almost completely secularized.

The mother of the game, or *patrika ši*,* protects the animal kingdom as a whole from human offense. The relation between the *patrika ši* and animals is conceived by the Mundurucú to be a mother-child relationship. It is believed to be a single, unitary spirit, but it can be found in several places and under several guises at one and the same time. Expressed differently, the *patrika ši* is a single power having several manifestations.

The mother of the game is not an anthropomorphic personage; it has no form nor does it exist as a mobile and independent entity. Characteristically, the *patrika ši* is found in two forms; in one it is a very special stone called a *wirabed*, and in the other it travels in the bodies of the land tortoise and the coati monkey. The Mundurucú *wirabed* concept, as many of their beliefs, is not highly conceptualized or rigidly formalized. It is vaguely conceived as a power and is described as a stonelike object visible only to shamans. Thus, the mother of the game and the *wirabed* are not identical, but the spirit does manifest itself in the latter object. In its *wirabed* guise, the *patrika ši* is usually found in the deep perennial springs at the headwaters of the streams that issue from the hills of the Mundurucú country. Hunting is invariably good in these locales because of the desire of the game to congregate about their mother, and Mundurucú shamans have techniques whereby they can place the *patrika ši* in springs near their villages. So placed, the *patrika ši* will remain indefinitely unless stolen by a shaman of another village. When the *patrika ši* is moved by a shaman, it emits

* See the myth of Perimuri on pp. 197-201 for the expression of this theme in legendary form.
* Cf. Martius, 1867, p. 386 and Steinen, 1892, p. 1.
* Mundurucú words are italicized throughout the text. The system of phonetic transcription and a complete glossary of all Mundurucú terms used may be found in Appendix A. Portuguese words are not italicized, but Appendix B contains the translations of all terms mentioned and the taxonomic classifications of most flora and fauna for which Portuguese designations have been given.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home. 756 726

The manifestation of the mother of the game in crab monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *patóka ši*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *patóka ši*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *patóka ši* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which cuvira cherosa has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *patóka ši*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area. 224

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *patóka ši* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *patóka ši*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *patóka ši* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *patóka ši* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of these ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *patóka ši* on ceremonial occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *patóka ši* would become extremely angry. [739] [825] [782] [784]

The *patóka ši* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are looked upon as the vengeance of the *patóka ši*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *patóka ši* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *patóka ši* sends another. [52]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The *patóka ñ* sends two types of malignant object, called the *yakip* and the *wirakai*. The latter has already been explained as a supernaturally powerful, stonelike object in which the *patóka ñ* is sometimes found. The *yakip*, on the other hand, is thought to be an evil force that is found in the form of a louse. Both the *wirakai* and the *yakip* are parts of a general, dangerous power, called *ekawai*, that exists in all animals. The Mundurucú believe that every animal possesses a *wirakai* and a *yakip* as part of its power (*ekawai*); these malignant forces apparently can be controlled by the *patóka ñ* and used by it to avenge the grievances visited upon the animal world by humans. The *yakip* or the *wirakai* can also be sent by the animal souls as well as by the *patóka ñ*. One shaman stated that the *yakip* often enters the victim to weaken him, and the *wirakai* then arrives to kill him.

Finally, every species of game animal has a mother spirit that exerts protection over the species. These mothers are decidedly secondary in importance to the *patóka ñ*, or mother of all game, and the only ones that figure importantly in Mundurucú thought are the *boi ñ*, the *daje ñ*, the *ropsem ñ*, and the *tsad ñ*, or the mothers of the tapir, the peccary, the deer, and the preto monkey, respectively. The species mothers are given offerings at ceremonies and shamanistic performances, as is the *patóka ñ*, and they are capable of avenging any offense given to their respective children. However, the Mundurucú commonly speak of "feeding the *patóka ñ*" and of the "vengeance of the *patóka ñ*," though scant reference is given to the species mothers in these connections. Also, the species mothers are never found in the land tortoise or the coatá monkey, nor are they believed to be manifest in the form of *wirakai*. On the contrary, the species mothers are found only in certain of their children, and their presence in the animal can be detected only by a shaman.

Another class of mothers is associated with aquatic life and is of less importance than the animal mothers. The *aniwa ñ* is the mother of the fish, a position equivalent to that of the *patóka ñ* in the animal world. The *aniwa ñ* travels in small alligators and can be found by the shaman in many places where fish are known to abound. In addition to its association with all species of fish, the *aniwa ñ* is also believed to be the mother of all aquatic reptilian, amphibian, and mammalian life.

Individual species of fish do not have mothers, but the tartaruga and tracajá, species of river turtoise, have mother spirits that are found within some of their children. The only other aquatic species having a mother is the peixe-boi, or manatee. The mother of the peixe-boi can be found only within certain tapirs. There are no special ceremonies for these spirits, but they, too, are propitiated in the general ceremonies for spirit mothers.

This account of supernatural beliefs associated with game animals represents the norm of informant responses on the subject. Mundurucú beliefs are not, however, absolutely uniform and rigid, and there was a certain variation in individual views on the subject. There was, for example, some disagreement on the nature of the *wirakai*, although all informants agreed that it was like a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

IV. CEREMONIALISM

Contemporary Ceremonialism

There exists a deep and nostalgic awareness among the older Mundurucú that they are witnessing the disappearance of their way of life. It is felt acutely that most of the wise and learned men of the tribe are dead and that the remaining few will die within the near future. Only six traditional savannah villages remain and their populations are diminishing steadily. Those Mundurucú who have migrated to the banks of rivers to escape the problems of village life or to have easier access to their rubber avenues are rapidly losing the native culture. The young men who remain in the interior villages tend to be more conservative than the latter but still fail to transmit effectively even the attenuated body of tradition that they have learned. Although this dilemma is known and deplored by the Mundurucú, they view the process with considerable fatalism. Little attempt is made to reinstate that which has lapsed for they view this deterioration as progressive and irreversible; they fully expect to lose the balance of their culture. 178

This realistic appraisal of the precarious position of Mundurucú culture and society is in part the result of the disappearance of some of those ritual aspects of culture that were the expression of its vitality and were important to its integration. These aspects were, in turn, undermined by those modifications in the structure of the culture that have been taking place since the nineteenth century.

One of the integrative bases of Mundurucú society—warfare—ended in the early part of this century as a result of the deep involvement of the Mundurucú in rubber production. The end of warfare and head-hunting concluded a series of ceremonies that centered about the trophy head and the persons of the successful warriors. The status of the warrior, the power of Mundurucú arms, and the supernatural significance of the trophy head were, accordingly, no longer celebrated. These were very real values in the nineteenth century and are still considered by the Mundurucú themselves to be the hallmark of traditional Mundurucú culture. 178 726 796

Another series of rites that were held for the spirit mothers of the game has also fallen into disuse. No clear and obvious reason, such as the end of warfare, can be offered for the cessation of these ceremonies. Informants claim that today they lack a sufficient number of powerful shamans to perform the rites effectively. In a sense, this is true. 178 224 796

Two different ceremonies, named *Arsiarsi* and *Dajearuparip*, were held for the mothers of the game. The former was a lengthy festival that lasted throughout the rainy season; the latter was much like the *Arsiarsi* in form and function but was compressed into a ten-day period. According to our closest possible calculations, the *Arsiarsi* could not have been celebrated since 1930 and must have lapsed during the period when a large part of the Mundurucú population moved to the Cururú River. Communication between the traditional villages

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 of the savannahs and the new ones of the river bank became attenuated, and
224 a lack of powerful shamans in the former communities may well have developed.
196 The shorter *Dajearuparip* ceremony was practiced as recently as 1945 or thereabouts but has since lapsed in spite of a few unsuccessful efforts to resurrect it. By that time the lack of shamans must have become acute, as it is today in many sections of the Mundurucú country. Also, the early 1940's were a period of intense rubber collection, owing to the stimulus provided by World War II. During these years the Mundurucú of the savannah villages grew more accustomed to clothing and other attractions of the outside world, and involvement with Brazilian society increased. The exact effect of these influences is uncertain, but interest in ritual undoubtedly was replaced increasingly by apathy and fatalism in the face of the decay of other aspects of Mundurucú culture. Ceremonialism not only heightens social cohesion, but it reflects it. So far as the structure of Mundurucú society was undermined by other factors, so also was the basis of the ceremonial reunions.

The form of the extinct ceremonies for head-hunting and the spirit mothers of the game was described by informants. Other rites were reported by them in very fragmentary form and were attributed to a more remote past. Only a curing ceremony and the complex of ceremonial activities surrounding the sacred trumpets are still extant and were observed by me.

The Dupasip Ceremony

796 One elderly Mundurucú reported a ceremony called the *Duparip*, which he said
881 had ceased to be practiced long before his birth and which had been related to
952 him as a boy by the old men. The *Duparip* was said to have been held infrequently; it was initiated during the summer, and the associated ritual activities occurred intermittently over a two-year span.

It was not possible to obtain a full account of the purpose or form of the ceremony, for the informant [illegible] some significance as a rite of passage, for young boys were taken into the men's house and allowed to return to their proper dwellings only at the end of the two-year ceremonial period. During this time they were referred to as pet jacamis by
[302] the men, and three stripes were cut through their hair, from front to back, in imitation of the feathering of that bird. When they were finally released from the men's house, they were given sharp wooden "beaks" with which they "perked" at the women. During their confinement they could leave the men's house only to relieve themselves. The men periodically hastened the growth of the boys by
[262] standing upon their feet and lifting them up by the armpits. The "young jacamis" could eat only a certain type of deer, the meat of which was carefully examined for traces of skin, which was believed to make the boys ill.

Other passages of the *Duparip* included the previously mentioned rite in which three powerful shamans transformed people into animals.[1] Flutes were played by

[1] My informant reported that boys are recruited for this ceremony at the age of three; I think this most doubtful and believe that five years is a more reasonable age.

[2] See p. 42.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 727 contents of each bowl to ascertain whether a ritually impure person had defiled the food.

After partaking of the ceremonial feast, the men went to the men's house, across the front of which they lined up in a single row with the boys behind. They sang songs celebrating warfare and their arms until dawn, at which time the ceremony ended and the guests returned to their villages. At the conclusion of the [554] rite, the *Dajebolli* resumed his normal life. His person and the trophy head no longer exercised their power, but he retained the title and distinction for life.

This account suggests some of the functions of the ritual complex in relation to the practice of warfare and to the social structure, in general. First, the high status accorded the *Dajebolli* acted to give personal incentive to individual warriors and thus contributed to more effective military action. The taker of the trophy head was further motivated, for the power possessed by him and the head increased the yield of the hunt. The concept of this magical influence also provided an additional group motivation and rationale for warfare and served to root it more firmly in Mundurucú beliefs. The emphasis on warfare was further heightened through the celebration of Mundurucú prowess by the *Dawáki*, and this phase of the ritual provided a means of indoctrinating the young into the militarism in which they would one day take part.

The ritual complex was also related to aspects of Mundurucú culture other than warfare. The burial of the honoree of the warrior class in battle was the most important occasion for the expression of intermoiety ritual hostility. And the attachment of feather pendants to the ears of the trophy head was one of the few remaining corporate functions of the fragmented clans. Finally, and this is true of all the important intervillage ceremonies, the warfare rites served to integrate the populations of the several Mundurucú villages and to maintain bonds of association among scattered fellow clansmen.

Ceremonies of the Game

796 224 The ceremonies, the *Arawaru* and the *Dajorwperip*, were held in honor of the spirit mothers of the game. The several Mundurucú villages took turns as hosts in these intervillage rites, and one of the two ceremonies was held during most years. The purpose of the two rites was identical, and they differed only in length and in minor formal details. The following description of the *Dajorwperip* is also valid for the *Arawaru*, except where noted.

A ceremony was usually held at the instigation of one of the older and more respected men of the village—not necessarily the chief—who then became its priest, or leader and organizer. But it was essential for the leader to have the consent of his fellow villagers, for they had to join him in amassing food and drink for the visitors.

796 224 292 As in all Mundurucú ceremonies, the arrival of the guests signaled the beginning of feasting and preparation of ceremonial regalia. The actual ceremony began with the playing of flutes by a group of cloaked dancers who danced from house to house, performing in each. The cloaks were made of the long fronds of the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

buriti palm and were fashioned in an extremely simple manner. The ends of a large bunch of fronds were tied together and a ring of vine was attached some five inches below the top knot. The vine ring was then placed on the dancer's head, and the leaves were arranged to fall uniformly down all sides of his body to a point below his knees. The garment was fastened to his waist by a buriti leaf belt. The dancer's arms protruded from the sides of the cloak, and the fronds were pushed aside to make openings for the eyes and mouth. Underneath these cloaks the dancers wore the same raiment used by all the other men during the ceremony. This consisted of a buriti-leaf crown, to the front, back, and sides of which were attached vertical strips of buriti leaf. Bands of this leaf were also tied around the biceps, wrists, ankles, and just below the knees, and were crisscrossed across the chest and shoulders. The ends of each band were shredded and allowed to dangle. A belt of buriti leaf was also worn, and long thin strips of this leaf hung from it to form a knee-length skirt. Thin fibers hung from the back of a buriti-leaf neck choker to below the buttocks. The garment used in the *Aruarwa* ceremony was identical, except that the buriti leaves were first boiled in water and then hung in the sun to bleach white.

The instruments used by the dancers, called *kii*, consisted of bamboo tubes some 18 inches long with a reed made of the root of the pacuiba palm inserted in the mouth. Identical instruments were used in a secular dance, the *Parawa*, but those for the *Dajuarapertp* and *Aruarwa* could not be used for such profane purposes, for fear of insulting the Mother of the Game.

After the ceremony began, five cloaked dancers made the house-to-house rounds day and night and were replaced after each round by fresh dancers from the men's house. There was an occasional intermission to allow the men and the inhabitants of the dwelling houses to sleep. Each round began when three cloaked men, dancing side by side, approached the first house in a clockwise direction from the men's house. Playing their instruments, they danced to the doorway of the [illegible] entering the house on their fourth approach. After entering the house they circled twice around the interior and then left for the next house in the same direction, repeating the same movements. As they left the house, the other two cloaked dancers approached it, entered in the same manner, and followed the first three through the village. During the rounds of the five *kii* players, the other men stayed in the men's house and sang songs appropriate to the ceremony. Most of these songs dealt with hunting and game animals, and some with fish and food-bearing plants.

The climax of the ceremony was the summoning of the spirit mothers of the game and their subsequent visitation. Some days after the beginning of the house-to-house dancing, temporary thatch walls were built about the open sides and front of the men's house. A great number of skulls of game animals were gathered and those of each species were placed in rows running east-west and parallel to each other. At the head of the line of tapir skulls was one that had been kept in the men's house and was considered to be the chief of all the skulls in the room. In front of the rows of animal skulls were those of two coatá monkeys. Their

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

7%
224

function was to guide the spirit mothers to the men's house, in the same manner that the coatá monkey, it is believed, leads game through the forest. Before the skulls were placed in order, they were washed with a fragrant solution made from the cuvira cheruna and then with *mávi*, a sweet manioc gruel. *Mávi* is thought to be especially pleasing to the spirit mothers, and a bowl was kept near the skulls so that the spirits could eat after answering the summons.

When all arrangements were in order, two men who knew the various songs dedicated to each type of animal sat in front of the array of skulls and sang for the spirit mothers. A number of shamans stood by, ready to shoot with magic arrows those *Turupari* that inevitably came to steal the *mávi*. A shaman also had to be present at all times to detect the arrival of the spirits. When the spirits arrived, the shamans blew smoke over all the heads and then inserted a bamboo tube into each head to cork the arrow points and buckshot from the spirits. These objects are believed to be lodged in the animal spirits because of the hunting activities of the Mundurucú, and it was necessary to extract them in order to completely placate the spirits. The spirits then ate the *mávi* and departed.

Although the main purpose of the ceremony was the gratification of the animal spirits, the participants remained for three or four more days to take part in dances and ritual activities in imitation and honor of the game animals. On the day following the feeding of the spirits, all the men repaired to the banks of a stream and there sought out white clay. Two male were selected and "captured" by the others and white clay was smeared upon their foreheads, converting them for ceremonial purposes into coatá monkeys. The others adorned themselves as peccaries by applying white clay to their cheeks and jaws. They then paraded single file into the village, the two monkeys in front and the peccaries following in close order ranks, all making the noises characteristic of their species. Once in the village, the men invaded the houses; those who were simulating the peccaries grunted and poked at the ground with sticks to make peccary tracks, while those playing the parts of the monkeys upset articles in the house, pilfered food, and [illegible] the grunts never characteristic of monkey behavior. The men then repaired to the men's house where they pretended to shoot the monkeys with bows and arrows. During this time the women sang songs about the peccary, and then, upon a signal from the leader of the ceremony, they rushed upon the men, who attempted to escape, and dragged those they captured to the fire "to singe the hair from their hides" as they would do with a slain peccary.

The next of the animal imitations was that of the tapir, which was the special function of a men's association known as the *Bisiá*, or Mothers of the Tapir. The male participants painted each other elaborately with urucú and genipa paint, and the next day at dawn all the men retired to the forest where they built a temporary shelter. During the day the members of the *Bisiá* pursued men of the opposite moiety, and those caught were then made members of the group. This practice served as a recruiting device, but it also reflected the Mundurucú pattern of intermoiety ritual antagonism, for membership was looked upon with some fear. The *Bisiá* were especially subject to soul loss during the *Arwiarsi* and the

Dejesrupurip ceremonies. Since bathing in the stream was considered particularly dangerous to them, the members had to bathe in the village from gourds. Also, their obligation to sing the songs of the tapir allowed the *Biaší* little sleep during ceremonies. 796 224

When night fell, all fires of the village were extinguished and the *Biaší*, their captives, and the men fortunate enough to have escaped them reentered the village in total darkness. The women shut themselves in their houses and did not dare look at the procession lest their next children be born with the fleshy hump found between the shoulders of the tapir, that is, hunchbacked. The procession ended in one of the houses, where the *Biaší* partook of a sweet manioc drink; after they were thus refreshed the women could look upon them with impunity.

A number of creatures were imitated on the final night of the ceremony, and songs appropriate to each species were sung. Among the performances was that for the land tortoise, in which the men imitated the animal and acted in this role as the pets of the women. All lined up in close order and pretended to accept chewed food from the mouths of their owners. The Mundurucú recall with glee that on one such ceremonial occasion a local Brazilian trader, who had been visiting the village, participated in the land-tortoise imitation and actually ate the proffered food. In other sequences the grasshopper was emulated by squatting with stomach close to the ground and chirping, and the cry and hopping movements of the toucan were also enacted.

The animal performances lasted throughout the night, and dawn saw the conclusion of the ceremony and the departure of the guests.

The Curing Ceremony

The above performances of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle are now defunct, and there is little likelihood that they will be revived. But some ritual activity is still extant. It will be noted that the following ceremonies, though quite important [illegible] or two villages. None calls for the large reunions characteristic of the ceremonies devoted to the animal spirits or to the trophy head. 796 755 [571]

The curing ceremony, referred to as *Piwahkwakupawyu*, does not call for broad participation, although all the people of the village in which it is held usually attend as bystanders. Four shamans and two men with special knowledge of songs are needed, however, and must frequently be summoned from a distance. The curing ceremony is held only in cases of robbery of the soul by the animal spirits, a belief which has already been described. Soul loss is commonly held responsible for illnesses in which general, progressive debility is noted without the specific symptoms usually indicative of bewitchment. Given this diagnosis, the shaman attempts to identify the violation for which the animal spirits have taken vengeance and then prescribes a curing ceremony. At least four shamans are necessary to effect a cure and two men are called in to sing the required songs. The latter are persons who, as was described in a previous chapter,[1] received

[1] See page 27.

314 makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transpor-
361 tation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined
[489] with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

314 The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up
511 to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to
[226] fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber.
[224] The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other im-
241 portant subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is
511 not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situation. Under these circumstances of great distance from his
621 511 neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete individuation of production, the bonds of economic cooperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no re-
[426] course because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

durucú subsistence. Trade is for Western manufactured 22
goods only; all food is obtained from the immediate en- [439]
vironment.

The village is the basic unit of social interaction and co- 619
operation among the Mundurucú. Strong ties exist be- 621
tween the residents of each community, and all feel them-
selves to be members of the tribe as a whole; there are no linguistic or cultural differences between any of the savannah villages, and feelings of localism are but weakly developed. But despite the fundamentally pan-tribal identification made by the people, the local community is the essential framework in which their daily existence is passed, and it is the largest social unit with a continuing political organization. Each village is autonomous within terms of the subsistence economy, and its membership constitutes the significant group engaged in production and distribution.

HUNTING

Of the four principal subsistence-seeking activities, hunt- 224 •
ing and horticulture contribute more to the food supply than fishing and gathering, except during the dry season when residence shifts to the river banks. To the Mundurucú man of the savannahs, the proper daily activity is the hunt. The men are tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prize game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. Many, but by no means most, men now have firearms, usually muzzle-loading shotguns. The principal animals hunted are tapir (*Tapirus americanus*), wild pig (*Tayassu albirostris*), catitú (*Tayassu tajacu*), several species of deer, paca (*Cuniculus paca* Acs.), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. Although the men enjoy

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

224 hunting and look upon it as one of the acmes of masculine activity, it is extremely exhausting and time-consuming work. The hunters leave their villages shortly after dawn and travel long miles through the forests and across sun-baked savannah before raising the tracks or scent of game. There then follows an arduous pursuit that sometimes lasts for hours. And the successful hunter often ends his day by [482] carrying a one hundred-pound wild pig on his back for three hours on the homeward trail to the village. Occasionally, he makes his kill late in the day and far from home and has to spend the night in the forest. The men hunt nearly every fair day except for those happy occasions when good luck brings a great quantity of game to the village. All activity then stops and the people sit around eating the meat, which would otherwise spoil after about three days. The pressure of maintaining a meat supply is great when one considers that a village of eighty people can eat one tapir or two wild pigs in twenty-four hours. The men are therefore rarely able to relax from hunting for more than two consecutive days.

Of the Mundurucú hunting techniques, the collective hunts are most important. The usual system is for three or four men to go ahead of the others with dogs to raise and chase the game. The rest of the men wait along the path which the animal is expected to follow in its flight, usually [illegible] deal of teamwork in addition to an intimate knowledge of the country and the habits of game. The pursuing hunters inform their waiting companions of the species of the animal by sounding signals on bamboo hunting horns. If an ambush is not possible, the dogs run down the animals and bring them to bay, allowing the hunters to approach and make the kill. Although individual hunters frequently stalk game, the described techniques are most important [262] for the killing of wild pig, the principal game food.

ECONOMIC LIFE

Whereas it is possible for only one to three men to hunt other species of animals, the entire male population of one or two villages is needed for profitably hunting wild pig. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to one hundred. Under these circumstances a single hunter can kill only one or, at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men can surround the animals and obtain a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, wild pig, and deer are also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal; if there are two or three hunters, the possibility of successfully dispatching the animal is thereby improved. 224

The increased use of firearms is highly significant in this regard. Even a ball from a muzzle-loading shotgun has greater range and velocity than an arrow. The lower power of the arrow is especially noticeable at longer distances, for its large surface area causes it to be considerably slowed by air friction. Besides, the bullet has greater stopping power. This is important, for wild pig and tapir frequently run for hours with two or three arrows in their bodies. In the village of Cabruá, the men owning firearms frequently hunted deer and tapir alone, while those using bows and arrows depended on their companions for which frequently and the opportunity to mount ambushes from which the animals could be shot at close range. Since firearms are still scarce in the savannah villages, collective hunting patterns remain relatively undisturbed, and the hunt may be considered a cohesive factor in village life. 177 224 411

FISHING

Fishing is secondary in importance to hunting in the subsistence economy of the savannah villages, but the Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the larger 226

591 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineal-
611 ity, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591 Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the
178 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

Although the Mundurucú extended family is much
596 smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way
592 to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the
[422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to
[224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Coöperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kill a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the village. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 women are no longer as desirable as in the good old days,
796 nor are men as brave and strong. Correspondingly, the
[756] shamans are thought to have lost much of their power and knowledge. Besides, there are significant social and economic reasons for the lapse of the ceremonies. The larger ceremony fell into abeyance after the migration to the Cururú River had gained full force, and the shorter form was terminated after the exodus had reduced the savannah population to its present 380. Significantly, the Dajearuparip ended in 1945, at the conclusion of the period of rising rubber prices in World War II and the concomitant growing preoccupation of the Mundurucú Indians with extraction of latex. Thus, there is not only an insufficient number of shamans at present, but there are not enough people left in the savannahs to stage a large-scale reunion.
[224] Furthermore, only the campineiros, a bare one-quarter of the total Mundurucú population, still depend on game as
[326] the principal source of protein; the others rely primarily on fishing, and the ceremonies have correspondingly less economic significance to them. Finally, to the degree that the old social system has weakened, so also has this positive, affirmative aspect of the religion. The rites were vital to tribal unity and male activity and were a function of them. The decay of intervillage coöperation in other spheres and the inevitability of eventual abandonment of residence on the savannahs make the Mundurucú apathetic to the continuity of the group-based and group-affirmative rituals—actually, those aspects of relations with the supernatural that Emile Durkheim defined as "religion." * The people still believe in the game-animal spirits and still give credence to the efficacy of the ceremonial means of propitiating them. But the failure to translate the
[869] beliefs into the realm of action has robbed them of im-

* Durkheim, 1947.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home. He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit his rubber avenue, the Mundurucú hunts or fishes. He is joined by the other men of the house if there are any; otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting techniques cannot be employed. This and the general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely do so because they do not have enough workers to clear forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting them. The resident families have a local supply of farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the village and transported to the rubber avenue, a difficult chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Caburá. These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

As the migration continued and the villages grew in size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased use of firearms, bought through the now larger proceeds of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was, comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campineiros.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the savannahs were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of gardening work were

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipiti for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

tattooed or there was in the middle of the face a semielliptical, blue-black spot from which numerous, parallel lines extended over the chin and lower jaw down to the breast. From the middle of one shoulder to the other, two or three lines half an inch apart run across the broad chest. Under these there are vertically placed diamonds, some filled in, some left in outline to the end of the chest. The rest of the torso is adorned similarly though not so completely and the same lines are repeated on the extremities with or without the diamonds. Variations are introduced according to individual taste. Among women the whole face is rarely blackened, they have only a malha, a crescent shape, the pointed horns of which are turned upward. Their [288] ears are pierced, not in the lobe, but at the top in the first fold and they wear cane pegs in the holes. The face of these people is wide, with a low forehead shadowed by the hair which is cut straight across, the facial features marked, coarse and expressive of good nature. The eyes are always dark and not so slanted as the eyes of Indians of the more southerly tribes. The nose is large, often somewhat curved, not so short and blunt, with flaring nostrils, like those we have noticed among the Indians of eastern Brazil. Their heads are covered with thick, shining black hair which turns gray among the Mundrucus only late and then only in individual cases. I have never seen among them, any more than among any other Indians, an old man who was white-headed. In the wilds they are unclothed except that the men wear a jock strap [Suspensorium] of cotton or a tacanhadha. The women I saw were wholly naked, even in the mission, and to get an apron on them for church was a matter of some difficulty. The Mundrucus and their neighbors, the Mawes, with whom they are friendly, are, like the Apiacas, skilled in the art of spinning cotton thread and weaving hammocks which they hang outside their huts on hot nights. To catch fish they usually poison the water in which the fish are found.* They make

*They do this in ponds or dammed up brooks by stirring the crushed twigs and leaves of the timbo (Paullinia pinnata) into the water until it turns dark and foams. The fish, and even crocodiles, come to the surface belly up, stupefied or dead and the fish are eaten. The water is extremely poisonous.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1946
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing. Steinen's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

Food preparation.—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a halbrack of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Steinen's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water. The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

The men's house (ekpa) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and nonsegmental enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

The dwelling house (ekpa, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Steinen describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

deer were also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal, especially at longer range, and, if there are two or three hunters, the possibilities of successfully dispatching the animals are increased.

Fishing

Fishing was an economic activity definitely secondary to hunting, although as we will see later, the circumstances of acculturation have changed one large section of the tribe to a group which relies primarily on fish for proteins. The aboriginal Mundurucú generally built their villages in places several hours inland from the nearest navigable streams. Thus their defensive position was improved while in no way impairing their attacking power. This settlement pattern was well adapted to a warrior society, but removed them from the best fishing sites. The small streams within easy reach of the villages yielded only smaller species of fish and in limited quantity. That the Mundurucú relied little on the water system for food or transportation is shown by the fact that only in recent times has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The usual native Mundurucú canoe is of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders. In pre-contact times, the only water craft used was the bark canoe of the type described by von den Steinen on the upper Xingú River.[8] But even this canoe was native to the Mundurucú for they colonized

8. Steinen, 1894, pp. [illegible].

[501] edge it is to have been learned from their Tupian neighbors, the Apiaca. In early times, this bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when on a war expedition. Small [501] streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. [49] Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among three Mundurucú of the savannahs.

[506] [132] As additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks allowing the fish to disperse through the forest in search of fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is very difficult throughout the entire rain forest region, even for those people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who had to fish from the river banks, it was a sheer impossibility. The Indians of the present village of Cabruá complain that they have no canoes and that to fish during the rainy season would involve wading through the igapó, or flooded forest, impractical due to poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

[510] Dry season fishing was done by two means. The first of these was to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms were often built on the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it [177] is still preferred to the hook and line, which was introduced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth.

226 [278] The second and equally important method was by poisoning the waters of lakes and medium sized streams with timbó (Paullinea pinnata), a fish poison used throughout the Amazon. The timbó paralyses the gills of the fish, thus suffocating it. The fish remains edible as timbó does not poison the fish internally. The poison is contained in the long roots of a plant which grows wild in the forest but [279] which is commonly cultivated by the Indians in their gardens.

When a timbó expedition was organized, all of the men who participated went to the gardens to pull up the roots of the plant. These were chopped into one foot pieces, wrapped in a bundle, and brought back to the village. Before dawn of the next day, or the afternoon before, if the chosen fishing site was distant, the party embarked. The best places to fish with timbó were in restricted bodies of water where the poison would have greatest density and the fish the least possibility of escape. For this reason, streams and inter-island channels of about fifty feet in width or lagoons of limited size having only one entrance were preferred. Upon arriving at the location early in the morning, the party broke up into two, three, or possibly four groups, depending on the number of people involved. Those men who were to poison the water went upstream while the rest of the men and the accompanying women and children waited for the stunned fish to swim downstream. The poisoners then placed their bundles of timbó on a rock or log in the water and began to beat them with a heavy stick, causing the white

226 poisonous sap to be exuded into the stream. They occasionally dipped the bundles to wash out the sap more thoroughly. The excited cries of those waiting downstream informed them that the poison was taking effect, and, when the drug had been mostly beaten out of the roots, they went downstream to join the others in the collection of the fish.

The downstream scene was always one of sheer pandemonium. Everybody was usually in the water trying to catch the fleeing fish which were already semi-stupified by the drug. The women used handnets to scoop up the fish while the men impaled them with fishing arrows or clubbed them. At large tirbó parties the water was poisoned by two or three separate groups at points about 1000 feet apart along the stream. As soon as the fish began fleeing downstream from the group furthest upstream, a sentinel stationed a short distance downstream gave several loud shouts to the next group, signalling them to start poisoning the water. The fish thus had very little opportunity to escape to pure water. To prevent any from making their escape, a dam made of branches set into the stream bottom was sometimes placed about a mile downstream from the fishing location. A space was left open until the morning of the fishing to allow the fish to swim upstream during the night. This system is particularly effective when fishing for the matrinchã (Bryconops brevicauda Gunther) that swims up the smaller streams every night to sleep and then returns downstream with the coming of day.

226 These communal fishing trips were usually undertaken by the people of one village but occasionally involved hundreds of people from several communities. The efficacy of this system of fishing can be attested to by the writer who took part in one such expedition in which over one hundred people from four different villages participated and approximately three tons of fish were killed. The fish were pre-
[251] served by smoking, salting, and sun drying and remained edible for a period of one week to ten days. Modern line fishing
222 is done in the same manner as in aboriginal times. This is also true of the gathering of wild fruit, nuts, and berries.

Gathering of wild vegetable products

Gathering is and was the least important subsistence activity and food source among the Mundurucú and was often done incidentally to hunting, fishing, or trips to the gardens. Among the main articles gathered were several species of palm fruit, Brazil nut, the fruit of the caju tree (Anacardium occidentale), wild cocoa, mangaba, and several varieties of berries.

Those wild vegetable foods found only at long distances from the village were always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they had been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees were near the village, one man or an older boy usually went out with a party of women, the boy to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it home. Climbing was done with climbing ring, a

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 543

Marital breakups caused no great social maladjustment. The women and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the usual division of labor operated easily within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [542] [542]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by wave and cold seasons as in Lebanon, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a men's party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low water and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the inhospitable forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224] 222

After ten to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains set the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the grounds were extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [434]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [423]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the sale in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other products: 439

"They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioc, and sell the surplus product, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 bushels (80 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The *putsha ñ* sends two types of malignant object, called the *pakip* and the *wirabad*. The latter has already been explained as a supernaturally powerful, stonelike object in which the *putsha ñ* is sometimes found. The *pakip*, on the other hand, is thought to be an evil force that is found in the form of a louse. Both the *wirabad* and the *pakip* are parts of a general, dangerous power, called *chewei*, that exists in all animals. The Mundurucú believe that every animal possesses a *wirabad* and a *pakip* as part of its power (*chewei*); these malignant forces apparently can be controlled by the *putsha ñ* and used by it to avenge the grievances visited upon the animal world by humans. The *pakip* or the *wirabad* can also be sent by the animal souls as well as by the *putsha ñ*. One shaman stated that the *pakip* often enters the victim to weaken him, and the *wirabad* then arrives to kill him.

Finally, every species of game animal has a mother spirit that exerts protection over the species. These mothers are decidedly secondary in importance to the *putsha ñ*, or mother of all game, and the only ones that figure importantly in Mundurucú thought are the *bui ñ*, the *daje ñ*, the *repawn ñ*, and the *tend ñ*, or the mothers of the tapir, the peccary, the deer, and the proge monkey, respectively. The species mothers are given offerings at ceremonies and shamanistic performances, as is the *putsha ñ*, and they are capable of avenging any affront given to their respective children. However, the Mundurucú commonly speak of "feeding the *putsha ñ*" and of the "vengeance of the *putsha ñ*," though scant reference is given to the species mothers in these connections. Also, the species mothers are never found in the land tortoise or the coatá monkey, nor are they believed to be manifest in the form of *wirabad*. On the contrary, the species mothers are found only in certain of their children, and their presence in the animal can be detected only by a shaman.

Another class of mothers is associated with aquatic life and is of less importance than the animal mothers. The *aiema ñ* is the mother of the fish, a position equivalent to that of the *putsha ñ* in the animal world. The *aiema ñ* travels in small alligators and can be found by the shaman in many places where fish are known to abound. In addition to its association with all species of fish, the *aiema ñ* is also believed to be the mother of all aquatic reptilian, amphibian, and mammalian life.

Individual species of fish do not have mothers, but the tartaruga and tracajá, species of river tortoise, have mother spirits that are found within some of their children. The only other aquatic species having a mother is the peixe-boi, or manatee. The mother of the peixe-boi can be found only within certain tapirs. There are no special ceremonies for these spirits, but they, too, are propitiated in the general ceremonies for spirit mothers.

This account of supernatural beliefs associated with game animals represents the norm of informant responses on the subject. Mundurucú beliefs are not, however, absolutely uniform and rigid, and there was a certain variation in individual views on the subject. There was, for example, some disagreement on the nature of the *wirabad*, although all informants agreed that it was like a

makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transportation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber. The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other important subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situation. Under these circumstances of great distance from his neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete individualization of production, the bonds of economic cooperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no recourse because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

Whereas it is possible for only one to three men to hunt other species of animals, the entire male population of one or two villages is needed for profitably hunting wild pig. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to one hundred. Under these circumstances a single hunter can kill only one or, at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men can surround the animals and obtain a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, wild pig, and deer are also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal; if there are two or three hunters, the possibility of successfully dispatching the animal is thereby improved. 224

The increased use of firearms is highly significant in this regard. Even a ball from a muzzle-loading shotgun has greater range and velocity than an arrow. The lower power of the arrow is especially noticeable at longer distances, for its large surface area causes it to be considerably slowed by air friction. Besides, the bullet has greater stopping power. This is important, for wild pig and tapir frequently run for hours with two or three arrows in their bodies. In the village of Cabruú, the men owning firearms frequently hunted deer and tapir alone, while those using bows and arrows depended on their companions for added firepower and the opportunity to mount ambushes from which the animals could be shot at close range. Since firearms are still scarce in the savannah villages, collective hunting patterns remain relatively undisturbed, and the hunt may be considered a cohesive factor in village life. 177 224 411

FISHING

Fishing is secondary in importance to hunting in the subsistence economy of the savannah villages, but the Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the larger 224

226 [361] streams rely primarily upon fish for protein. The savannah villages are several hours inland from the nearest navigable streams. This settlement pattern was well adapted to the defensive requirements of a warrior society, but it removed the communities from the best fishing sites. The narrow, shallow streams within easy reach of the villages yield only smaller species of fish and in limited quantities.

177 501 The Mundurucú relied little on the river system for food or transportation in times past, as is shown by the fact that only in recent years has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The modern Mundurucú canoe is usually of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders; before contact with the whites the only water craft used was the bark canoe. Not even this canoe, however, was native to the Mundurucú for they acknowledge having acquired it from their Tupian-speaking neighbors, the Apiacá. In early times, the bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when the Indians were on war expeditions. Small streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among the Mundurucú of the savannahs, despite their annual dry-season residence on large streams. Only two men in the village of Cabruá owned canoes and no one in Cabitutú had one.

226 [182] An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks, allowing the fish to disperse through the flooded forest where they feed on fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is difficult in the rain-forest region, even for people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who have to fish with bow and arrow from the river banks, it is almost impossible. The modern residents of Cabruá say that their lack of canoes would make it necessary for them during

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the rainy season to fish by wading through the igapó, or flooded forest—impractical because of poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure. 226

These formidable obstacles restrict the savannah people to one or two trips per rainy season to streams where small fish are taken by drugging. The yield is unimportant in the total rainy season diet, and the expeditions do little more than satisfy a desire for variety in food. Fishing is quite important during the dry season, however, when the people move to their rubber-avenue homes on the banks of large streams. This, as has been mentioned, represents a continuation and intensification of a pattern that predates the rubber trade; in those times, the villagers spent several weeks every dry season in temporary camps along the rivers, where they hunted and caught fish. [221]

Dry-season fishing is done by two means: The first is to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms are often built in the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it is preferred to the hook and line, which was introduced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarce and at a greater depth, and the turgid flood waters make the bow and arrow useless. [177]

A second and equally important method is by poisoning the waters of lakes and medium sized streams with *timbó*, a generic term for a variety of fish poisons used throughout the Amazon. The timbó paralyzes the gills of the fish and suffocates it, but the fish remains edible as it does not become poisoned internally. Timbó is found in wild form in forest lianas, but the Mundurucú use

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 the poisonous root of a shrub which is cultivated in their gardens.

A group timbó fishing expedition is usually organized and directed by the man who supplies the drug and issues the invitations; the invited participants help in the task of pulling up the roots. These are chopped into one-foot pieces and wrapped in bundles. Before dawn of the next day, or on the afternoon before if the chosen fishing site is distant, the party embarks. The best places to fish with timbó are in restricted bodies of water where the poison may attain greatest density and the fish have the least possibility of escape. For this reason, streams and interisland channels of about thirty feet in width or lagoons of limited size having only one entrance are preferred. Upon arriving at the location early in the morning, the party breaks up into two, three, or possibly four groups, depending on the number of participating people. The men who are to poison the water go upstream while the rest of the men and the accompanying women and children wait for the stunned fish to swim downstream. The poisoners then place their bundles of timbó on a rock or log in the water and begin to beat them with a heavy stick, causing the white poisonous sap to be exuded into the stream; they periodically dip the bundles to wash out the sap more thoroughly. The excited cries of those waiting downstream inform them that the poison is taking effect, and, when the drug has been thoroughly beaten out of the roots, they go downstream to join the others in the collection of the fish.

The downstream scene is always pandemonium. Everybody is usually in the water trying to catch the fleeing fish, which are already semistupified by the drug. The women use baskets to scoop up the fish while the men impale them with fishing arrows or club them. At large

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

timbó parties the water is poisoned by two or three separate groups at points about 1,000 feet apart along the stream. As soon as the fish begin fleeing downstream from the group farthest upstream, a sentinel stationed a short distance downstream gives several loud shouts to the next group, signaling them to start beating the drug into the water. The fish thus have little opportunity to escape to pure water. To prevent any from making their escape, a dam made of branches set into the stream bottom is sometimes placed about a mile or two downstream from the fishing location. A space is left open until the morning of the fishing to allow fish to swim upstream during the night. This system is particularly effective to catch the *matrinchão* (*Brycon brevicaudatus* Gunther), which ascends the smaller streams every night to sleep and then returns downstream with the coming of day. 224

These communal fishing trips are undertaken by as many persons as can conveniently gather together; lack of canoes and the long distances between rubber-avenue dwellings limit the size of these gatherings among the contemporary campineiros. The efficacy of this system of fishing is remarkable. My wife and I took part in one such venture on the Cururú River in which more than one hundred people from four different villages participated, and approximately two tons of fish were killed. The surplus yield is preserved by smoking, salting, and sun drying, but due to the crudity of the process it remains edible for a period of only one week to ten days. [123] [251]

GATHERING OF WILD VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Gathering of wild vegetables and fruits is and was the least important subsistence activity and food source in Mundurucú economic life; it is often done incidentally to hunting, fishing, or trips to the gardens. Among the main 222

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

E2 776 [756] women are no longer as desirable as in the good old days, nor are men as brave and strong. Correspondingly, the shamans are thought to have lost much of their power and knowledge. Besides, there are significant social and economic reasons for the lapse of the ceremonies. The larger ceremony fell into abeyance after the migration to the Cururú River had gained full force, and the shorter form was terminated after the exodus had reduced the savannah population to its present 300. Significantly, the Dejaru-parip ended in 1945, at the conclusion of the period of rising rubber prices in World War II and the concomitant growing preoccupation of the Mundurucú Indians with extraction of latex. Thus, there is not only an insufficient number of shamans at present, but there are not enough people left in the savannahs to stage a large-scale reunion. [224] Furthermore, only the campineiros, a bare one-quarter of the total Mundurucú population, still depend on game as [326] the principal source of protein; the others rely primarily on fishing, and the ceremonies have correspondingly less economic significance to them. Finally, to the degree that the old social system has weakened, so also has this positive, affirmative aspect of the religion. The rites were vital to tribal unity and male activity and were a function of them. The decay of intervillage cooperation in other spheres and the inevitability of eventual abandonment of residence on the savannahs make the Mundurucú apathetic to the continuity of the group-based and group-affirmative rituals—actually, those aspects of relations with the supernatural that Emile Durkheim defined as "religion." * The people still believe in the game-animal spirits and still give credence to the efficacy of the ceremonial means of propitiating them. But the failure to translate the [369] beliefs into the realm of action has robbed them of im-

* Durkheim, 1947.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home. He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit his rubber avenue, the Mundurucú hunts or fishes. He is joined by the other men of the house if there are any; otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting techniques cannot be employed. This and the general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely do so because they do not have enough workers to clear forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting them. The resident families have a local supply of farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the village and transported to the rubber avenue, a difficult chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Cabruá. These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

As the migration continued and the villages grew in size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased use of firearms, bought through the now larger proceeds of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was, comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campsiriom.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the uxumuhn were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of garden work were

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

476 ●226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [199] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Cooperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse cooperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipiti for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of cooperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no cooperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children -- went altogether naked.

We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed troubled with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadeveri to the village of Secoderum on the plains

At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadeveri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not expect the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

773 At dawn of the following day, Caru-Pindé said to the maiden:

"You will give birth to beings who will smooth the warrior of your tribe. Do not kill them."

And he vanished.

Great indeed was the terror, amazement and indignation in Necodemou when Irachoru gave birth to a pair of dogs.

Irachoru's brothers and her own mother were the first to pronounce against her the sentence of death.

But when the executioners approached to kill Irachoru and her newborn babes, she fled swift as an ema bird into the woods, clutching in her trembling arms the fruit of her mysterious lovers.

Wandering through the forest, Irachoru finally stopped, astounded, by the source of a clear brook.

But it was not long till the young mother beheld already grown the children she had nursed with such difficulty, warming them at night against her fiery breast.

Finally she saw them crossing the woods and the fields hunting and bringing back inhambu birds and partridges, and then Irachoru lived in the midst of plenty. [90]

At night her children made formidable guards, and they watched over her unceasingly. Even the jaguar kept fearfully away.

One day, Irachoru went to Necodemou and announced these marvels.

She knew well that if the warriors of Necodemou did not revoke the death sentence, she alone would die; her children would easily elude the executioners.

But if the sentence were to be revoked, the Mundurucu would become the masters of the forests and the plains; they would vanquish all other tribes, their rule would go unchallenged.

The children of Irachoru were received amid general applause; the whole tribe acknowledged them as their own.

•231 And indeed the Mundurucu treat the dog as their own offspring; the women suckle newborn pups at their own breast and shelter them in their hammocks with the children as if they had been born of the same womb.

When a dog dies it is copiously mourned and its body carefully buried, for it would be considered impious to abandon it to the vultures.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

649 Madeira and the Xingu are not *parentes* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bom parentes*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Barawerera. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parawat, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudocaserawat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceará ?], the Carawat, known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *Jadoleiro*, the Jews, are hated, as having [728] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1876, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaiká fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

249 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [647] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [728] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The [728] wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can 264 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with manic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

262 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More yet will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [687] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[See errata sheet, CAE p. 17 IV, p. 57-58 - Analysis]

411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidarus), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (cap), and the bow which is difficult to draw (taff) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (pangue, or uup, tupi vibe) but poisoned war arrows (ubeam) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a uiuuap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [388] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Millier Diccionario geograph. II. 136 and Conqueira e Silva Corograf. paraense 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (zagatvacana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 The Mundrucus are great artists in the manufacture of feather orna-
287 ments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most labori-
292 ous products of Indian industry: scepters (buta) carried on festive occasions in the hand; stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers, arm ornaments (bombim manja); hats (akori) often outlined with long braids of arara feathers (akori kaba); combs and tassels with arara feathers (pam-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf mats. They keep many live birds for
● 251 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mumum or hocco (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope), the king and the white vulture (Cathartes papa and Falco urubitinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

709 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them,
276 the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [389] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaiodes, which is in vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Mawes. But they

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Tocantins and *Gurupi* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (Cinnabina). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Sorlemar, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796. 175 726

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajós in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajós region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Sorlemar, 1937). [197] [177]

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajós is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apinayé* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Rio de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Nimuendaiua in this area. [173]

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Iririá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey. 241 222

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them. 231

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush. 224 [221]

411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidaruz), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (casp), and the bow which is difficult to draw (tarô) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (pangnie, or usp, tupi viba) but poisoned war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a uitotap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [389] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Diccionario geograph. II. 136 and Cerqueira e Silva Corograf. paraense 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (esgravatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 287 292 The Mundrucus are great artists in the manufacture of feather ornaments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most laborious products of Indian industry: scepters (buta) carried on festive occasions in the hand; stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (bombim manja); hats (akeri) often outfitted with long braids of arara feathers (akeri kaha); cords and tassels with arara feathers (paro-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for 231 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mutums or hoccos (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope), the king and the white vulture (Cathartes papa and Falco urubutinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

724 276 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them, the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [390] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaiodes, which is in 000 vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Maues. But they

XVIII

Means of subsistence of the Mundurucu -- Hunting -- Cultivated Plants -- Wild Fruits.

224 The Mundurucu, living as they do among vast plains and virgin forests, being skillful hunters and possessing excellent hounds, owe their subsistence largely to hunting.

[119] They also practice some husbandry which, though still quite rudimentary, is of considerable help to them. [119]

Many wild fruits also grow in the region, some of them excellent.

I will not enumerate all the various kinds of game which are to be found in those parts, where tapir, deer, wild pig, mutum [?] and the inhambu and jacamin birds occur in such abundance. 24 I will, however, provide below a list of all the plants cultivated 124 by the Mundurucu, and another of the wild fruits, with the corresponding names in their own language: 137

Cultivated Plants

241 [English], Portuguese or Tupi Term — Mundurucu Name 124

manioc	mocetá
sweet manioc	mocepean
large white yam	puerá erechache
large purple yam	puera aniucate
small white yam	auairá
small purple yam	anauerá aniucate
sweet potato	uixiá
pineapple	para-ã
papaya	ação-ã
pepper	aium-ã
sugar cane	canipec
rimbó liana	comopi
cotton	bruun-ã
maize	muiraã

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
large bean	weiei
banana	acouhá
S. Tomé banana	acoreqempá
large tajá	pan-an-uan
mandioquiria	mocerá
reed	bepá
jamaru (gourd)	oiaia

[120] **Wild Fruits**

Fruits of the forest and brush

Para chestnut [Brazil nut]	bemaio
assaí	oapoeme
muriti [fruit of that palm]	inherepeá
bacaba	baruruá
patauá	uadhiu
uxi	ururá
pequiá	xaá
abio	anacaré
forest caju	berecera
maracock? [passion fruit]	maracuiá
bacuri-peri	uaremeça
sage	utuá
araticu	bocuboca
mocajá	uacurá
acaja	uaricaia
copo-ahi	acarapá
pajurá	cobican-a
cumai ([Port.] solvashinha [small sage])	iubaá
mascaranduba	cirara-á
forest cacao	uadherá
jutai or jatuba	[sic]
copu-assu	acarapá

1: Tocantins--42 C-6 (1873) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

XIX

Plants cultivated in Mundurucu villages (1)

244
137

1. I owe this technical outline to the courteous collaboration of Dr. Lourenço José Ribeiro da Cruz Rangel, distinguished botanist from the National Museum [Rio].

manioc	Manihot utilissima, Linn.; euphorbiacea fam.
sweet manioc [122]	Manihot aypim; euphorbiacea fam.
large white yam large purple yam small white yam small purple yam	Dioscorea bulbifera, dioscorea sativa, Linn. Dioscorea fam. There are many different yam species, such as: Dioscorea dodecaneura, Vall.; Dioscorea hypariifolia, Velloso; Dioscorea tribola, Vil.; Dioscorea brasiliensis; etc., etc.
watermelon	Cucurbita citrullus, Linn.; cucurbitacea fam.
jerimu	Cucurbita maxima, D.C.; cucurbitacea fam.
sweet potato	Convolvulus edulis; convolvulacea fam.
pineapple	Bromelia ananas, Linn.; bromeliacea fam.
papaya	Caryca papaya, Linn.; papayacea fam.
pepper	Many fruits belonging to different families and genera go by the name of pepper; but the Indians know best and use most the Indian pepper, Capsicum pendulum, Velloso; solanacea fam.
sugar cane	Saccharum officinarum, Linn.; graminacea fam.
timbó	The timbó liana, also known as cururupé, is Paulinia pinnata; and the Rio de Janeiro timbó is Physalis heterophilla.

241
137

Beside these, the Serjania genus also submitted some poisonous varieties that
[125] go by the name of timbó, such as S. caracasana, S. clematifolia and S. lethalis--especially the latter as its name indicates.

cotton	Gossipium herbaceum, Lamarke; malvacea fam.
maize	Zea mais, Linn.; gramineacea fam.
large bean	Bean, Vicia sativa, Linn.; leguminosa fam.
	There are many bean species, nearly all of which belong to the Phaseolus genus; leguminosa fam.
banana	Pisca banana, Musa argentea; plantain, Musa sapientum; dwarf banana, Hexandria monoecia, Linn. These are all of the musacea family.
S. Tomé banana	Musa paradisiaca, Linn.; musacea fam.
large taji	Caladium esculentum, Linn.; aroidea fam.
reeds	The reeds used by the Indians to make arrows belong to the wild cane, Anthoxanthum gigas; gramineacea fam.
calabashes	Calabash, Cucurbita lagenaria, Linn.; Cucurbita leucables, Duch.; genera of cucurbitacea family. The term "calabash" is used to designate various species of the genus Cucurbita, cucurbitacea family, some of which are edible and others poisonous.

village hunters during the coming year by keeping her children close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

In addition to these ceremonies connected to the tutelary deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer. [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called ken; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers" of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way.

"Oh, "mother" of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we concur thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu rum as follows.

"Mucĩpisi eirõ beré beremu u tindiá immendiá diei chipaume mucõ dé aipanem itabungue diée tarabone ama epõnepõne diée immendiá tuto utõ-die arairai uiócipe iei abime pame eueu abime eirõ beremu bene que meaipeabate uiré mon utie caoui diéai pamne tumaa."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the lap of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[699] Madeira and the Xingu are not *serviçal* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *homiçal*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Barancrera. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowan, the inhabitants of Belem do Pará, and the Bindicanerwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearense" [people of Ceará ?], the Carawai, known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The Indaiwa, the Jews, are hated, as having [739] treated the Mundurucú very badly, after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1884, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaiché fell victims. Friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

[24] The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [647] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [28] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The [223] wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can 261 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

742 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to: I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

1/A [See errata sheet, category III, p. 57 — A.-Analyst]

[171] But they
[181] do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Mawes. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

[244] In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[64] in so much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone undesirable. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The finer ground from manioc is packed in
[409] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Wirmchilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajos now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
[36] each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[72] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
[01] It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "meal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from moturun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the thief [Mirnchmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

[76] Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Sateré and *Cumaja* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Canoeiros*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Steinen, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio do Tropas (ca. 1796). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796. 175 726

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajós in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajós region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Steinen, 1937). [177] [177]

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajós is not definitely known. Kruse (1950) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apinayé* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Rio do Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1796 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area. [173]

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Ituriá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey. 241 222

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them. 231

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush. 224 [221]

Climbing was done with climbing ring, a

[67] loop of vine passed around the feet causing sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps. For fruits located far out on limbs, hooked sticks were used to drag the limbs down or the climber shinned the limb off. These fruits were not a staple, but they were a valuable adjunct to the diet and a greatly appreciated delicacy.

24. Horticulture

Mundurucú gardening was done by the slash and burn method used all over the tropical areas of the New World. The garden was cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation was allowed to dry throughout the dry season, and the plot was burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks were dragged off to one side and the ground was then ready for planting after the first rains, usually in the beginning of September in this region.

Among the plants of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú were several varieties of bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima) and sweet manioc (Manihot aipi), yam (Dioscorea sp.), sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, and pepper. At some time after the advent of the

[77] whites in the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, potato, and sugarcane were introduced. Cotton, although native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the Mundurucú until the 19th century. The staple garden product and chief starch source of the Mundurucú was bitter manioc.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village was more than adequate, but it was by no means unlimited. Amazonian forest soil is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and friable and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks used by the shortgiras in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. However, there is some variation in soil quality even in this fairly uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Wunturusmia due to being periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass covered savannah. The utilizable forest land is divided by the Wunturusmi into black earth, red earth, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only site in which squash, melon, beans, and rice can be raised. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Wunturusmi crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings and on the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant themselves. The reason for this two planting system is obvious when one considers that bitter manioc matures in about eight months on the first planting and from fourteen to eighteen months on the second in the already "tired" soil. A third planting would yield little and, also, as the caboclo says,

"The jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there was adequate virgin forest or old second growth forest available to meet the needs of the population and they simply cleared new gardens. The usual system was for each man to have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting.

The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of new garden sites explains the absence of concepts of property in land among the Yuruparí. When the best forest lands within a convenient distance were exhausted, the village moved a short distance to the proximity of fresh soil. This occurred every five to ten years among the aboriginal Yuruparí, although the present depleted populations may remain in one site for from 40 to 50 years. The same causes that operated to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village level also. In Yuruparí society there was no land holding unit. However, a definite feeling existed that the man who chose a garden site and initiated and directed the labor upon it was entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby became the "owner" of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this was a very loose concept as food was freely shared among relatives and a person who, for some reason, did not have a garden was given food or allowed to take it from the garden of another.

Yuruparí horticulture involved a high degree of cooperation. The heavy work of clearing the forest was done by an all-village male work group. Each man who planned a

garden invited all the other men of the village to help him. He supplied the food, usually palm fruit and sweet manioc beverages, consumed while actually doing the work. The work was done under the general supervision of the man whose garden was being cleared. However, his directing activities consisted of little more than marking the location and extent of the garden. The burning and final clearing of the garden were done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. He and his wife planted all of the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc was done for each garden by all of the people in the village as this was a more extensive operation and was well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dug the holes for the planting of the manioc stalks while the women gathered and cut the stalks and dropped the sections into the holes.

Other crops were harvested as they ripened, but manioc, which can be left in the ground for a year, was harvested as needed. Almost all vegetables were gathered in from the gardens by the wife of the owner of the garden assisted by one or two women of her household, but the manioc was brought in by all the women of the household. The tubers were dug up from any one of the gardens belonging to the members of the household, processed by all the women of the house jointly and shared by all the members of the extended family dwelling within it. Each house had one large flat stone that was used as a griddle to bake the flat cakes of manioc flour, or beiju, as it is called in the lingua geral.

6: Murphy E-5 [1952-1953]1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

952 their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow classmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). As present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected [583] to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

476 The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

241 476 Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing [831] was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

476 [423] Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

476 621 Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive raids formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

6: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montagnais 5/16

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 593

Marital breakups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [561] [461]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by wet and cold seasons as in Lowlands, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each prospected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224 221]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [431]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [622]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce: 439

> "They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioc, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

THE SETTING

makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transportation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber. The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other important subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situation. Under these circumstances of great distance from his neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete individualization of production, the bonds of economic cooperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no recourse because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

222 articles collected are several species of palm fruit, the Brazil nut, the fruit of the *cajú* tree (*Anacardium corymbosum*), wild cocoa, *mangaba*, and several varieties of berries.

222 462 Wild foods found only at long distances from the village are always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they have been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees are near the village, one man or an older boy usually goes out with a party of women, the male to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it home. Climbing is done with the climbing ring, a loop of [481] vine passed around the feet, which gives sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps—similar to the principle employed by our lumbermen using a belt. For fruits far out on limbs, hooked sticks are used to drag the limbs down, or the climber chops the limb off. [262] Fruits are not a staple food, but they are valuable adjuncts to the diet and greatly appreciated delicacies.

HORTICULTURE

241 Mundurucú gardening is done by the slash-and-burn method used throughout the tropical areas of the New World. The garden is cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation is allowed to dry during the dry season, and the plot is burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks are dragged off to one side and the ground is then ready for planting after the first rains, which usually occur in the beginning of September in this region.

241 262 Among the crops of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú are several varieties of bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which form the dietary staple, sweet manioc (*Manihot aypi*), yam (*Dioscorea sp.*), sweet po-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tato (*Ipomoea batatas*), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, 241
and pepper. At some time after the advent of the whites in 262
the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, po- [177]
tato, and sugar cane were introduced. Cotton, although [248]
native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the Mundurucú until the nineteenth century. Similarly, although the potato is native in western South America it was not found aboriginally in the eastern part of the continent.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village is more 134
than adequate, but not unlimited. Amazonian forest soil 241
is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and fri- 311
able and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks formerly used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. There is some variation in soil quality, however, even in this rather uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Mundurucú territory because it is periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass-covered savannah. The tillable forest land is classified by the Mun- [829]
durucú into the categories of black, red, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only kind in which they raise squash, melon, beans, and rice. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings. 241
On the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter 311
manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 311 themselves and yield for several years in abandoned gardens. Other plants, such as timbó and some fruit trees are also productive long after the garden goes out of regular cultivation. The reason for planting a field only twice is obvious when one considers that bitter manioc matures in about eight months on the first planting and in more than a year on the second in the already "tired" soil. A third planting would yield little and, also, as the local Brazilians say, "the jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there is adequate virgin forest or old second-growth forest available to meet the needs of the population, and they simply clear new gardens. The usual system is for each man to clear land annually and thus have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting. But men often feel that they have adequate crops and let a year pass without clearing forest; this is especially common if a housemate has a new garden.

The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of [423] forest land explains the absence of concepts of private or corporate property in land among the Mundurucú. When the best forest soils within a convenient range are exhausted, the village moves a short distance to the prox- [361] imity of fresh soil. But the Mundurucú build new villages every ten years whether nearby garden land is scarce or [166] not, and the present depleted population may shift within a one-mile radius over a forty- to fifty-year period. When conveniently situated forest is exhausted, they merely move out of this orbit to a new locale a few miles away, near which they remain for another long period. Villages probably moved somewhat longer distances in time past, when their populations exceeded two hundred people and pressure on the land was correspondingly greater.

423 The same causes that operate to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

level also, and there is no land-holding unit in Mundurucú 423
society. The man who chooses a garden site and initiates and directs the labor upon it, however, is entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby becomes the "owner" of the yield of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this is a very loose concept, for it will be seen that food is freely shared among relatives and fellow villagers. [476] [431] A person who, for some reason, does not have a garden is invariably given food or allowed to harvest from the garden of another. [736]

The Mundurucú coöperate extensively in their horticul- 241
tural work. Although almost all married men have their 476
own gardens, the heavy work of clearing the forest is done by an all-village male work group. Each man who plans a garden invites all the other men of the village to help him. He supplies the food, usually beverages made of palm fruit and sweet manioc, consumed while actually doing the work. The work is done under the general supervision of the man whose garden is being cleared. His directing activities, however, consist of little more than deciding on the location and extent of the garden. These collective 241 461 garden-clearing ventures are of doubtful efficiency. The 476 participants generally dawdle on the way to their work, bathing, gathering fruits, and chatting. The actual labor is frequently interrupted by joking, conversation, eating, and little jaunts into the wood in search of parrots and pigeons. I have seen gardens being cleared by Brazilians and single families of Mundurucú in which far fewer man-hours produced equal results. Ethnographic literature presents many similar instances of collective labor for purposes of enjoyment and companionship. These same motivations obtain among the Mundurucú; but coöperation is also valued and demanded as a positive expression of social solidarity and has its roots in the social structure.

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 476 462 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. His wife and the other women of the house plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid 252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beijú*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of farinha (flour).

Beijú manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from [462] the gardens in burden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal farinha "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the manioc with steel knives, using quick chopping motions, and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The [412] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *paxiuba* palm, halved and placed side by side to form a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against [177] the sides of five-gallon gasoline cans which have been cut out and punctated with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipití*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger squeezer. The tipití is suspended at

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the Tropas, but some do business with the trader of São Martinho, on the Tapajós. The people of Cabruá live in three separate hamlets on the Tropas. At one, the most powerful shaman of the village lives with two younger men of his household, and another is occupied by another man of the same house and his son-in-law. These two men trade on behalf of their rubber-avenue co-residents, and the chief of Cabruá is not considered to be their representative in trade. The Cabitutú River has only one or two all-year residents, and these are Brazilian. A number of families of Brazilians and eight Mundurucú families maintain regular homes on the Tropas, however. The latter Mundurucú associate to a varying extent with the villagers during the rubber season and occasionally come to Cabruá to seek the services of a shaman or simply to visit, but they remain marginal to village life.

The Mundurucú of the savannah communities collect less rubber than those of the Cururú and far less than the the Brazilian tappers. The latter generally commence production as soon as the flood recedes in May or early June and collect until the rains and rising waters make their rubber avenues inaccessible in November or December. The efforts of the campineiros, however, are limited by their alternating residence between village and rubber-avenue dwelling. The residents of Cabruá have to clear land for gardens before they may depart, and this generally holds them until May. But only the more industrious Mundurucú leave at this time; many linger in the village until June or July, and in 1952 one man stayed until August. Rubber is collected until August, at which time the trees lose their leaves, and the yield drops off sharply for two to three weeks. Some Indians use this occasion to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in their garden sites and then return to the rubber avenue until

221 planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in
314 the village. The average collecting season of the savannah
241 Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed
342 frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm
[343] leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often
[592] house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the
592 membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days
314 a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely
461 works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may
512 have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home. He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit his rubber avenue, the Mundurucú hunts or fishes. He is joined by the other men of the house if there are any; otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting techniques cannot be employed. This and the general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely do so because they do not have enough workers to clear forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting them. The resident families have a local supply of farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the village and transported to the rubber avenue, a difficult chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Cabruá. These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result
462 of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is,
314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and
[592] their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

314 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households
571 during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the
476 changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation
[594] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode
[487] of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the
423 economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The
439 quest of the Mundurucú for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi-
[166] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens
[241] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

182 Individual nuclear families sometimes move immedi-
166 ately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of
361 course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the
621 desire for sociability and economic coöperation commonly motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Mundurucú who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together.
182 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gar-
476 dening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their
621 resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipití for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[2] He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant coöperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[2] Murdock, 1949, pp. 216–218.

14: Frikel
241

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[For a comprehensive examination of Mundurucu agriculture, see category 116, pp. 1-38.]

/6/
*241 which may easily be fitted into the following outline of the technical development of a garden plot:

1. Choosing the site and the quality of the soil.
2. Determing the size and shape of the new plot.
3. Clearing the undergrowth.
4. Felling the trees.
5. Burning the felled vegetation.
6. Piling up and burning the remaining brush.
7. Digging and planting.
8. First and second weeding of the plot.
9. "Tearing up" the plot (pulling up the manioc roots, gathering the harvest).
10. Replanting the garden.

Let us now take up these tasks, one by one.

*242 [181] 1. Choosing the site and the soil. The Indian is, by nature, a practical person. When he is thinking of preparing a plot, he naturally looks for conditions that will most facilitate his task and ensure the safe growth of his garden. For this purpose, he chooses the land most favorable to horticulture, for all sites are not adequate to planting. Preferably, he sets up his plot on slightly sloping ground or on a mild incline, so that rain water and freshets will drain immediately. He takes flat ground only when it is somewhat sandy, permitting rain water to trickle down to the subsoil rather than remain stagnant in the field. This is also the reason why gardens are not set up in humid lowlands: the roots, the tubercles would rot. Aside from this, [825] he also makes sure that there are no ant nests or vermin on the chosen site. Ants would cut down all the manioc, ruining the garden completely.

Even when he finds a site in good circumstances, the Indian is faced with the question of what he can plant in this soil. As a rule, he has a good knowledge of soils and their qualities, and from the experience of generations he knows, almost intuitively, what he can expect from them. In other words, he understands /7/ empirically what he can plant there and what the result will be under normal circumstances. The size of the plot derives, at least in part, from

/1 cont./

242 this estimate. Through repeated tests he finds out the type of the soil and draws the necessary conclusions. As a rule, he proceeds as follows: with the machete, he digs a hole and examines the soil.
[823] By crumbling it between his fingers, he finds out its quality by touch. He distinguishes three types: sandy, clayey, and black, allowing for certain variants and intermediary types, according to the composition and percentage of clay or sand. He makes these soil tests at various depths and in various places when he suspects that only a thin layer is involved, or to find out how far /the layer/ extends. The type of garden also depends on the type of the soil; in other terms: depending on what he wishes to plant, he has to choose a /specific/ type of soil. For this reason, in his hunting forays through the forest, the Indian pays attention to the ground through which he passes in order to find out where he will find appropriate soil when he needs it. The following rule applies as a general norm:

242 154 sandy soil: good only for bitter manioc; inadequate for other plants.

clayey soil: good especially for bitter manioc, tubercles in general, and also for banana plantations; other plants do not grow well in this soil.
[245]

black soil: good for everything. For this reason, black soil is always sought out and preferred. This is the tobacco ground par excellence.
[249]

*241 2. Size and shape of the plot. As was already partly explained, the size of the plot depends on the quality of the soil. If /the Indian/
[242] finds the chosen soil somewhat weak, he figures out beforehand that the harvest will be less satisfactory, and makes the plot somewhat larger. From the practice he has acquired since youth, he empirically figures out the area that will be needed. To do this he does not use measurements, as our peasants do ("braças," "varas," and such).
[804] I attempted in various ways to find out how the Mundurukú figures out the size of the plot he is about to prepare. The answers were always the same: "... just by looking, you already know ..." /8/ or "... just by looking...." If the family has grown through the years,

/8 cont./

*241 or if other relatives have come to live in the house, then the plot is
[804] made larger. The calculation is thus basically intuitive, even though it is based on practical experience gathered through generations.

*241 Nowadays, the Indian usually plants a little more than he needs
177 for his own use, to obtain a surplus (along with the surplus of rubber
[437] he has gathered) and improve his lot by using it in the purchase of clothes, nets, machetes, etc. The garden, therefore, helps him to maintain his economic balance at his present stage of acculturation.

[242] Another factor which also depends in part on the terrain is the shape of the plot. Here, however, other elements are already in evidence, especially the influence of neo-Brazilian acculturation. Whenever possible, the Mundurukú prefer the traditional shape, which is rounded or elliptic-oval. Thus did the ancestors make their plots, and thus they are made to this day in the villages of the interior. Still in 1957, this garden shape could easily be distinguished when flying over the villages of the Kabitutu and Pararokti. But this is no longer an iron rule. "It depends on the terrain," they told me. But I believe that the influence of the peasants is stronger than that of the terrain. Thus we find gardens of various shapes, elongated, rectangular, and even square. The latter predominate especially in
[361] the Cururú and Tapajós region, and thus in areas where the Mundurukú no longer live in village communities but in isolated dwellings. The
[182] dismembering of the community and the emancipation of the Mundurukú family from the village system are reflected here as they are in many other aspects of the culture.

*241 3. Clearing—tyut tatabm. To clear is to cut down the undergrowth with the machete, removing from the site of the future garden shrubs, young trees, and brush. This is done to prepare for the next task, which is the felling of the trees. In this way, the woodcutters have greater freedom of action. After the trees are felled, it would be impossible to clear the ground of undergrowth. As a rule, the clearing is done in three days' work, and some time is allowed to elapse for the brushwood to dry.

/18 cont./

241 10. Replanting—yabi kudn or warabm yup maum. Once the garden has been torn up, that is, when the harvest is completed, the plot is abandoned and lies fallow. When the soil is very good, a replanting is attempted. The ground is again weeded and cleaned, and if the need exists, the refuse of the field—branches or small shrubs—are burned. The new planting is done. This replanting process is also used in urgent cases, when the Indian is unable because of illness or some other circumstance to prepare a new plot. When a replanting is done with the sole purpose of taking advantage of the soil, a new plot is almost invariably cleared, although it is small and sometimes adjacent, merely enlarging the old one. The [244] Indian knows perfectly well that the yield of a replanting is much smaller than that of a new garden. Because of this, he must supply the portion which the replanted ground will fail to produce. Fre- [245] quently, the fallow or newly torn-up field is used merely to plant banana trees, if the soil is appropriate.

Nowadays, gardens are indispensable to the Mundurukú's existence. He is still a hunter, a fisherman, and a gatherer of wild fruit. But without the gardens, he could not survive. He himself would regard as absurd the thought of subsisting merely on hunting and gathering. He knows how to utilize his gardens and the plants he cultivates, extracting from them a series of by-products which contribute to his subsistence. (10)

241
171

10. It is rather interesting to compare the native agricultural methods with those of the peasants on the lower Amazon. Wagley, in his study of "Uma comunidade amazônica /An Amazonian Community/" (1957: 100 pp.), describes, in more general terms, the same procedure of garden clearing, planting, and cultivation, in short, of horticulture, among

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early commerce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.[26] The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The regatões served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

> They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of mandioca and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaca—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.[27]

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs. The regatão gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

[26] Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 243–244.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently coöp-
476 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of
● 244 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro-
252 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are
462 concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals
422 or extended families.
574 That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production
476

/3 cont./

*241 etwas Baumwolle und viel Mandioca-Wurzel, deren Mehl, in Koerbe und breite Blaetter von Palmen ... verpackt, sie an die Schiffer im Tapajôz zu verhandeln pflegen, seitdem sie in friedlichen Verkehr getreten sind...."

114 174 (I should like to insert here the following question: Did Martius have knowledge of traditions regarding a preagricultural era of the Mundurukú? It would seem so, for he writes in the above-quoted passage: "... the somewhat dense population can no longer depend exclusively on hunting and fishing"; this might indicate knowledge of a previous stage of the Mundurukú as hunters and gatherers but not as agriculturalists.)

*241 Still more or less in the same period, we have the testimony of Bates who speaks of the Mundurukú as agriculturalists and good workmen in various parts of his book, though he does so rather offhandedly; he notes the fertility of the land and the relatively small effort required of the Indian to bring forth the necessities /4/ of life; he tells of the large gardens of the Mundurukú which he saw on the Cupari River and of how the women make flour; he says that the [439] Mundurukú carry out a certain amount of flour trading with the traders [244] of the Tapajós, and finally he states that aside from bitter-manioc [249] roots they raise sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane. (5)

5. Bates, 1944, passim.

114 There are practically no twentieth-century sources on the Mundurukú. The Franciscan mission has not yet published its materials on these Indians, and the work of Robert Murphy, who also studied this tribe in 1952-53, aside from a few articles, has not reached us. Thus, our knowledge is based almost exclusively on the meager data of the above-mentioned authors. Only Gonçalves

/11 cont./

*241 462 [912] The man digs or opens a hole in the ground (ikudn). He does this with a "digging stick," which consists of a strong rod, about 2 meters long, pointed at the lower end. The man pushes this rod hard into the ground, at an angle of 30 to 45 degrees, and then straightens it to a vertical position. This opens a small pit into which the woman who accompanies him puts two or at most three shoots of bitter manioc (8) (masok taisabm or masok ip maum). Removing the tip

[137] [244]

8. Maniva /bitter manioc/ is the name of the plant and the generic name of this vegetable (Manihot utilissima), while the roots, in the form of large tubercles, are called " mandioca." The bitter-manioc stalks, after the harvest, are saved for the next planting, when they are cut into pieces of 20 centimeters at most. These pieces, or " manioc shoots," are planted in the manner indicated above, for manioc does not propagate itself through seeds.

of the stick from the pit, she steps on /the pit/ to close it up and to pack the soil, but in such a way that the upper ends of the manioc shoots stick out in order to grow branches and leaves. Under the influence of civilization, nowadays the Mundurukú are already using spades and even iron digging tools. The distance between the manioc pits is approximately 1 meter on the average. [177]

*241 There is no doubt that the Mundurukú carry out their horticultural work within a certain system, not only as regards the steps involved in clearing the plot but also in the planting itself. There is a sequence to the planting steps. In the time that elapses between the final burning and the planting, as a rule they sow watermelon, which thrives amazingly in the recently burned ground. Only then

/17 cont./

*241 177 which they were already cultivating, the introduction of new plants /must have been/ all the more /uneven/. Here, the process may have been even slower.

262 137 177 797 Of even more recent acquisition, especially through the influence of the Franciscan mission founded in 1911 on the Cururu River, are products such as rice, beans, and various other plants which are cultivated chiefly by the religious sisters, but which have been adopted by the Indians on a very modest scale. During the last decades, the following fruit trees have reached them: the mango tree, the orange tree, the lemon tree, the coffee shrub, and a certain type of cacao tree. They were already familiar with other products such as maize, pumpkins, etc., but cultivated them on a very small scale.

*241 8. Weeding or cleaning. We have described the planting. A few facts remain to be given concerning the garden tasks after planting. It is obvious that, once the planting itself has been done, the plot still requires a certain amount of care. Not right away, but after several weeks or months. /sic/ This is the weeding. Between the planting and the harvest, two weedings of the garden are usually carried out, the entire plot being cleaned. They speak of the first and second cleaning, or of the first and second weeding. This is done almost exclusively with the machete. There is no specific time set aside for this, because it depends to a large extent on the weather (rains) and on the need. The first weeding is called tip ogn, the second karit ogn.

●244 9. The harvest. The Indians generally use the regional term, "tearing up the plot," or "pulling up the bitter-manioc roots"—masok ta ogn. Within a year, the garden has matured and may be torn up. The manioc roots are pulled up by hand. The entire plot is not harvested at one time, but according to need. In order to pull up the manioc roots, a certain amount of strength and ability is required. Often, when the tubercles hold firm to overly hard ground, [412] the Indian digs with the machete around the roots in order to loosen the soil and pull out the manioc root /18/ with greater ease. This same technique of using the machete as an auxiliary tool in the extraction of manioc roots is also used in gathering other tubercles, such as yams, sweet potatoes, etc.

/7 cont./

242 this estimate. Through repeated tests he finds out the type of the soil and draws the necessary conclusions. As a rule, he proceeds as follows: with the machete, he digs a hole and examines the soil.
[823] By crumbling it between his fingers, he finds out its quality by touch. He distinguishes three types: sandy, clayey, and black, allowing for certain variants and intermediary types, according to the composition and percentage of clay or sand. He makes these soil tests at various depths and in various places when he suspects that only a thin layer is involved, or to find out how far /the layer/ extends. The type of garden also depends on the type of the soil; in other terms: depending on what he wishes to plant, he has to choose a /specific/ type of soil. For this reason, in his hunting forays through the forest, the Indian pays attention to the ground through which he passes in order to find out where he will find appropriate soil when he needs it. The following rule applies as a general norm:

242 134 sandy soil: good only for bitter manioc; inadequate for other plants.

clayey soil: good especially for bitter manioc, tubercles in general, and also for banana plantations; other plants do not grow well in this soil. [245]

black soil: good for everything. For this reason, black soil is always sought out and preferred. This is the tobacco ground par excellence. [249]

*241 2. Size and shape of the plot. As was already partly explained, the size of the plot depends on the quality of the soil. If /the Indian/ [242] finds the chosen soil somewhat weak, he figures out beforehand that the harvest will be less satisfactory, and makes the plot somewhat larger. From the practice he has acquired since youth, he empirically figures out the area that will be needed. To do this he does not use measurements, as our peasants do ("braças," "varas," and such).
[804] I attempted in various ways to find out how the Mundurukú figures out the size of the plot he is about to prepare. The answers were always the same: "... just by looking, you already know ..." /8/ or "... just by looking...." If the family has grown through the years,

*241 /11 cont./
does the turn of the tubercles come. In general outline, the planting sequence (although it is not always strictly observed) is as follows:

a) Optional cultivation of watermelon (and pumpkins as well?)
b) Planting or set cultivation of:
   1. bitter manioc
   2. yams
   3. sugar cane
   4. pineapple

/12/ /Figure 1 appears here./

   5. timbo vine
   6. rice
   7. maize
   8. beans, pumpkins, etc.

Other plants such as sweet manioc, caladium, pepper, etc., are fitted into the corners of the plot, or on the sides, depending on the possibilities and circumstances. Anyhow, it should be noted that tubercles, especially bitter-manioc roots and yams, are in the center of the garden, while other cultivated plants which are not tubercles are placed around it. Yams and manioc roots are planted in alternate spots, checkerboard fashion. Sweet manioc, sweet /13/ /Figure 2 appears here/ potatoes, and caladium, on the other hand, are planted together and are not ordinarily mixed with other cultivated plants. Tomé, one of my informants, drew me the sketch outline of a garden. The numbers on it refer to those mentioned above in the planting sequence.

In connection with this agricultural system, it is also well to mention cultivated plants in general. A distinction must be made between plants which are cultivated in the garden proper, and other
• [245] plants, especially fruit-bearing ones, /which are cultivated/ outside it, in fallow plots, around the houses, at canoe landings, or at other much frequented or easily accessible spots. The first category includes /14/ agricultural plants proper; the second involves some incipient fruit growing, even though on a very rudimentary level. It should also be mentioned that for nearly all the plants they cultivate, the Mundurukú are familiar with several varieties which they differentiate easily. A list of these varieties, with respective native and scientific names, is given in the last part of this work.

/18 cont./

241 10. Replanting—yabi kudn or warabm yup maum. Once the garden has been torn up, that is, when the harvest is completed, the plot is abandoned and lies fallow. When the soil is very good, a replanting is attempted. The ground is again weeded and cleaned, and if the need exists, the refuse of the field—branches or small shrubs—are burned. The new planting is done. This replanting process is also used in urgent cases, when the Indian is unable because of illness or some other circumstance to prepare a new plot. When a replanting is done with the sole purpose of taking advantage of the soil, a new plot is almost invariably cleared, although it is small and sometimes adjacent, merely enlarging the old one. The [242] Indian knows perfectly well that the yield of a replanting is much smaller than that of a new garden. Because of this, he must supply the portion which the replanted ground will fail to produce. Fre- [245] quently, the fallow or newly torn-up field is used merely to plant banana trees, if the soil is appropriate.

Nowadays, gardens are indispensable to the Mundurukú's existence. He is still a hunter, a fisherman, and a gatherer of wild fruit. But without the gardens, he could not survive. He himself would regard as absurd the thought of subsisting merely on hunting and gathering. He knows how to utilize his gardens and the plants he cultivates, extracting from them a series of by-products which contribute to his subsistence. (10)

241
171

10. It is rather interesting to compare the native agricultural methods with those of the peasants on the lower Amazon. Wagley, in his study of "Uma comunidade amazônica /An Amazonian Community/" (1957: 100 pp.), describes, in more general terms, the same procedure of garden clearing, planting, and cultivation, in short, of horticulture, among

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ekçã is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.

513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ekçã above his hammock -- bows, arrows, warclub, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

462 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
248 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the ekçã, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the ekçã stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemos these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the ekçã], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
[562] never set foot in the ekçã. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

In the sphere of material
culture, the planting and use of cotton were introduced 171
after their contact with the whites, and their only water- [248]
craft were bark canoes of the type the German ethnologist [501]
Karl von den Steinen saw in the upper Xingú.[4] The moiety-
phratry-clan system of Mundurucú social organization is [61]
considerably more complex than most Tupian societies,
and the system of kinship nomenclature is correspond-
ingly divergent. Mundurucú religion follows the broad [171]
outlines of supernatural beliefs and rites of the area, but
there are significant differences in mythology.

These are only a few points of dissimilarity between the Mundurucú and the other Tupian tribes of the coast and lower Amazon region, but when considered with the linguistic data, they are sufficient to suggest a considerable period of independent development. There are also fundamental points of similarity: subsistence techniques are much akin to those found throughout the tropical-forest region of South America, and the Mundurucú are a village-dwelling people. And in common with other tribes of the area, class stratification is absent, political controls are simple, and the fundamental organization of the society is established along lines of kinship.

Certain characteristics lead me to suspect that the Mun- 174
durucú may have originally dwelled south of their present habitat. Their lack of cotton and the dug-out canoe and the absence of cannibalism and alcoholic beverages suggest that they may have come from the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Also, although they were and are industrious horticulturalists, their supernatural beliefs and ceremonies are only marginally concerned with cultivation; their major emphasis in ritual is on hunting. One other factor suggests a more southerly origin. The traditional Mundurucú villages were situated in the northernmost savannah coun-

[4] Steinen, 1894, pp. 222–223.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tato (*Ipomoea batatas*), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, 241
and pepper. At some time after the advent of the whites in 262
the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, po- [177]
tato, and sugar cane were introduced. Cotton, although
native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the [248]
Mundurucú until the nineteenth century. Similarly, although the potato is native in western South America it was not found aboriginally in the eastern part of the continent.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village is more 134
than adequate, but not unlimited. Amazonian forest soil 241
is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and fri- 311
able and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks formerly used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. There is some variation in soil quality, however, even in this rather uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Mundurucú territory because it is periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass-covered savannah. The tillable forest land is classified by the Mun- [823]
durucú into the categories of black, red, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only kind in which they raise squash, melon, beans, and rice. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings. 241
On the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter 311
manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant

/2 cont./

*241 resettled on the Maué-assu River /Maués-Guassú?/ and in the former mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he [195] says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantita- [648] tive development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens [161] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de- [248] pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton [251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and [439] large palm leaves ..., they have been selling to the boatmen of the Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen

/31/

*241
192
[248]

2) Referring to cultivated plants.

cotton (Gossypium)	buru
" large variety /long staple?/	buru chichi
" small variety /short staple?/	buru anan
pineapple (Ananas sativus)	ipara
" large, sour variety	ipara chichi
" field variety	ipara dyõ dyõ
" thornless, sweet variety	ipara biraprap
" small variety	ipara anan
" small, yellow variety	ipara rem
rice (Oryza)	arũira
banana (Musa sapientum)	aku
" São Tomé variety	aku rabã chichi; (aku robõ)
" caiena or caiana variety	aku ãnya
" inajá variety	aku an an pa
" purple variety	aku pakpak
" white variety	aku ritrit
banana white variety	aku rorot; aku rign rign
" "water" or chorona variety	aku ipapan; aku chik pa
" (Musa paradisiaca);	
pacova variety	aku chichi
" large pacova variety	aku ok pirut chichi
" " " "	aku ok pirut an
" " " "	aku hr ba beredn pa
sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas)	wechik
potato yellow variety	wechik pakpak
sweet potato purplish variety	wechik tuitui
" " white "	wechik ririt
" " (spotted inside)	wechik pirã pararak
cacao (Theobroma cacao)	wadye
" domesticated, planted	wadye
" wild (sometimes planted)	wadye buruburu—pa
/32/ " " "	wadye akarap pa
coffee (Coffea)	kape (ip)

226 [278] The second and equally important method was by poisoning the waters of lakes and medium sized streams with timbó (Paullinea pinnata), a fish poison used throughout the Amazon. The timbó paralyzes the gills of the fish, thus suffocating it. The fish remains edible as timbó does not poison the fish internally. The poison is contained in the long roots of a plant which grows wild in the forest but [249] which is commonly cultivated by the Indians in their gardens.

When a timbó expedition was organized, all of the men who participated went to the gardens to pull up the roots of the plant. These were chopped into one foot pieces, wrapped in a bundle, and brought back to the village. Before dawn of the next day, or the afternoon before, if the chosen fishing site was distant, the party embarked. The best places to fish with timbó were in restricted bodies of water where the poison would have greatest density and the fish the least possibility of escape. For this reason, streams and inter-island channels of about fifty feet in width or lagoons of limited size having only one entrance were preferred. Upon arriving at the location early in the morning, the party broke up into two, three, or possibly four groups, depending on the number of people involved. Those men who were to poison the water went upstream while the rest of the men and the accompanying women and children waited for the stunned fish to swim downstream. The poisoners then placed their bundles of timbó on a rock or log in the water and began to beat them with a heavy stick, causing the white

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101 648 which, ironically, is what the townsman calls the backwoodsman. The Brazilian residents in the upper Tapajós are scattered along its banks and the lower sections of its larger tributaries as far south as 9° S lat. on the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. Beyond this point the country is inhabited by the Nambikuára, Tapayuna, and Tupí-Cawahíb Indians, who are all hostile to the whites and effectively prevent further penetration. The Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó Indians, who live to the east of the Mundurucú, have raided the upper Tapajós in recent years, and at the time of our visit fear had induced all inhabitants of the east bank of the river between the Tropas and Jamaxím rivers to move to safer areas.

511 249 The local Brazilians have an enormous fear of hostile Indians. This is especially true of recent immigrants to the Amazon, and it is reinforced by a general feeling of insecurity in the jungle environment. The natives of the States of Ceará and Piauí who have been attracted to the area through aspirations of wealth in rubber, are frequently heard to remark that "life here is a sacrifice"; or "it is better to starve in town where there is movement and people than in this desolation." Inhabitants born in the area are, of course, accustomed to it, but they recognize their own poverty and the despair of their condition. Life in the jungle is difficult; the people are poor and often hungry and deprived of the barest necessities of life. Rubber, the basic export of the area, once offered rich returns to collectors, and especially to traders, but the latex of [439] the wild *Hevea* is now submarginal on the world market; the population engaged in its extraction has correspondingly experienced a forty-year period of depression.

648 The governments of Brazil and of the State of Pará are remote from the region. On rare occasions, one or two policemen from the town of Itaituba, the seat of the mu-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 182 648 [161] 1869, 100; 1895, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost." [19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirím and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses [797] with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians [191] spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life." [22] [249] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco [314] and the collection of *guaraná*, sarsaparilla, and *copaiba* oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[20] Agassiz, 1869, p. 308.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 424.

/3 cont./

*241 etwas Baumwolle und viel Mandioca-Wurzel, deren Mehl, in Koerbe und breite Blaetter von Palmen ... verpackt, sie an die Schiffer im Tapajóz zu verhandeln pflegen, seitdem sie in friedlichen Verkehr getreten sind...."

114 174 (I should like to insert here the following question: Did Martius have knowledge of traditions regarding a preagricultural era of the Mundurukú? It would seem so, for he writes in the above-quoted passage: "... the somewhat dense population can no longer depend exclusively on hunting and fishing"; this might indicate knowledge of a previous stage of the Mundurukú as hunters and gatherers but not as agriculturalists.)

*241 Still more or less in the same period, we have the testimony of Bates who speaks of the Mundurukú as agriculturalists and good workmen in various parts of his book, though he does so rather offhandedly; he notes the fertility of the land and the relatively small effort required of the Indian to bring forth the necessities /4/ of life; he tells of the large gardens of the Mundurukú which he saw on the Cuparí River and of how the women make flour; he says that the [439] Mundurukú carry out a certain amount of flour trading with the traders [244] of the Tapajós, and finally he states that aside from bitter-manioc [249] roots they raise sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane. (5)

5. Bates, 1944, passim.

114 There are practically no twentieth-century sources on the Mundurukú. The Franciscan mission has not yet published its materials on these Indians, and the work of Robert Murphy, who also studied this tribe in 1952-53, aside from a few articles, has not reached us. Thus, our knowledge is based almost exclusively on the meager data of the above-mentioned authors. Only Gonçalves

/7 cont./

242 this estimate. Through repeated tests he finds out the type of the soil and draws the necessary conclusions. As a rule, he proceeds as follows: with the machete, he digs a hole and examines the soil.
[823] By crumbling it between his fingers, he finds out its quality by touch. He distinguishes three types: sandy, clayey, and black, allowing for certain variants and intermediary types, according to the composition and percentage of clay or sand. He makes these soil tests at various depths and in various places when he suspects that only a thin layer is involved, or to find out how far /the layer/ extends. The type of garden also depends on the type of the soil; in other terms: depending on what he wishes to plant, he has to choose a /specific/ type of soil. For this reason, in his hunting forays through the forest, the Indian pays attention to the ground through which he passes in order to find out where he will find appropriate soil when he needs it. The following rule applies as a general norm:

242 134

sandy soil:	good only for bitter manioc; inadequate for other plants.
clayey soil:	good especially for bitter manioc, tubercles in general, and also for banana plantations; other plants do not grow well in this soil. [845]
black soil:	good for everything. For this reason, black soil is always sought out and preferred. This is the tobacco ground par excellence. [849]

*241 2. Size and shape of the plot. As was already partly explained,
[242] the size of the plot depends on the quality of the soil. If /the Indian/ finds the chosen soil somewhat weak, he figures out beforehand that the harvest will be less satisfactory, and makes the plot somewhat larger. From the practice he has acquired since youth, he empirically figures out the area that will be needed. To do this he does not use measurements, as our peasants do ("braças," "varas," and such).
[804] I attempted in various ways to find out how the Mundurukú figures out the size of the plot he is about to prepare. The answers were always the same: "... just by looking, you already know ..." /8/ or "... just by looking...." If the family has grown through the years,

/15 cont./

*241 Also:

192 pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties

262 banana—aku, 11 varieties

cotton—buru, two varieties

urucú—tyuku, tyuku a

papaya—asãu a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Mundurukú also have a certain number of vegetables which back-

[302] woodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor.

[757] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet

[789] are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 From this list, it becomes clear that the Mundurukú must have

177 had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Mundurukú are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (9)

[171] 9. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation

Fruits of the Fields

222
824 jaboticaba
137 mangaba
field caju
axiua
muruci
marmelada
field araticu
pineapple

jubã
unhua
hacerácaraũ
eten-ã
quenhen-â
hera-â
bocubocu baru
iparâ

252 Daũ is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared
137 with Pará chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Pará yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectoliters.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

252 To prepare daũ, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daũ keeps for a long time.

262 They also make another kind of daũ from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assai; patauá; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

[272] In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uteima.

[273] They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

261 They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daũ, etc.

251 They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

226 These communal fishing trips were usually undertaken by the people of one village but occasionally involved hundreds of people from several communities. The efficacy of this system of fishing can be attested to by the writer who took part in one such expedition in which over one hundred people from four different villages participated and approximately three tons of fish were killed. The fish were pre-
[251] served by smoking, salting, and sun drying and remained edible for a period of one week to ten days. Modern timbó fishing
222 is done in the same manner as in aboriginal times. This is also true of the gathering of wild fruit, nuts, and berries.

Gathering of wild vegetable products

Gathering is and was the least important subsistence activity and food source among the Mundurucú and was often done incidentally to hunting, fishing, or trips to the gardens. Among the main articles gathered were several species of palm fruit, Brazil nut, the fruit of the cajú tree (Anacardium corymbosum), wild cocoa, mangaba, and several varieties of berries.

Those wild vegetable foods found only at long distances from the village were always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they had been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees were near the village, one man or an older boy usually went out with a party of women, the boy to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it home. Climbing was done with climbing ring, a

timbó parties the water is poisoned by two or three separate groups at points about 1,000 feet apart along the stream. As soon as the fish begin fleeing downstream from the group farthest upstream, a sentinel stationed a short distance downstream gives several loud shouts to the next group, signaling them to start beating the drug into the water. The fish thus have little opportunity to escape to pure water. To prevent any from making their escape, a dam made of branches set into the stream bottom is sometimes placed about a mile or two downstream from the fishing location. A space is left open until the morning of the fishing to allow fish to swim upstream during the night. This system is particularly effective to catch the *matrinchão* (*Brycon brevicaudatus* Gunther), which ascends the smaller streams every night to sleep and then returns downstream with the coming of day. 226

These communal fishing trips are undertaken by as many persons as can conveniently gather together; lack of canoes and the long distances between rubber-avenue dwellings limit the size of these gatherings among the contemporary campineiros. The efficacy of this system of fishing is remarkable. My wife and I took part in one such venture on the Cururú River in which more than one hundred people from four different villages participated, and approximately two tons of fish were killed. The surplus yield is preserved by smoking, salting, and sun drying, but due to the crudity of the process it remains edible for a period of only one week to ten days. [123] [251]

GATHERING OF WILD VEGETABLE PRODUCTS

Gathering of wild vegetables and fruits is and was the least important subsistence activity and food source in Mundurucú economic life; it is often done incidentally to hunting, fishing, or trips to the gardens. Among the main 222

/2 cont./

*241 resettled on the Maué-assu River /Maués-Guassú ?/ and in the former
[175] mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantita-
[648] tive development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens
[161] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de-
[248] pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton
[251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and
[439] large palm leaves ..., they have been selling to the boatmen of the Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen

461 Whenever I had the opportunity to enter one of those
252 houses, I always found the women working; some wove hammocks, some made flour, others smoked meat, some cooked, some prepared banana mush, etc.

262 They never failed to offer me something to eat: now
574 cooked sweet potatoes, now banana mush. [104]

[386] A cheerful and merry Indian woman, her face all painted up with urucu dye in addition to the usual designs, offered me a tremendous caterpillar which she held on her finger. It was a repulsive thing which contracted and stretched convulsively; and the woman insisted upon transferring it to my own hand, telling me that it was something to eat: "Cobi-cobi."

XIV

Symbolic characters drawn on the cliff of Cantagalo, on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and on the hills of Areu-crê between Acupari and Necodemos.

172 On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the place known
532 as Cantagalo, fifteen figures are to be seen, drawn on the face of a cliff which is about one hundred meters high and which was carved perpendicularly by the stream.

These figures have been there for ages untold. the oldest frontiersmen who explored the Upper Tapajoz, and the oldest Mundurucu, found them just as they are but do not understand their meaning.

They are dark red, like ocher, and stand about eight meters above the highest level of the water at the time of its maximum winter swelling.

At the present time it would be impossible for a man to draw them at this height, even with the help of scaffolding, for the current is fierce where the river curves in at the base of the cliff, expecially at the time of year when the water level reaches its maximum height.

Fruits of the Fields

222
824 jaboticaba — jubã
137 mangaba — unhua
field caju — hacerácaraũ
axiua — eten-ã
muruci — quenhen-â
marmelada — hera-â
field araticu — bocubocu baru
pineapple — iparâ

252 Daũ is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared
137 with Pará chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Pará yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectoliters.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

252 To prepare daũ, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daũ keeps for a long time.

262 They also make another kind of daũ from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assai; patauá; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

[272] In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uteima.

[273] They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

261 They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daũ, etc.

251 They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
224 Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

● 252 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made
[272] from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water.
[273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

[276] They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

342 The dwelling house (ekqa, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a
[562] long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

241/476 garden invited all the other men of the village to help him. He supplied the food, usually palm fruit and sweet manioc beverages, consumed while actually doing the work. The work was done under the general supervision of the man whose garden was being cleared. However, his directing activities consisted of little more than deciding the location and extent of the garden. The burning and final clearing of the garden were done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. He and his wife planted all of the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc was done for each garden by all of the people in the village as this was a more extensive operation and was well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dug the holes for the planting of the manioc stalks while the women gathered and cut the stalks and dropped the sections into the holes.

241/462 Other crops were harvested as they ripened, but manioc, which can be left in the ground for a year, was harvested as needed. Almost all vegetables were gathered in from the gardens by the wife of the owner of the garden assisted by one or two women of her household, but the manioc was brought in by all the women of the household. The tubers were dug up from any one of the gardens belonging to the members of the household, processed by all the women of the house jointly and shared by all the members of the extended 252 family dwelling within it. Each house had one large flat stone that was used as a griddle to bake the flat cakes of manioc flour, or beijú, as it is called in the lingua geral.

252 Processing of manioc is a lengthy procedure and involves many stages. The women worked well together under the loose supervision of the oldest woman in the household-extended family. Cooperative labor allowed different women to be working in all stages of the process at the same time, thus expediting greatly the work in this, the most important female duty. In addition to the greater efficiency obtained, an onerous task was made pleasant, as the making of beijú was an occasion for chatter, joking, and gossip. The principal techniques of slash and burn agriculture are still used by the modern Mundurucu, but the above division of labor has been altered.

[476]

Distribution of food and manufactures.

264-476 As has been indicated, the distribution of foodstuffs within the Mundurucú village was very fluid. Beijú was produced and shared jointly by the members of the extended family and was further distributed to other houses according to kinship ties. There was only one cooking fire within each house, and fish and game were shared by all the members of the resident extended family. If there was an ample supply, the food was divided equally among the houses of the village regardless of kinship. However, when the day's kill was very small, a bird, a few fish, or a small animal, the nuclear family of the hunter ate the food themselves. This was exceptional.

Collectivity in food sharing is further highlighted by the fact that all the men of the village ate together in

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the same as in his native community, and he also did not come under the direct 476
supervision of his father-in-law. Any difficulties that might arise due to lack of 621
familiarity with his new territory were mitigated by the fact that nearly all of his activities outside the village were carried out in the company of men who had been in residence for a longer period of time.

Whereas the men's house was the locus of male activity, the life of the female 592
revolved around the dwelling. The result of matrilocal residence was that each 621
dwelling housed an extended family of related females, a rather unusual arrangement in a strongly patrilineal society. This can hardly be called a matrilineage for lineal descent among the Mundurucú was reckoned in the father's line, whereas the members of the household were related through their mothers. In terms of lineal institutions, each generation of females was of the opposite moiety from the women of the generation preceding and following it. The husbands of the women also belonged to the moiety opposite to that of their wives. They could come from any clan within the moiety, with the result that the men of any one household represented a number of clans. Under this system, there was no residential basis even for lineages, and the clans were scattered throughout the Mundurucú villages. Local nuclei, such as are found in most patrilineal clan systems, could consist of no more than a man, his daughters and his unmarried sons, except in the case of the chief's family as described further in this paper.

The internal order of the household is indicative of its organization. Each 592
woman hung her hammock in close proximity to her children and her closest female relatives. The personal possessions of the women were stored near their own hammocks. There was, however, but one food larder and one fireplace. Garden produce, regardless of its origin, was shared by the extended family, and although the husband formally presented his kill of game to his wife, it was butchered, cooked and eaten by the women of the household, and a portion was sent to the men's house and the other dwellings. Only in the case of very small game such as the *cutia* and the parrot was the food cooked and eaten by the nuclear family. Otherwise, the nuclear family had no household economy whatsoever.

It has already been stated that gardens were considered to be owned by 476
individual men but that the labor performed on them was predominantly col- 252
lective. Except for manioc planting, the unit of female collective labor was the household. This pattern extended to the hard and time-consuming work of manioc processing, in which a true division of tasks was practiced. The manioc had to be dug out of the ground, carried back to the village, grated, the prussic acid extracted and, finally, toasted into the flat cakes known throughout the Amazon as *beijú* or made into manioc flour for the trader. Since all of these steps in the process could be done concurrently, the oldest woman of the household delegated certain tasks to the others. While some women were tending the fire and taking the completed product from the griddle, others were loading, unloading, and operating the *tipití*, or manioc press. The latter women, in turn, were given a constant supply of unsqueezed manioc pulp by the

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be
252 occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

476 Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of
423 shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either
592 possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women
[551] went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

522 There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *anyokokukat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mun-
[578] durucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 593

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [586] [462]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by warm and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224 226]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipití, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [439]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [622]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce: 439

"They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of mandioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 476 462 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. His wife and the other women of the house plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid 252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beijú*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of farinha (flour).

Beijú manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from [462] the gardens in burden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal farinha "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the manioc with steel knives, using quick chopping motions, and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The [412] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *paxiuba* palm, halved and placed side by side to form a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against [177] the sides of five-gallon gasoline cans which have been cut out and punctated with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipití*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger squeezer. The tipití is suspended at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

one end from a roof beam of the farinha shed, and a long lever is passed through a loop at its lower end. One or two women sit on the end of the lever, stretching and compressing the tipití, and much of the prussic-acid-bearing liquid is squeezed from the grated manioc. After being taken from the tipití, the semi-dry mass is then passed through a basketry sieve in order to extract coarse lumps and fibers. The resultant damp flour is fashioned into thin cakes and baked on a copper griddle placed over a clay-walled furnace. Since prussic acid is highly volatile, the cooking process completes the extraction of the poison. 252

Farinha manufacture follows the same principles and many of the procedures of that of beijú. A type known as *farinha seca*, or dry manioc flour, is made by the same process as that followed in beijú, except that the grated and sifted mass is not made into cakes, but is spread out on the copper griddle and stirred with a paddle. The result is a toasted flour. When making farinha seca, the women often soak the grated manioc in basins of water and then squeeze it with their hands and drain it before placing it in the tipití. This water, to which the liquid extracted by the tipití is added, is allowed to stand for a day. The starch leached from the manioc settles to the bottom, and the water is then poured away. This starch is toasted on the griddle to make tapioca.

Because they conserve the starch, the most nutritious component of the tuber, farinha seca and beijú are the best manioc foods available. But expediency causes the starch-wasting process by which *farinha d'agua* (manioc flour from water) is made to be the one most commonly used today. In this procedure, the manioc is brought directly from the garden to a small stream, where it is placed in the water and allowed to soak until soft and pulpy. This generally takes three days in warm water and five days

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

252 in cool streams. The tubers are then split open and the pulp is scooped out into baskets and brought back to the village. Much of the starch washes away during the soaking process, but the necessity of grating is eliminated. The pulpy mass is placed directly into the tipití, squeezed, and then sifted and toasted.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an over-all picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with all tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor is by sex. There are no specialized [463] occupations among the women, and the only ones among the men—shamanism and chieftaincy—are hereditary, done without reimbursement and without releasing the individual from production. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú is especially deep. The men hunt, fish, and do only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also make baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women do all the other gardening work, process manioc, cook, tend children, fetch water and firewood, weave hammocks, and make [177] pottery. The two latter arts, especially pottery making, are now being displaced by manufactured articles.

Among persons of the same sex, and only occasionally 462 between the sexes, coöperation is the keynote of the 476 Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which are almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts are made in groups. This does not discount the individual pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trail-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently coöp-
476 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of
244 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro-
252 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are
462 concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals
422 or extended families.
574
476 That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large seal expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipití for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly 252
items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are consid- 422
ered to be the property of the chief, since they were pur- 415
chased through his and his extended family's labor. The [622]
large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cu- 623
rurú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. 182
Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position pri- 622
marily to recognition by the mission, but who is also ac- 554
corded some deference because of his age and his status [797]
as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão [476]
Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

/16 cont./

*241 177 [171]

of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Mundurukú.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the [361] Mundurukú, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Through this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Mundurukú and were, for the most part, adopted [797] by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquistions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grass-
262 177 lands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour exemplifies this process. In the old days, the Mundurukú were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not [252] know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which sometimes they even roasted on stone (slabs)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Mundurukú of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Mundurukú of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial pur- [439] poses. Martius, Bates, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Mundurukú of the Tapajós carried on with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems 241 177 obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the mere usage of a plant

344 562 ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the man's life was the men's house and that of the women the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Mundurucú culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their new village.

342 [591] 254 The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the griddle on which the beijú was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large babricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the 264 men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

Fruits of the Fields

222
824 jaboticaba — jubã
137 mangaba — unhua
field caju — hacerãcaraũ
axiua — eten-ã
muruci — quenhen-â
marmelada — hera-â
field araticu — bocubocu baru
pineapple — iparâ

252 Daũ is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared
137 with Pará chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Pará yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectoliters.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

252 To prepare daũ, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daũ keeps for a long time.

262 They also make another kind of daũ from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assai; patauá; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

[272] In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uteima.

[273] They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

261 They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daũ, etc.

251 They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pnyc*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracereru. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat,[1] the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceara ?], the Carawat,[1] known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nye*,[1] the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá[1] fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [41!] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single [231] pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [223] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can ● 261 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

242 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[1] [See errata sheet, Category 116, p.57 — A. — Analyst]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

vine in hot water and applying the mixture to the stomach. The other consists of 753
the trunks of very young burití palms crushed in water. Part of this mixture is 755
drunk, and the rest is applied externally to the torso of the sick person. 278

8. *Ok pipí*, or intestinal pain, is caused by the same *cauši* as *ipsa pipí*, or stom- 757
ach-ache. However, the term *ok pipí* is in reality reserved for dysentery, for it is always accompanied by severe diarrhea. The medicines used for stomach pains are considered effective in the relief of intestinal pains also, but two additional cold remedies are used as specifics for the diarrhea. The roots of a certain shrub are boiled in water, part of which is taken internally and the rest allowed to steam below the hammock. The leaves of this shrub are also applied to the abdomen as a poultice. The same use is made of the leaves of the murirú pagé, a water plant. The local Brazilians also boil the leaves of this plant and place the steaming pot below the hammock of a bewitched person. The vapors are believed to cause an evil object to fall out of the victim's body.

9. *A pipí*, or headache, is treated by mixing envira de castanheira in water and applying the solution to the head. Unripe Brazil nuts are also grated into water and similarly applied. Both remedies are considered cold. The nature of the *cauši* that causes headache was not known by the informants interviewed.

10. The tenth and last ailment is a three-stage sickness generally known by the name applied to its first stage, called *ujewaii*. In this primary phase, the afflicted man or woman becomes unhappy and listless and eats mud, soap, and other [261] inedible substances. The symtoms increase in severity in the next stage, or *yauhú*, and the victim becomes thin, yellow, and "bloodless." Finally, the patient passes into the state known as *taubokat*, at the end of which he usually dies. During the final illness, the person's soul sometimes becomes one of the dreaded wandering souls. The symptoms are descriptive of the chronic forms of a number of illnesses, such as malaria, dysentery, and jaundice. The Mundurucú attribute it to a *cauši* made of roasted earthworms rolled into a ball and spread in the air. No remedies were known.

A person can be afflicted by more than one *cauši* at a time, and the shaman often recommends a number of herbal preparations. The shaman does not himself administer these remedies, but instructs the kinsmen of the sick person in their use. They then collect the proper herbs and apply them.

The techniques used by the Mundurucú shaman are so widely distributed 756
throughout eastern South America that any attempt to trace their provenience 171
would be overly lengthy. The shaman's use of tobacco smoke and the techniques of sucking and massage are almost universal in the Amazon area. Of equally wide distribution are the use of herbs and the various methods of applying them. Infusions, external applications, and steam baths are, as Lowie indicates,[7] known among a number of tribes of the region.

One aspect of Mundurucú herbal medicine worthy of further discussion is the 278
division of remedies into hot and cold categories. This distinction is made through- 171
out most of Latin America with regard to both medicines and food. The Mun-

[7] Lowie, 1948, pp. 51–52.

604 From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, ar-
[352] rows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled
● 262 with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia venifera); he showed the
574 greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to ac-
company us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to
call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I de-
cided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this
engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out
upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village
of Absenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters
when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the
guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what locali-
ties we were to encounter.

342 The village of Absenanti was under construction; it comprised
621 but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted
of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

We found no one inside the house but the large number
[352] of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated
that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to
call the occupants of the house

[609] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mis-
trustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was
very frightened and excited

302 This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet com-
pletely painted. It merely bore the lozenges; that part which con-
sists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had
not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric
regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youth-
ful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

609 When night came they told me that a few men, women
and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding
woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home
because of our presence.

123 In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away,
604 leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Absenanti and to con-
vince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention
to harm them.

773 on the hills of Areucrê. He had Rairũ snatched away by the clouds,
172 and he himself disappeared from Necodemos, following the course of the Tapajoz; on the left bank of the river, at a height no human hand can reach, he also drew some characters on the cliff of Cantagalo.

773 And since then no one has known where he is. The Mundurucu faithfully preserve the memory of his deeds, and paint themselves, their wives and their children in exactly the same fashion as Caru-Sacaebê was painted.

VI

Appearance of the dog in Necodemos -- Legend

Among all peoples, the dog is looked upon as a faithful
[825] friend. The Mundurucu, who are hunting savages, picture the dog in their legends as descended from a maiden of their tribe and from an unknown warrior, who appeared in the maloca and disappeared again without anyone finding out who he was, whence he had come, or where he had gone. He was a deus ignotus.

The story ran as follows. After Caru-Sacaebê had disappeared, the Mundurucu of Necodemos continued [89] to hunt, searching every part of the plains and forests. One day, while they were out hunting, an unknown warrior by the name of Caru-Pitubê appeared at the maloca.

He went to the ekcã, climbed into a hammock, seized a horn from the roof, and proceeded to blow upon it in a peculiar way. A maiden of the maloca, Iracheru by name, responded to
[262] the call and offered the warrior dau [food prepared from Brazil
[574] nuts] as a sign of good hospitality.

Caru-Pitubê had arrived almost at nightfall.

There was no one else in Necodemos.

727 when they feel or fear they are being pursued. At night they
[373] guide themselves with torches made with fragments of a resinous wood which they call ouichique-taque, and which the Indians of the Lower Tapajoz know by the name of pau candeia [(Port.) "lamp wood"]. This wood, when dry, catches fire easily; it blazes brightly when carried on the run.

726 Almost invariably these expeditions last so long that the
[262] Indians run out of provisions and subsist on chestnuts rather than manioc flour and sweet potatoes. They suffer long privations; some of them return thin.

It is maintained that the Mundurucu make these forays every year and that they always bring captives.

A very old Indian woman, probably a native of the interesting Tapajoz tribe which gave the river its name and which is now extinct, told me that more than once during her youth [96] the Mundurucu had come down the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajoz, striking cruelly at the many malocas then extent, cutting enemy heads, and spreading boundless terror throughout the region.

A well-verified tradition also has it that these barbarians once reached the mouth of the Tapajoz, and besieged the fort built by the Portuguese in the Christian Tapajoz village which is now the site of the flourishing city of Santarém.

X

Facts about some native tribes whom the Mundurucu fight and who wander through the valley of the Upper Xingu and toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

648 The Mundurucu say that they still find many heathen bands
[523] in the extensive regions they roam, and that towards the east there runs a broad and mighty river, full of waterfalls, which they call Caruntunzi and the banks of which are inhabited by many pagans.

This must be the Upper Xingu, which is indeed one of the major tributaries of the Amazon and one of those which run closest to the capital of Pará. Its upper course, however, is still entirely unknown.

461 Whenever I had the opportunity to enter one of those
252 houses, I always found the women working; some wove hammocks, some made flour, others smoked meat, some cooked, some prepared banana mush, etc.

262 They never failed to offer me something to eat: now
574 cooked sweet potatoes, now banana mush. [104]

[386] A cheerful and merry Indian woman, her face all painted up with urucu dye in addition to the usual designs, offered me a tremendous caterpillar which she held on her finger. It was a repulsive thing which contracted and stretched convulsively; and the woman insisted upon transferring it to my own hand, telling me that it was something to eat: "Cobi-cobi."

XIV

Symbolic characters drawn on the cliff of Cantagalo, on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and on the hills of Areu-crê between Acupari and Necodemos.

172 On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the place known
532 as Cantagalo, fifteen figures are to be seen, drawn on the face of a cliff which is about one hundred meters high and which was carved perpendicularly by the stream.

These figures have been there for ages untold: the oldest frontiersmen who explored the Upper Tapajoz, and the oldest Mundurucu, found them just as they are but do not understand their meaning.

They are dark red, like ocher, and stand about eight meters above the highest level of the water at the time of its maximum winter swelling.

At the present time it would be impossible for a man to draw them at this height, even with the help of scaffolding, for the current is fierce where the river curves in at the base of the cliff, expecially at the time of year when the water level reaches its maximum height.

Fruits of the Fields

222
824 jaboticaba
137 mangaba
field caju
axiua
muruci
marmelada
field araticu
pineapple

jubã
unhua
hacerácaraũ
eten-ã
quenhen-â
hera-â
bocubocu baru
iparâ

252 Daũ is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared
137 with Pará chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Pará yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectoliters.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

252 To prepare daũ, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daũ keeps for a long time.

262 They also make another kind of daũ from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assai; patauá; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

[272] In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uteima.

[273] They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

261 They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daũ, etc.

251 They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

patrilineal clans, ranked loosely into unnamed phratries and divided almost equally between exogamous moieties, persisted, but the residential basis of patrilineality disappeared. Males formerly remained in the house and village of their birth, but now they were dispersed by the new marriage rule. Clans lost their lineage nucleii and correspondingly suffered a loss of function. Bride service had in a sense become permanent, and the men's house, formerly the dwelling of village bachelors and young men in bride service, became a permanent dwelling of the men. 178 174 105

That is essentially the situation in the contemporary savannah villages. But the social organization of the Cururú River settlements marks a further change from the savannah pattern. Matrilocality is still rather vaguely regarded as the ideal residence rule for all but the sons of chiefs, and the custom is followed in a significant number of cases. Actually, however, many marriages are patrilocal, and there is an increasing tendency for couples to become neolocal eventually.

Furthermore, family life and the social division of the sexes has been drastically modified on the Cururú River. The Cururú villages are the result of migrations by nuclear and extended families from near-by savannah villages and do not represent the simultaneous moves of entire villages. The men's house was never instituted on the Cururú and dwellings were characteristically small. Thus, the Cururú River houses are the residences of one to three related families, whereas those on the savannahs, even under present conditions of depopulation, have an average number of about four families each. Men reside in the same houses as do their wives and children on the Cururú River, and the nuclear family approaches being an independent social and economic unit. Under these conditions the village has little cohesion, and recurrent factionalism results in the proliferation of new and smaller villages. Among these units there are individual ties of marriage and kinship, but the mission provides almost the only context in which the residents of different villages interact in a group.[13]

Other factors have modified Mundurucú social structure and religion. The population is probably about one fourth of what it was 100 years ago;[14] this has resulted not only in greatly reduced villages and households, but it has decreased the number of shamans. Other influences have aggravated this decline. The end of warfare did much to devitalize the Mundurucú and to promote the growing disinterest in the native culture. It also eliminated a whole range of religious ceremonies that formed part of the head-hunting complex. Finally, there has been a profound shift in subsistence base among those Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers. In contrast to the savannah dwellers, who are vigorous hunters, these Indians depend primarily upon fish for protein. This has significance for the religious concepts and activities centered on the animal world and hunting. 178 [184] [262]

[13] The respective social and economic organizations of savannah and Cururú River villages are compared and analyzed with reference to the ecology of rubber collection in another work. (Murphy, 1954.)

[14] According to some sources, this decline has been even greater. Martius (1867, p. 390) estimated the Mundurucú population to be 40,000 in 1819, and Tocantins (1877, p. 101) calculated their number to be 18,910 in 1875. [161]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 of the savannahs and the new ones of the river bank became attenuated, and
224 a lack of powerful shamans in the former communities may well have developed.
796 The shorter *Dajearuparip* ceremony was practiced as recently as 1945 or thereabouts but has since lapsed in spite of a few unsuccessful efforts to resurrect it. By that time the lack of shamans must have become acute, as it is today in many sections of the Mundurucú country. Also, the early 1940's were a period of intense rubber collection, owing to the stimulus provided by World War II. During these years the Mundurucú of the savannah villages grew more accustomed to clothing and other attractions of the outside world, and involvement with Brazilian society increased. The exact effect of these influences is uncertain, but interest in ritual undoubtedly was replaced increasingly by apathy and fatalism in the face of the decay of other aspects of Mundurucú culture. Ceremonialism not only heightens social cohesion, but it reflects it. So far as the structure of Mundurucú society was undermined by other factors, so also was the basis of the ceremonial reunions.

The form of the extinct ceremonies for head-hunting and the spirit mothers of the game was described by informants. Other rites were reported by them in very fragmentary form and were attributed to a more remote past. Only a curing ceremony and the complex of ceremonial activities surrounding the sacred trumpets are still extant and were observed by me.

The Duparip Ceremony

796 One elderly Mundurucú reported a ceremony called the *Duparip*, which he said
381 had ceased to be practiced long before his birth and which had been related to
352 him as a boy by the old men. The *Duparip* was said to have been held infrequently; it was initiated during the summer, and the associated ritual activities occurred intermittently over a two-year span.

It was not possible to obtain a full account of the purpose or form of the ceremony, for the informant remembered only disconnected items. It obviously had some significance as a rite of passage, for young boys[1] were taken into the men's house and allowed to return to their proper dwellings only at the end of the two-year ceremonial period. During this time they were referred to as pet jacamís by
[302] the men, and three stripes were cut through their hair, from front to back, in imitation of the feathering of that bird. When they were finally released from the men's house, they were given sharp wooden "beaks" with which they "pecked" at the women. During their confinement they could leave the men's house only to relieve themselves. The men periodically hastened the growth of the boys by standing upon their feet and lifting them up by the armpits. The "young jacamís"
[262] could eat only a certain type of deer, the meat of which was carefully examined for traces of skin, which was believed to make the boys ill.

Other passages of the *Duparip* included the previously mentioned rite in which three powerful shamans transformed people into animals.[2] Flutes were played by

[1] My informant reported that boys are recruited for this ceremony at the age of three; I think this most doubtful and believe that five years is a more reasonable age.

[2] See p. 42.

it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajeboiši* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Mundurucú villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajeboiši*. Come, drink *werú* and *möri*. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Mundurucú style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting. 796 727 [202]

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Muchacha*[4] society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajeboiši* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the *pem*, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other moiety. The captor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (i.e., during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Darekši* society returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Darekši* enter the village would be killed during the next war. [534] [301]

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajeboiši*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with beijú (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and beijú and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten. [262] [272]

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vultures had to eat apart from the other *Darekši*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he died. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the yellowing sickness, or *ujewaií*. To prevent this a shaman examined the [834]

[4] The identity of this term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

224 hunting and look upon it as one of the acmes of masculine activity, it is extremely exhausting and time-consuming work. The hunters leave their villages shortly after dawn and travel long miles through the forests and across sun-baked savannah before raising the tracks or scent of game. There then follows an arduous pursuit that sometimes lasts for hours. And the successful hunter often ends his day by [482] carrying a one hundred-pound wild pig on his back for three hours on the homeward trail to the village. Occasionally, he makes his kill late in the day and far from home and has to spend the night in the forest. The men hunt nearly every fair day except for those happy occasions when good luck brings a great quantity of game to the village. All activity then stops and the people sit around eating the meat, which would otherwise spoil after about three days. The pressure of maintaining a meat supply is great when one considers that a village of eighty people can eat one tapir or two wild pigs in twenty-four hours. The men are therefore rarely able to relax from hunting for more than two consecutive days.

Of the Mundurucú hunting techniques, the collective hunts are most important. The usual system is for three or four men to go ahead of the others with dogs to raise and chase the game. The rest of the men wait along the path which the animal is expected to follow in its flight, usually at a point where it crosses a stream. This calls for a great deal of teamwork in addition to an intimate knowledge of the country and the habits of game. The pursuing hunters inform their waiting companions of the species of the animal by sounding signals on bamboo hunting horns. If an ambush is not possible, the dogs run down the animals and bring them to bay, allowing the hunters to approach and make the kill. Although individual hunters frequently stalk game, the described techniques are most important [262] for the killing of wild pig, the principal game food.

ECONOMIC LIFE

222 articles collected are several species of palm fruit, the Brazil nut, the fruit of the *cajú* tree (*Anacardium corymbosum*), wild cocoa, *mangaba*, and several varieties of berries.

222 462 Wild foods found only at long distances from the village are always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they have been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees are near the village, one man or an older boy usually goes out with a party of women, the male to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it [481] home. Climbing is done with the climbing ring, a loop of vine passed around the feet, which gives sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps—similar to the principle employed by our lumbermen using a belt. For fruits far out on limbs, hooked sticks are used to drag the limbs down, or the climber chops the limb off. [262] Fruits are not a staple food, but they are valuable adjuncts to the diet and greatly appreciated delicacies.

HORTICULTURE

241 Mundurucú gardening is done by the slash-and-burn method used throughout the tropical areas of the New World. The garden is cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation is allowed to dry during the dry season, and the plot is burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks are dragged off to one side and the ground is then ready for planting after the first rains, which usually occur in the beginning of September in this region.

241 262 Among the crops of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú are several varieties of bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which form the dietary staple, sweet manioc (*Manihot aypi*), yam (*Dioscorea sp.*), sweet po-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tato (*Ipomoea batatas*), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, 241
and pepper. At some time after the advent of the whites in 262
the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, po- [177]
tato, and sugar cane were introduced. Cotton, although [248]
native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the
Mundurucú until the nineteenth century. Similarly, although the potato is native in western South America it was not found aboriginally in the eastern part of the continent.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village is more 134
than adequate, but not unlimited. Amazonian forest soil 241
is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and fri- 311
able and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks formerly used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. There is some variation in soil quality, however, even in this rather uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Mundurucú territory because it is periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass-covered savannah. The tillable forest land is classified by the Mun- [823]
durucú into the categories of black, red, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only kind in which they raise squash, melon, beans, and rice. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings. 241
On the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter 311
manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant

/2 cont./

*241 [174] mythological and legendary traditions of the Mundurukú lead us to believe that they were not always a people given to the cultivation of plants. This, however, /applies to/ a remote past, which is no longer verifiable nowadays. In historic times, ever since they came *241 [175] into contact with civilized people and came to be known, they have been observed to cultivate gardens and to make manioc flour. It is ● [269] true that the Mundurukú gained greater fame as warriors, for whenever the opportunity arose they did not hesitate to attack even cities [921] such as Santarém (1780) and Gurupá (1784). (1)

1. Horton, 1948: 272-273.

As colonial rule was strengthened, however, and warring activities decreased, these Indians seem to have tended increasingly toward a more stable way of life and a more extensive and more diversified agriculture. I believe that available texts must be interpreted in this light. Even though they are not all in agreement, the traveling writers provide glimpses of a development in the cultivation methods of these Indians.

*241 [361] Martius, speaking in a general way of the Tupi tribes of the upper Tapajós, including the Mundurukú, regards them, precisely because of this incipient agriculture, as seminomadic. He says: "They practice a primitive agriculture and, therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (2) Monteiro Baena

2. "Sie treiben einen nothdurftigen Landbau, sind daher im strengeren Sinne keine Nomaden; doch bleiben ihre Niederlassungen nicht unveraenderlich an derselben Stelle." Martius, 1867: 201.

[175] testifies that at first, in the years following the pacification of the Mundurukú, their propensity for agriculture was not very great or very strong. Referring to the "Mundrucús" forcibly brought to and

/14 cont./

*241
192
262

a) Plants cultivated in the gardens:
bitter manioc—manoè, six varieties
manicuera—mano, manikue, two varieties
sweet manioc—makachi, two varieties
yams—awai, 11 varieties
sweet potato—wechick, four varieties
caladium—various names (poriit, kurudyudyut), two varieties
pumpkin—yurumu, yurumu a, various kinds
watermelon—borikhis, borikis, three varieties
sugar cane—kanya
pineapple—ipara, five varieties
maize—mora, two varieties
rice—arlida
beans—feijão, wetoi, three varieties
peanut—wenambone
tobacco—be, e
curauá pineapple—ipara be

Also:
pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties
banana—aku, 11 varieties
cotton—buru, two varieties
urucú—tyuku, tyuku a
papaya—atku a, two varieties

b) Plants cultivated outside the gardens:
gourd—ue e, wa e
jamaru gourd—uai a, wai a
/15/ arrowhead—opipa
coffee—kape, kape ip, various types
cacao—wadye, three varieties
genipa—warem ap, warem ap a
inga—chiriri
lemon—brimão, brimãu
orange—yarai, yarai ip
mango—mika, mika, various types
cashew—murue, mucoo, three varieties

/15 cont./

*241 Also:

192 pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties

262 banana—aku, 11 varieties

cotton—buru, two varieties

urucú—tyuku, tyuku a

papaya—atšu a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Mundurukú also have a certain number of vegetables which back-

[302] woodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor.

[157] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet

[184] are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 From this list, it becomes clear that the Mundurukú must have

177 had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Mundurukú are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (9)

[171] 9. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation

/16 cont./

*241 177 [171] of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Mundurukú.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the [361] Mundurukú, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Through this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Mundurukú and were, for the most part, adopted [797] by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquistions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grass- 262 lands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour ex- 177 emplifies this process. In the old days, the Mundurukú were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not [252] know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which sometimes they even roasted on stone (slabs)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Mundurukú of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Mundurukú of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial pur- [439] poses. Martius, Bates, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Mundurukú of the Tapajós carried on with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems 241 obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the 177 Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the mere usage of a plant

/17 cont./

*241 177 which they were already cultivating, the introduction of new plants /must have been/ all the more /uneven/. Here, the process may have been even slower.

● 262 137 177 797 Of even more recent acquisition, especially through the influence of the Franciscan mission founded in 1911 on the Cururu River, are products such as rice, beans, and various other plants which are cultivated chiefly by the religious sisters, but which have been adopted by the Indians on a very modest scale. During the last decades, the following fruit trees have reached them: the mango tree, the orange tree, the lemon tree, the coffee shrub, and a certain type of cacao tree. They were already familiar with other products such as maize, pumpkins, etc., but cultivated them on a very small scale.

*241 8. Weeding or cleaning. We have described the planting. A few facts remain to be given concerning the garden tasks after planting. It is obvious that, once the planting itself has been done, the plot still requires a certain amount of care. Not right away, but after several weeks or months. /sic/ This is the weeding. Between the planting and the harvest, two weedings of the garden are usually carried out, the entire plot being cleaned. They speak of the first and second cleaning, or of the first and second weeding. This is done almost exclusively with the machete. There is no specific time set aside for this, because it depends to a large extent on the weather (rains) and on the need. The first weeding is called tip ogn, the second karit ogn.

244 9. The harvest. The Indians generally use the regional term, "tearing up the plot," or "pulling up the bitter-manioc roots"—masok ta ogn. Within a year, the garden has matured and may be torn up. The manioc roots are pulled up by hand. The entire plot is not harvested at one time, but according to need. In order to pull up the manioc roots, a certain amount of strength and ability is required. Often, when the tubercles hold firm to overly hard ground, [412] the Indian digs with the machete around the roots in order to loosen the soil and pull out the manioc root /18/ with greater ease. This same technique of using the machete as an auxiliary tool in the extraction of manioc roots is also used in gathering other tubercles, such as yams, sweet potatoes, etc.

224 meat which would otherwise spoil after about three days.
[264] The pressure of maintaining a meat supply was great when one considers that a village of eighty people can eat one tapir or four wild pigs in twenty four hours.

Of all the Mundurucú hunting techniques, the collective hunts were most important. The usual system was for three or four men to go ahead with their dogs to raise and chase the game. The rest of the men waited along the path which the animal would probably follow in its flight, usually at a point where it crossed a stream, in order to ambush the fleeing beast. Needless to say this called for a great deal of teamwork in addition to an intimate knowledge of the country and the habits of game. The pursuing hunters informed their waiting companions of the specie of the animal by sounding signals on bamboo hunting horns. If the ambush was not possible, the dogs ran down the animals and brought them to bay, allowing the hunters to approach and make the kill. Although individual hunters frequently stalked game, the above techniques were most important for the killing of wild pig, the principal game food. Whereas it was possible for only three or four men to hunt the other animals, the entire male population of one or two villages might participate in a wild pig hunt. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to fifty to one hundred pigs. Under these circumstances a single hunter could only kill one, or at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men could surround the animals and kill a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, peccary, and

252 Processing of manioc is a lengthy procedure and involves many stages. The women worked well together under the loose supervision of the oldest woman in the household-extended family. Cooperative labor allowed different women to be [476] working in all stages of the process at the same time, thus expediting greatly the work in this, the most important female duty. In addition to the greater efficiency obtained, an onerous task was made pleasant, as the making of beijú was an occasion for chatter, joking, and gossip. The principal techniques of slash and burn agriculture are still used by the modern Mundurucu, but the above division of labor has been altered.

Distribution of food and manufactures.

264 476 As has been indicated, the distribution of foodstuffs within the Mundurucú village was very fluid. Beijú was produced and shared jointly by the members of the extended family and was further distributed to other houses according to kinship ties. There was only one cooking fire within each house, and fish and game were shared by all the members of the resident extended family. If there was an ample supply, the food was divided equally among the houses of the village regardless of kinship. However, when the day's kill was very small, a bird, a few fish, or a small animal, the nuclear family of the hunter ate the food themselves. This was exceptional.

Collectivity in food sharing is further highlighted by the fact that all the men of the village ate together in

264 476 the men's house. The women of each dwelling cooked equal amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

422 Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse. [576] It was not considered polite to demand something from another. [437] Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively [556] uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

462 Division of labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

344 562 ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the man's life was the men's house and that of the women the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Mundurucú culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their new village.

342 [591] 254 The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the griddle on which the beijú was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large babricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the 264 men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

264 to the men's house. A loud whoop signalled to the other men that the food was ready. Due to their hunting activities, the men usually ate in the morning and at night. The women and children ate small portions all day long if there was food in the village. When the men were in the village they often joined in these small repasts between the meals taken in the men's house.

592 The dwelling house

Whereas the primary locus of male social life was the village men's house, that of the female was the dwelling. Each dwelling had a headman, the husband of the oldest woman in the female line represented in the house. However, the focus of his activities was the men's house and the coordination of female activity was in the hands of his wife. He was a man of prestige and influence in the house and village, but his wife always insisted that it was she who told the other women what to do and not her husband. In general, the Mundurucú woman worked harder than the men, but she was by no means dominated by them. She had certain duties that she knew were those of the women and she knew how to do them and when to do them. It was not the place of the male to interfere except if she was lazy.

The interior of the house was completely unpartitioned. Each woman and her children occupied a given section of the house where her belongings were kept. Closer relatives, such as true sisters, usually hung their family's hammocks adjacent to each other. Only if the husband was sick and

in each village, and informants say that villages of four or five houses were 621
common in the last century.

The men's house was of square floor plan, but had an unusual silhouette. 344
Although a semipermanent structure, it was built in the form of a huge lean-to, open on three sides. At the southwest corner was a small, completely enclosed chamber which housed the sacred trumpets. Running from back to front of the men's house at an elevation of five feet above the ground were three long, horizontal poles. One pole ran down the middle and the other two were on the outer edges of the structure. From these poles the men hung their hammocks in two separate rows. The men of Red moiety slept in the south row, and the men of White moiety occupied the north row.

The Mundurucú men's house was unlike most such institutions in the de- 344
gree to which it divided the everyday life of the men from that of the women. 621
Here the division was complete. The men neither ate, slept, worked nor relaxed with their women. Every male, from the age at which his tattooing was completed and he became a full-fledged warrior, slept in the men's house. His bows and arrows were kept in the thatch above his hammock. The hammock arrangement followed moiety lines in the north-south separation of the hammock rows, and clan comembers slept adjacent to each other. They, in turn, were adjoined by members of other clans of the same phratry. Due to the fragmentation caused by matrilocal residence, several clans were represented in most men's houses. The contemporary village of Cabruá, for example, has a population of only seventy, but men of ten different clans were present.

When a Mundurucú married, there was no ceremony of any sort, and a 585
minimum of formalities were observed. The young man or his parents went to the girl's parents and requested her hand. The request was usually granted except when the young man was for some reason undesirable to the girl's family. Prearranged marriages were common and were often the means by which cross-cousins were united. The actual event of marriage was little more than a public recognition of the alliance. The bridegroom moved to the wife's village and took up residence in the men's house there. He brought his daily kill of game to his bride's house, and his exclusive sexual rights to the girl were recognized.

In most other respects he had remarkably loose bonds with the household 264
of his wife's family. He frequently went there for a between-meal snack or to 592
play with the children. However, the large meals which he ate before and after the day's hunt at morning and at nightfall were taken in the company of the other men immediately outside of the men's house. The women of each household prepared an equal part of the food consumed there, and all of the men squatted around the common pots to eat. The separation of men and women was made complete by the fact that male craftwork, such as the manufacture of arms and baskets, was done in the men's house, and the men whiled away their idle hours there.

Even when it involved a move to a new village, matrilocality imposed no 592
great burden on the men. They did not shift from one dwelling or household to another, but from one men's house to another. The internal arrangement of

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of 345
the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their 513
hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and 61
adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the eksá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of [561]
the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution 345
in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal 512
forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all [264]
gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening [521]
meal, the occupants of the eksá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on coöperation between the men tran- 476
scends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological 183
adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and naming.—According to Martius, the father keeps to his hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

Puberty and marriage.—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

Fruits of the Fields

222
824 jaboticaba
137 mangaba
field caju
axiua
muruci
marmelada
field araticu
pineapple

jubã
unhua
hacerácaraũ
eten-ã
quenhen-ã
hera-ã
bocubocu baru
iparã

252 Daũ is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared
137 with Pará chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Pará yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectoliters.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

252 To prepare daũ, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daũ keeps for a long time.

262 They also make another kind of daũ from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assai; patauá; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

[272] In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uteima.

[273] They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

261 They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daũ, etc.

257 They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have 142
the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children.

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and 114
Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *tubê* or *ũ'ũ* and are embodied [534]
(verkoerpert) in the large *kaduke*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kaduke* are blown at the men's [716]
festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mẽsiri*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the [272] ●
kaduke from above, is caught in a cúia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot [illegible]
and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the 114
"Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by 116
Karusakaibé,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karuwaut*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibé is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become mem- 614
bers of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i barip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly 342
had *Ñipe naket*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last
[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. -- Analyst]

226 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
224 Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

252 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made [272] from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water. [273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

[276] They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

342 The dwelling house (ekça, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a
[562] long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajebolì* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Mundurucú villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajebolì*. Come, drink *weré* and *wiri*. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Mundurucú style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting. 796 727 [202]

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Muebacha*[*] society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajebolì* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the *pew*, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other moiety. The captor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (i.e., during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Daveki* society returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Daveki* enter the village would be killed during the next war. [534] [901]

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajebolì*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with beijú (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and beijú and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten. [262] [272]

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vultures had to eat apart from the other *Daveki*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he died. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the yellowing sickness, or *ujewed*. To prevent this a shaman examined the [834]

* The identity of this term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

the same, but there are a number of songs or words to the same basic melody. These songs are not sung by the players but are thought by them during the performance. In keeping with exclusive male access to the instruments, the songs are known and taught only to the men. Of any group of three players the man who knows the songs best acts as the leader and plays the medium-sized instrument, and the others act as his accompaniment. The leader plays the basic *karõkõ* melody, and the man with the largest trumpet emits long and steady blasts interspersed with occasional short ones. The player of the smallest of the three instruments, usually the youngest man, blows a few short sounds whenever the leader signals him by lifting his elbow. The players pause at indefinite intervals, and the leader then sounds a blast on the gourd horn. 534 778

As they play, the three walk side by side across the width of the trumpet chamber. The room is large enough to allow three long steps with a pivot motion at the end. The instrument is clutched across the chest by the left forearm as the player walks, and the reed is held with the right hand.

The frequent playing of the *karõkõ* is accepted as a necessary part of the ordinary round of village life and does not merit designation as a ceremony. There are other, however, special occasions when the instruments become the focus of much wider social participation. It is believed necessary to offer a special feast to the various spirits of the trumpets at least once a year. On the designated day, the women amass large quantities of sweet manioc and grate it into water to make a rich beverage; sufficient game is usually killed on the previous day to last through the feast. The finished drink is brought to the men's house in large clay pots, and the men gather about with half-gourds and drink. Large quantities are consumed, the the women are kept busy throughout the day. The feasting generally begins at noon and lasts until nightfall. As every round of beverage arrives, a bowl must be offered to the trumpets. The spirits are further gratified by the trumpets being played from the beginning of the feast until dawn of the following day. Most of the village population sleeps throughout the night, and the players are occasionally relieved by other groups of three men. Invitations to this feast are not extended to other villages. 534 718 796 [272]

Other ceremonies are held when the trumpets are being moved from an old village to a newly constructed one and when new trumpets are made and installed. Both of these occasions involve the participation of people from other villages. The ceremony of the reinstallation of the *karõkõ* in a new men's house took place in Cabituté during our field work. The village invited the two nearest villages, Cabruá and Decodyém. Decodyém declined as the inhabitants were busy preparing manioc flour, but those of Cabruá accepted. The guests arrived during the afternoon and on the following day the men went to the forest to gather thatch for the wall of the trumpet chamber. The new village was built a few hundred yards from the old one, and although the dwellings had been finished and were already occupied by the women and children, only the frame of the men's house had been completed. The men continued to sleep in the old men's house. On the second day after the arrival of the guests, the men went hunting while the women harvested the sweet manioc.

Fruits of the Fields

232
64 jaboticaba
137 mangaba
field caju
axixa
murici
marmelada
field araticu
pineapple

jubá
uihua
bacaricaiba
eten-ã
quenhem-ã
hora-ã
bocubocu bara
iyaná

252 Daã is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared
137 with Paã chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Paã yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectoliters.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

253 To prepare daã, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daã keeps for a long time.

254 They also make another kind of daã from the inner nut; once

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with amai; pataui; bacaba; and maniqueira mush.

[272] In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uteima.

[273] They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

[274] They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daã, etc.

[275] They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

326 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
224 Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

552 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made [272] from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water. [273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

[276] They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tucum bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekupa) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure [illegible] with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

342 The dwelling house (ekupa, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a
[562] long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

THE SETTING

161 of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Mundurucú in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantini's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Mundurucú population of the upper Tapajós River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Mundurucú should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Mundurucú in the upper Tapajós area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

648 The Mundurucú enjoy a solid position of importance
[181] in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of attacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter the Mundurucú were the friends and military allies of the whites. The capitulation of the Mundurucú was a recognition of both superior force and the material advantages to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Mundurucú continued their pursuit of warfare against other tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colo-
[722] nists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of the major goals of their wars.

171 Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that distinguished the Mundurucú from their Tupian neigh-
[271] bors. The Mundurucú have never manufactured any of the common intoxicants of the region, although they are now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidaruz), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (casp), and the bow which is difficult to draw (tarõ) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (pangnie, or uup, tupi viba) but poisoned war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a uitotap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [39] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Diccionario geograph. II. 136 and Crqueira e Silva Corograf. paraense 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (esgravatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 The Mundrucu are great artists in the manufacture of feather orna-
287 ments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most labori-
292 ous products of Indian industry: scepters (buta) carried on festive occasions in the hand stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (bombim maja); hats (akeri) often outfitted with long braids of arara feathers (aeri kaha); cords and tassels with arara feathers (paro-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for
231 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mutums or hoccos (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope, the King and the Shining Vulture (Sarcorhamphus papa and Falco urubutinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

724 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them,
276 the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [390] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaiodes, which is in
000 vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Maues. But they

226 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
224 Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

252 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made
[272] from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water.
[273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

[276] They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

342 The dwelling house (ekça, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a
[562] long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

754 The most common affliction of the supernatural was caushi. The caushi was not a spirit but an object carved to a certain form by a sorcerer, given malignant animation by him, and sent sometimes against certain people, but usually against anyone that it might encounter. All illness was [753] caused by caushi and, therefore, ultimately by witchcraft.

756 Shamanism

The chief function of the Mundurucú shaman was curing. Among his other duties was the ceremonial one of guarding the people against the attacks of Yuruparí during certain rites. He was also responsible for putting in a deep sleep by a magical spell the people of a village about to be attacked and for feeding the spirit "mothers" of the game.

The power of shamanism was hereditary in the patrilineal line and present since birth. All the children of a shaman, including daughters, possessed the power, but, today, the women do not practice any more. In the aboriginal culture, female shamans had only a few specific ceremonial functions and did not cure. Curing was done by the common [755] practice of blowing smoke on the sick person and then extracting the evil object, or caushi, by massage and suction. The shaman then prescribed certain herbs and roots applied externally or drunk mixed with water that were supposed to 756 heal the internal damage done by the evil object. During 276 the cure, the shaman smoked a large cigarette to generate the necessary curative smoke, but he did not inhale in large enough quantities to produce tobacco narcosis as do the

756 [276] Tenetehara and Tapirapé shamans.[24] This was done only when the shaman "traveled" to find the "mother of the game" in order to feed her. The shaman performed his services free of charge and was in no way liberated from the work of the men. He enjoyed prestige due to his position as a curer and also due to fear of him as a potential sorcerer.

754 Only the shaman had the sorcerer's power. Others could learn the effective techniques, but they were not able to launch the evil object into the air or endow it with its malignant force. He was also capable of turning himself into a jaguar and creating other jaguars that he sent against people. The penalty for sorcery was death. This severity is explained by the Mundurucú, who say, "If we had no sorcerers there would be no sickness and people would not die so fast. So we have to kill them." At present, only men practice shamanism and are recognized as being shamans and only men are killed as sorcerers, but Tocantins mentions three cases of women accused of witchcraft in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[25]

[763] All sickness and death were believed to be caused by sorcery, but it was only when a few people died that a powerful shaman was asked to detect the sorcerer. Only another shaman could do this because "the shaman is able to see everything." The shaman might not immediately tell the

24. Wagley, 1942.

25. Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109-111.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 is used by the shaman to extract from afflicted people the *yakíp*, or malignant object sent by the mother of the game. All these instruments are inert until the shaman blows power-giving tobacco smoke upon them. They are then thought to be "alive" and to have "strength."

Disease and Its Treatment

753 In order to understand fully the important role that the shaman plays among the Mundurucú, their theories of disease and affliction must be outlined. There is practically no human misfortune that cannot be attributed to supernatural influences. If a Mundurucú suffers a slight cut on his foot, he may admit that it was due to sheer mischance. But if he incurs a serious wound, the shaman is usually consulted and invariably attributes the affliction to the vengeance of the mother of the game. Any infection, pain, or other aftereffect of the wound is generally thought to be the work of the *yakíp*, which is sent by the mother of the game or by the soul of the animal offended by the wounded man. Similarly, a snake bite, a fall from a tree, or any other serious misadventure that cannot be classified as a disease is usually diagnosed by the shaman as the vengeance of the animal world.

Diseases also are the result of evil supernatural influences. But whereas serious accidents are attributed to the spirit mother and therefore to the negligence or stupidity of the stricken person, disease strikes people regardless of their activities. And though afflictions that have clear and obvious causes, as cuts or snake bites, are also thought to be the vengeance of the supernaturals associated with the animals, disease is caused by sorcerers. All sorcerers are shamans who consciously [754] wish to hurt their fellow men. The sorcerer causes disease by modeling a variety of objects and blowing smoke upon them to give them life. The evil objects, called *cauši*, are then wafted off on the wind to wander through the air until they encounter some human. Invisible to ordinary people, they enter the body and cause illness. The particular illness depends upon the material out of which the *cauši* was modeled and the shape given it by the sorcerer.

Two distinct processes are required for the proper cure of illness. First the *cauši* 755 is extracted from the sick person's body by the shaman, and he then prescribes 757 certain herbal remedies to repair the damage caused by it. The first part of the cure is uniform for all *cauši;* the herbal remedy prescribed is, however, specific for the malady.

755 The process of extracting a *cauši* is extremely simple. The sick person strips his or her clothes from the part of the body where the pain is localized and sits or 276 lies on the ground. The treatment most often takes place in the patient's dwelling, but the shaman sometimes receives the ill in the men's house. After the patient is prepared, the shaman takes one of his large cigarettes, which are wrapped in a thin layer of the inner bark of the tauarí tree, and commences to smoke. As he smokes he crouches over the sick person and intently stares at his body. The shaman does not inhale or swallow excessive amounts of smoke, and narcotic effects are specifically denied. Rather, the smoke heightens his extra-visual ability

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to see the *cauši* within the patient's body, and he is considered to be in a state of intense concentration. During this period the many observers of the cure fall silent, and even the children are hushed. After completing his examination and identification of the *cauši* lodged within the patient's body, the shaman blows clouds of smoke over him. This is an essential part of the cure, for the tobacco smoke is believed to dislodge the *cauši* from its place deep within the sick person and to bring it nearer to the surface, from where it can be easily extracted. Once the shaman has accomplished this end, he commences to massage the patient's body, stroking inward toward the point where the pain is localized. At the completion of the massaging the *cauši* is believed to be directly below the skin and just above the source of pain. The shaman quickly applies his mouth to this point and sucks noisily at the patient's skin. He then draws away and deftly removes the *cauši* from his mouth, into which he has supposedly sucked it, and holds it out in his open palm for all to observe. He examines it with great care for some time and throws it into a fire, where it is thought to be completely destroyed. The object exhibited by the shaman is usually a small piece of wood or the pit of a palm fruit. The sleight of hand involved apparently requires no great ingenuity, but everybody is firmly convinced that the shaman has really extracted an evil object from the patient. I was unable to induce any shaman to reveal the innermost secrets of his art, but I am convinced that the shaman, too, believes that he extracts *cauši*, elusive though his reasoning may be.

The sole deviation from the above procedure occurs during the extraction of a very large and dangerous *cauši*. The shaman localizes the object and brings it to the surface of the body in the usual manner, but he extracts it with a quick, grabbing motion of the hand.

The *cauši* is visible to the shaman both when flying freely through the air and when lodged in the patient's body. Ordinary persons can see it only after the shaman has extracted it. There are ten reported varieties of *cauši*, each of which represents a type of disease recognized by the Mundurucú. The *cauši* is believed to wreak considerable damage while in the sick person, and its extraction and destruction is not sufficient for a full recovery. This can only be through the application of herbal remedies, each of which is a specific for a certain type of *cauši*. These medicines are thought by the Mundurucú to be either "hot" or "cold"; the *cauši* is believed to cause considerable internal bleeding, and hot medicines remove this old blood from the body, and on the other hand, cold medicines reduce fever and alleviate pain.

The following is a list of the ten varieties of disease recognized by the Mundurucú and a description of the *cauši* believed to cause each and the medicinals used to repair their damage.

1. *Dau* (leg) *pipi* (pain), or pain in the leg, is caused by a *cauši* carved in the shape of a sting ray and made from its tail. This *cauši* lies on the floor in the doorways of houses and waits for an unwary person to step on it. Although it causes intense pains in the leg, its effects are not fatal. To cure the aftereffects of *dau*

/33 cont./

*241 192

sweet manioc (Manihot sp. —palmata?)	makachi
" " white variety	makachi taritat
" " yellow variety	makachi potpot
papaya (Carica papaya)	asãu a
" purple	asãu rom rom (asãu rem rem)
mango (Mangifera indica)	māga, māka
manicuera (Manihot sp.?)	maso; manikue
" purple-leaf variety	maso
" white-leaf "	maso yubritat
bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima)	masok
" yellow variety	masok pekpek
" purplish-leaf variety	masok tchukumai
" large-leaf variety	masok yairupnyen
" purple-leaf variety (paraíso)	masok paraisu
" white variety	masok tatya ũm ũm at
" small-leaf variety	masok anan
watermelon (Citrullus vulgaris)	
red flesh	barãchi, burãsi-a
" white-flesh variety	barãchi a biu chep nyen a a
" small variety	barãchi an an a
" purple-flesh variety	barãchi rem rem a
maize (Zea mays)	mura, mora
" hard grain	mora tyatya (ta)
/34/ " soft grain	mora tya am am (ta); mora hat
peanut (Arachis hypogaea)	wenambene
pepper (Capsicum)	achi (a)
" green pepper variety	achi chichi (a)
" odoriferous variety	achirew
" red-pepper variety	chi kaf (a)
" round variety	achi kurétanyen (a)
[276] tobacco (Nicotiana tabacum)	he; e
caladium (Aracea sp.), bush variety, planted	potirit
" dragonaroid variety	kurudyudyut
timbo vine (Paullinia? Serjania?)	sã ok, sã ok papa
urucú (Bixa orellana)	tyuku (a)

226 [278] The second and equally important method was by poisoning the waters of lakes and medium sized streams with timbó (Paullinea pinnata), a fish poison used throughout the Amazon. The timbó paralyzes the gills of the fish, thus suffocating it. The fish remains edible as timbó does not poison the fish internally. The poison is contained in the long roots of a plant which grows wild in the forest but [249] which is commonly cultivated by the Indians in their gardens.

When a timbó expedition was organized, all of the men who participated went to the gardens to pull up the roots of the plant. These were chopped into one foot pieces, wrapped in a bundle, and brought back to the village. Before dawn of the next day, or the afternoon before, if the chosen fishing site was distant, the party embarked. The best places to fish with timbó were in restricted bodies of water where the poison would have greatest density and the fish the least possibility of escape. For this reason, streams and inter-island channels of about fifty feet in width or lagoons of limited size having only one entrance were preferred. Upon arriving at the location early in the morning, the party broke up into two, three, or possibly four groups, depending on the number of people involved. Those men who were to poison the water went upstream while the rest of the men and the accompanying women and children waited for the stunned fish to swim downstream. The poisoners then placed their bundles of timbó on a rock or log in the water and began to beat them with a heavy stick, causing the white

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to see the *cauã* within the patient's body, and he is considered to be in a state of intense concentration. During this period the many observers of the cure fall silent, and even the children are hushed. After completing his examination and identification of the *cauã* lodged within the patient's body, the shaman blows clouds of smoke over him. This is an essential part of the cure, for the tobacco smoke is believed to dislodge the *cauã* from its place deep within the sick person and to bring it nearer to the surface, from where it can be easily extracted. Once the shaman has accomplished this end, he commences to massage the patient's body, stroking inward toward the point where the pain is localized. At the completion of the massaging the *cauã* is believed to be directly below the skin and just above the source of pain. The shaman quickly applies his mouth to this point and sucks noisily at the patient's skin. He then draws away and deftly removes the *cauã* from his mouth, into which he has supposedly sucked it, and holds it out in his open palm for all to observe. He examines it with great care for some time and throws it into a fire, where it is thought to be completely destroyed. The object exhibited by the shaman is usually a small piece of wood or the pit of a palm fruit. The sleight of hand involved apparently requires no great ingenuity, but everybody is firmly convinced that the shaman has really extracted an evil object from the patient. I was unable to induce any shaman to reveal the innermost secrets of his art, but I am convinced that the shaman, too, believes that he extracts *cauã*, elusive though his reasoning may be.

The sole deviation from the above procedure occurs during the extraction of a very large and dangerous *cauã*. The shaman localizes the object and brings it to the surface of the body in the usual manner, but he extracts it with a quick, grabbing motion of the hand.

The *cauã* is visible to the shaman both when flying freely through the air and when lodged in the patient's body. Ordinary persons can see it only after the shaman has extracted it. There are ten reported varieties of *cauã*, each of which represents a type of disease recognized by the Mundurucú. The *cauã* is believed to wreak considerable damage while in the sick person, and its extraction and destruction is not sufficient for a full recovery. This can only be through the application of herbal remedies, each of which is a specific for a certain type of *cauã*. These medicines are thought by the Mundurucú to be either "hot" or "cold"; the *cauã* is believed to cause considerable internal bleeding, and hot medicines remove this old blood from the body, and on the other hand, cold medicines reduce fever and alleviate pain.

The following is a list of the ten varieties of disease recognized by the Mundurucú and a description of the *cauã* believed to cause each and the medicinals used to repair their damage.

1. *Dau* (leg) *pipi* (pain), or pain in the leg, is caused by a *cauã* carved in the shape of a sting ray and made from its tail. This *cauã* lies on the floor in the doorways of houses and waits for an unwary person to step on it. Although it causes intense pains in the leg, its effects are not fatal. To cure the aftereffects of *dau*

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ3

753 *pipi*, the shaman heats the leaves of a tracuá vine over a fire and applies them to
755 the center of the pain. This poultice, despite being heated, is considered a cold
278 remedy.
757

2. *Ipsa pipi*, or pain in the stomach, is instigated by a *cauã* that is made from a bitter manioc tuber or a piece of soap. When the object is made from soap it causes a mild stomach-ache, but when made from bitter manioc the poison is believed capable of killing the victim. Three varieties of cold medicine are used to cure the aftereffects of this illness. An unidentified species of potato is grated in water, and part of the mixture is drunk while the rest is poured over the patient's stomach. Another remedy uses a few scrapings from the castanha de arara mixed in water and taken both externally and internally. Also, the root of the jamb plant is beaten into a half-gourd of water and drunk.

3. *Ekabi pipi*, pain in the back, differs from the other ailments in that it is caused by a *cauã* that is actually a living bird. This bird, a species of curujá da noite, can be heard at night, but is never seen. When it flies directly above the house, the inhabitants are in danger of being afflicted with backache. A cold remedy for backache consists of a paste of grated ginger root which is applied to the affected parts. Another medicine is made in a similar fashion from the root of an unidentified shrub.

4. The material and form of the *cauã* that causes *aiaxabi pipi*, or pain in the side, was not known by my informants, although five remedies were listed as effective in its cure. The following three are cold medicines. Pau de andrés is grated into boiling water and the compound drunk while still very hot. A broth is also made from cuvira de cacao, and grated deer antler is mixed with cold water and used both internally and externally. Hot medicines include a poultice of heated jamaru leaf and a broth made of the ashes of kamaiu cane mixed in hot water.

5. The common cold is called *ochi ochi*, an onomatopoetic word, and is believed to be caused by a *cauã* which consists of a bit of paicum powder rolled in paper. Four cold remedies include hot drinks made with lemon, ginger root, the root of an unidentified shrub, and the sap from a tree. The only hot remedy known is made by boiling mel de chupe and taking it internally.

6. The *cauã* that causes *xaxabi pipi*, or pain in the uterus, is made from the root of an unidentified tree. Menstrual pains are not believed to be caused by this object, nor is it thought to cause labor pains. A hot medicine, used to free the woman of the old blood from the intra-uterine bleeding caused by the *cauã*, is made by cutting up the root of a paxiuba palm and boiling it in water. [illegible] of this preparation is administered internally, and the remainder is placed in a pot below the woman's hammock. The rising vapors are believed to aid in the cure. Ashes of the paxiuba palm are also mixed in water and drunk.

7. *Paiar*, or fever, generally accompanies stomach-ache, according to informants. Actually, such a concurrence of the two afflictions occurs during an attack of chronic malaria, and the stomach-ache is, more accurately, a pain in the liver. Two cold remedies are used to reduce the fever. The first is made by grating a

vine in hot water and applying the mixture to the stomach. The other consists of the trunks of very young buriti palms crushed in water. Part of this mixture is drunk, and the rest is applied externally to the torso of the sick person. 753 755 278 757

8. *Ok pipi*, or intestinal pain, is caused by the same *ewaii* as *ipun pipi*, or stomach-ache. However, the term *ok pipi* is in reality reserved for dysentery, for it is always accompanied by severe diarrhea. The medicines used for stomach pains are considered effective in the relief of intestinal pains also, but two additional cold remedies are used as specifics for the diarrhea. The roots of a certain shrub are boiled in water, part of which is taken internally and the rest allowed to steam below the hammock. The leaves of this shrub are also applied to the abdomen as a poultice. The same use is made of the leaves of the *muriti pagi*, a water plant. The local Brazilians also boil the leaves of this plant and place the steaming pot below the hammock of a bewitched person. The vapors are believed to cause an evil object to fall out of the victim's body.

9. *A pipi*, or headache, is treated by mixing *cuvira de cuitanheira* in water and applying the solution to the head. Uaripe Brazil nuts are also grated into water and similarly applied. Both remedies are considered cold. The nature of the *ewaii* that causes headache was not known by the informants interviewed.

10. The tenth and last ailment is a three-stage sickness generally known by the name applied to its first stage, called *ajuwaii*. In this primary phase, the afflicted man or woman becomes unhappy and listless and eats mud, soap, and other inedible substances. The symptoms increase in severity in the next stage, or *yuaki*, and the victim becomes thin, yellow, and "bloodless." Finally, the patient passes into the state known as *tauhakat*, at the end of which he usually dies. During the final illness, the person's soul sometimes becomes one of the dreaded wandering souls. The symptoms are descriptive of the chronic forms of a number of illnesses, such as malaria, dysentery, and jaundice. The Mundurucú attribute it to a *ewaii* made of roasted earthworms rolled into a ball and spread in the air. No remedies were known. [24]

A person can be afflicted by more than one *ewaii* at a time, and the shaman often recommends a number of herbal preparations. The shaman does not himself administer these remedies, but instructs the kinsmen of the sick person in their use. They then collect the proper herbs and apply them.

The techniques used by the Mundurucú shaman are so widely distributed throughout eastern South America that any attempt to trace their provenience would be overly lengthy. The shaman's use of tobacco smoke and the techniques of sucking and massage are almost universal in the Amazon area. Of equally wide distribution are the use of herbs and the various methods of applying them. Infusions, external applications, and steam baths are, as Lowie indicates,[1] known among a number of tribes of the region. 756 171

One aspect of Mundurucú herbal medicine worthy of further discussion is the division of remedies into hot and cold categories. This distinction is made throughout most of Latin America with regard to both medicines and food. The Mun- 278 171

[1] Lowie, 1948, pp. 93-98.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Munduruku SQ13

219 171 durucú, however, do not classify their foods in this manner, suggesting that the concept was perhaps borrowed from their Brazilian neighbors together with certain medicinal recipes. Furthermore, although the list of diseases and remedies is undoubtedly incomplete, it is significant that only twenty-four herbal medicines were reported. A much longer list could be collected among rural Brazilians of the area, who also use most of the same herbs employed by the Mundurucú.* This leads immediately to the question of whether the civilized inhabitants of the Amazon borrowed the medicinal preparations from the Indians or whether diffusion operated in the reverse direction. Although the use of herbs by the Indian population of the Amazon is undoubtedly a pre-Columbian practice, and although diffusion probably operated in both directions, it is very possible that the greatest borrowing was by the Indians. This is probably true for the Mundurucú, although we cannot be so certain for the first Indian groups encountered by the Portuguese. The herbal knowledge of these coastal tribes is, of course, crucial to the question.

753 The Mundurucú theory of disease exists side by side with certain sound empirical observations on the subject. They are well aware that epidemics are contracted through contact with white people. For example, when either my wife or I caught a cold, the Mundurucú avoided close proximity to us. Even on those occasions when we fell ill after an epidemic had already developed in the village, they were inclined to blame us. Also, they recognized that residence along waterways or near swamps was often accompanied by fevers (malaria), and they knew that the savannah villages were therefore more salubrious. Both contagion and the unhealthfulness of certain locales were loosely connected with the prevalence of the sorcerer's evil objects, or *ceuli*, despite the contradictions implied. However, in this as in many other lines of thought, the Mundurucú do not push logic to its conclusion, for the roots of the supernatural concepts are social and not intellectual. The empirical observations and supernatural concepts coexisted with little effort on the part of the Mundurucú to integrate them, if, indeed, they were aware of the mutual antipathy of the two.

757 755 Moreover, despite their supernatural explanation of disease, the Mundurucú freely sought the rational medication, that we provided. Every day, a number of people came to our house for treatment, some from other villages; in only a very few cases did we have to seek out the sick and persuade them to accept our aid. Our experience in this matter was not unique, for both the mission and the Indian Post dispensed large quantities of medicine to Mundurucú patients. Not even the shamans resisted treatment; many came to us for help, some with faithful gratitude.

There are a number of reasons for this lack of resistance to Western medicine by the Mundurucú. Through long contact with the whites, they had come to recognize the efficacy of the white man's medicines, especially in the treatment of diseases they know to be associated with the civilized population. Some even know the names of specific remedies; I had the unusual experience of having a tattooed, semicivilized Indian ask me for "*ceffa*."

* Note also the many herbal remedies reported by Wagley (1948, pp. 241–242) from the Amazon River town of Itá.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

Hairdress.—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets, ropes, and netting.—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of mauriti palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

Ceramics.—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

Weapons.—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Kanzer (1901) has published illustrations of a number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajós River *Mundurucú* have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

304 tattooed or there was in the middle of the face a semielliptical, blue-black spot from which numerous, parallel lines extended over the chin and lower jaw down to the breast. From the middle of one shoulder to the other, two or three lines half an inch apart run across the broad chest. Under these there are vertically placed diamonds, some filled in, some left in outline to the end of the chest. The rest of the torso is adorned similarly though not so completely and the same lines are repeated on the extremities with or without the diamonds. Variations are introduced according to individual taste. Among women the whole face is rarely blackened, they have only a malha, a crescent shape, the pointed horns of which are turned upward. Their [388] ears are pierced, [301] not in the lobe, but at the top in the first fold and they wear cane pegs 142 in the holes. The face of these people is wide, with a low forehead [302] shadowed by the hair which is cut straight across, the facial features marked, coarse and expressive of good nature. The eyes are always dark and not so slanted as the eyes of Indians of the more southerly tribes. The nose is large, often somewhat curved, not so short and blunt, with flaring nostrils, like those we have noticed among the Indians of eastern Brazil. Their heads are covered with thick, shining black hair which turns gray among the Mundrucus only late and then only in individual cases. I have never seen among them, any more than among any other Indians, an old man who was white-headed. In the 291 wilds they are unclothed except that the men wear a jock strap [Suspensorium] of cotton or a tacanhaoba. The women I saw were wholly naked, even in the mission, and to get an apron on them for ● 285 church was a matter of some difficulty. The Mundrucus and their neighbors, the Maues, with whom they are friendly, are, like the Apiacas, skilled in the art of spinning cotton thread and weaving hammocks which they hang outside their huts on hot nights. To catch fish [226] they usually poison the water in which the fish are found.* They make

*They do this in ponds or dammed up brooks by stirring the crushed twigs and leaves of the timbo (Paullinia pinnata) into the water until it turns dark and foams. The fish, and even crocodiles, come to the surface belly up, stupefied or dead and the fish are eaten. The water is extremely poisonous.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

Hairdress.—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets, ropes, and netting.—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of mauriti palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

Ceramics.—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

Weapons.—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Kotzer (1901) has published illustrations of a number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, Brazil nut, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajós River *Mundurucú* have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

/19 cont./

422 Thus, certain rights of exclusivity are established beforehand for
462 the individual. This is expressed in the principle of the usual division of labor. For example, the raw materials and the products
[555] of basket making are exclusively the property of the man; clay and
[323] pottery articles, of the woman. Traditionally, basket weaving is done only by men, pottery making only by women. In all sectors of tribal life, the tasks devolving to each sex are determined by these traditional principles. Therein derives the concept of private property.

462 Throughout the material culture of the Mundurukú, as well,
[115] the two work cycles—of men and of women—are clearly evident. This "muscle-bound" division only concerns us here as regards agriculture. The subject, however, is almost a borderline case, where these two work cycles meet. In agriculture there are tasks
*241 performed exclusively by men, especially in the initial phase of
462 the preparation of the plot; and there are tasks performed exclusively by women, especially from the time /20/ of planting onward; but there are also joint tasks, in which both sexes participate, such as in the planting of bitter manioc. There the man opens up the pit with the digging stick and the woman places the branch or shoot of manioc in the open hole and closes it by stepping on it.

The tasks at each garden stage are thus determined by the system of "muscle-bound" cycles. An outline provides the following picture:

TASKS

of the man	of the woman
1. Choosing the site and the soil	- -
2. Determining the size and shape	- -
3. Clearing the undergrowth	- -
4. Felling the trees	- -
5. Burning the felled vegetation	- -
6. Piling up the remaining brush	- -

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

Hairdress.—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets, ropes, and netting.—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of maurití palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

Ceramics.—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

Weapons.—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, munier meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajós River *Mundurucú* have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960.
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more [77
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- 422]
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [123]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear
and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress.
The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men
of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured [77
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these
articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and
a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the
overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [458]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected,
the people are not deeply affected by the missionary
teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and re-
spected without any commitment or great interest on the
part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who
have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

or kin, *bari'payc*. The Xingú Mundurucú are also called by the Tapajós Mundurucú *Tyanari-ri.ut*, "Tauarirana tribe or clan", as they make their loin, arm and ankle bands out of tauarirana bark. The linguistically related Wiasuyen are called *i bourcu*, "hidden"—hidden in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Mutum.

b. By what names are the Mundurucú known to other tribes? These names differ much. The Mundurucú are called among the Apiacá, their friends, by the name of Pari, or Itwá't$\frac{e}{a}$e Maduruká; among the Bacairi, Mandurukú; among the Chipaya, Karuriá; among the Juruna, Kaluriá; among the Kuruiya, Karudiat (compare Mundurucuan *Karu-ri.ut*, Red Arara sib); among the Matanawi$\frac{e}{a}$Paici; among the Mura, Patiú; among the Tongapa't, Tcuruvi (?); among the Parecí, Saruma (see infra); among the Tora, Kaubek$\frac{e}{a}$among a more distant tribe, Akrikakure. Among the Dyurupéia, a "giant" Indian tribe, the Mundurucú are called Tapéia'n. The Dyurupéia$\frac{e}{a}$say: "When we come, they cry *tapéia'n* and then flee". The reference is here to the tribe which the Apiacá call Urupéia. The Dyurupéia must speak Apiacá. In Apiacá, *tapéia'n*, *tapéia'n*, means "Indian, stranger". Among the Widadawat, the Mundurucú are called Tupa'yu'n, as the Mundurucú say.

c. How are the Mundurucú called by the "civilized" people? The most common designation is Mundurucú. Nothing certain is known about the origin or meaning of this name, so I shall not go into the matter here. They are also called Caras Pretas, "Black Faces", on account of the dark (not black) tattooing on their faces. Their third name is Pakiss. The word comes from the Lingua Geral, a corrupted Tupí-dialect, and means "Father Knife", as the Mundurucú were known as head hunters, although not as cannibals.

In the State of Matto Grosso the Mundurucú were known as Sarumá (see supra). As Von den Steinen noted, they lived there next to the Apiacá, and disturbed all the tribes of the Arinos and Xingú region by their attacks.

d. How do the Mundurucú call outsiders? Every non-Mundurucú, be he a "Brown-shirt" or be he some one with a pretension to a veneer of culture, is a *parinat*, a foreigner, to the "headhunters". But of course the Mundurucú living on the

[See arrows sheet, Category Ib, p. 556.—Analyst]

411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidaruz), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (casp), and the bow which is difficult to draw (tarô) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (pangnie, or uup, tupi viba) but poisoned war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a uitotap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [389] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Diccionario geograph. II. 136 and Cerqueira e Silva Corograf. paraense 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (zagavatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 The Mundrucus are great artists in the manufacture of feather orna-
287 ments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most labori-
292 ous products of Indian industry: scepters (bupa) carried on festive occasions in the hand; stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (bombim manja); hats (akeri) often outfitted with long braids of arara feathers (akeri kaba); cords and tassels with arara feathers (pano-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stowed in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for
231 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mutum or hoccos (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope), the king and the white vulture (Cathartes papa and Falco urubitinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them,
276 the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [390] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaciodes, which is in vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Mawes. But they

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Within the house each family has its own partitioned quarters and a fireplace or stone manioc oven (Tocantins, 1877). How many families usually occupy a single house has not been reported. 342

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

The only item of *Mundurucú* clothing mentioned in the literature is the three-cornered penis cover suspended from a cotton cord, but there are several descriptions of the ceremonial feather garments for which this tribe is famous. Many authors consider the *Mundurucú* to have been the most expert featherworkers in South America within the historic period. 271

Featherwork.—Featherwork includes aprons, capes (attached to headdresses), caps, diadems, belts, girdles, bandoliers, arm bands, and leg bands. The feathers used in this craft were at least in part obtained from birds kept in captivity; red, blue, green, and yellow feathers were carefully sorted by color and size and stored in baskets or in palm-stem cylinders. Martius was told that the *Mundurucú* were able to cause their parrots to grow yellow plumes by plucking their feathers and rubbing frogs' blood into the wounds.[9] The feathers are attached to a net fabric. Tail feathers, arranged in parallel rows, are used in capes and pendants; rosettes of small feathers, bound at the quills, are attached to the base net to cover the attachments of long feathers; imbricated breast feathers may be used to cover the surface of a fabric or to sheathe a cord. Decorative effects are produced by simple alternation of colors. 287 [625]

A characteristic feathered staff is described as a stem of cane or wood about 3 feet (1 m.) long and 2 or 3 inches in diameter. The shaft is either covered with long feathers laid flat against it or sheathed with fine breast feathers. At the upper end a dense band of rosettes forms a projecting collar; a free cluster of long plumes may project from the head of the staff. The feathers are attached with wax and cotton thread. These objects are highly valued and when not in use are carefully stored in cylindrical containers. Their significance has not been reported; Martius merely says that when he approached a *Mundurucú* village, staff-bearers came to meet him. 293

Tattooing and painting.—The *Mundurucú* tattooing designs consist of fine, widely-spaced parallel lines applied vertically on limbs and torso; bands of lozenges across the upper part of the chest; occasional parallel horizontal lines, and cross-hatchings. Around each eye is tattooed a single-line ellipse; curved lines are drawn around the mouth. Lines converging toward the ears across the cheeks give the appearance of wings spread across the face. (For illustrations of *Mundurucú* tattooing, see the sketches by Hercules Florence (Steinen, 1886).) 304

[9] Von Martius (1824 b, p. 207) says of this custom, which has been reported from other South American tribes, that the color change actually occurs, but makers attribute the change to dietary factors.

and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

291 Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children -- were altogether naked.

302 649 We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the losenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

609 [195] The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Caderari
to the village of Necodemus on the plains

237 At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Caderari, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

607 [326] We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

[342] [23]

291 §41 Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

152 593 I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I believe that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband appeared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. 659 The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

555 593 Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are extremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

69 When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

302 Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

[30] On the face and chest, miniature lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

304 tattooed or there was in the middle of the face a semielliptical, blue-black spot from which numerous, parallel lines extended over the chin and lower jaw down to the breast. From the middle of one shoulder to the other, two or three lines half an inch apart run across the broad chest. Under these there are vertically placed diamonds, some filled in, some left in outline to the end of the chest. The rest of the torso is adorned similarly though not so completely and the same lines are repeated on the extremities with or without the diamonds. Variations are introduced according to individual taste. Among women the whole face is rarely blackened, they have only a malha, a crescent shape, the pointed horns of which are turned upward. Their [388] ears are pierced, not in the lobe, but at the top in the first fold and they wear cane pegs in the holes. The face of these people is wide, with a low forehead shadowed by the hair which is cut straight across, the facial features marked, coarse and expressive of good nature. The eyes are always dark and not so slanted as the eyes of Indians of the more southerly tribes. The nose is large, often somewhat curved, not so short and blunt, with flaring nostrils, like those we have noticed among the Indians of eastern Brazil. Their heads are covered with thick, shining black hair which turns gray among the Mundrucus only late and then only in individual cases. I have never seen among them, any more than among any other Indians, an old man who was white-headed. In the wilds they are unclothed except that the men wear a jock strap [Suspensorium] of cotton or a tacanhacha. The women I saw were wholly naked, even in the mission, and to get an apron on them for church was a matter of some difficulty. The Mundrucus and their neighbors, the Mawes, with whom they are friendly, are, like the Apiacas, skilled in the art of spinning cotton thread and weaving hammocks which they hang outside their huts on hot nights. To catch fish they usually poison the water in which the fish are found.* They make

*They do this in ponds or dammed up brooks by stirring the crushed twigs and leaves of the timbo (Paullinia pinnata) into the water until it turns dark and foams. The fish, and even crocodiles, come to the surface belly up, stupefied or dead and the fish are eaten. The water is extremely poisonous.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Within the house each family has its own partitioned quarters and a fireplace or stone manioc oven (Tocantins, 1877). How many families usually occupy a single house has not been reported. 342

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

The only item of *Mundurucú* clothing mentioned in the literature is the three-cornered penis cover suspended from a cotton cord, but there are several descriptions of the ceremonial feather garments for which this tribe is famous. Many authors consider the *Mundurucú* to have been the most expert featherworkers in South America within the historic period. 291

Featherwork.—Featherwork includes aprons, capes (attached to headdresses), caps, diadems, belts, girdles, bandoliers, arm bands, and leg bands. The feathers used in this craft were at least in part obtained from birds kept in captivity; red, blue, green, and yellow feathers were carefully sorted by color and size and stored in baskets or in palm-stem cylinders. Martius was told that the *Mundurucú* were able to cause their parrots to grow yellow plumes by plucking their feathers and rubbing frogs' blood into the wounds.[8] The feathers are attached to a net fabric. Tail feathers, arranged in parallel rows, are used in capes and pendants; rosettes of small feathers, bound at the quills, are attached to the base net to cover the attachments of long feathers; imbricated breast feathers may be used to cover the surface of a fabric or to sheathe a cord. Decorative effects are produced by simple alternation of colors. 287 [25]

A characteristic feathered staff is described as a stem of cane or wood about 3 feet (1 m.) long and 2 or 3 inches in diameter. The shaft is either covered with long feathers laid flat against it or sheathed with fine breast feathers. At the upper end a dense band of rosettes forms a projecting collar; a free cluster of long plumes may project from the head of the staff. The feathers are attached with wax and cotton thread. These objects are highly valued and when not in use are carefully stored in cylindrical containers. Their significance has not been reported; Martius merely says that when he approached a *Mundurucú* village, staff-bearers came to meet him. 295

Tattooing and painting.—The *Mundurucú* tattooing designs consist of fine, widely-spaced parallel lines applied vertically on limbs and trunk, bands of lozenges across the upper part of the chest, occasional parallel horizontal lines, and cross-hatchings. Around each eye is tattooed a single-line ellipse; curved lines are drawn around the mouth. Lines converging toward the eye across the cheeks give the appearance of wings spread across the face. (For illustrations of *Mundurucú* tattooing, see the sketches by Hercules Florence (Steinen, 1938).) 304

[8] Castelnau (1850 b, p. 207) says of this custom, which has been reported from other South American tribes, that the color change actually occurs, but modern writers attribute the change to dietary factors.

439 Mundurucú traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1861 the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós "trade in sales and sell provisions to the partisans of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1861. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Mundurucú product.

M 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucú acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare ceased, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

221 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their gardens often before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, sub-June to mid-September, out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 26-27].

[n] 439 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucú, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the intensive [224] all hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not as crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucú. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 60° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently [241] by some Mundurucú villagers. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucú, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for flowery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian rum, cane and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucú dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise. For reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, firearms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product [415] has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucú barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper tearing pan used to make manioc flour. [323]

tribe in general and the extended family in particular. Also, although the men's houses are still built according to the traditional pattern, the dwellings are now built on a rectangular floor plan in contrast to the older elliptical shape.

Modification of the traditional Mundurucú village is even more striking on the shores of the Curuxí River. Some villages number almost 100 inhabitants, but others are tiny hamlets of two small houses, none has the men's house. All dwellings face toward the river, but there is no over-all village plan. The houses are constructed of wattle and daub and, but for a few distinctively Mundurucú characteristics, are much like those of the Neo-Brazilian population. This conformity to the architecture of the whites[1] is even greater on the Tapajós River, where the Mundurucú live in single-family isolation.

The decline of Mundurucú culture is also evident in the physical appearance and dress of the people. All now wear the cheap cotton shirts and trousers or Mother Hubbard dresses sold to them by the traders. The more traditional men of the aforetimes villages generally wear penis sheath and back belt beneath this raiment and usually hunt in the latter accoutrements only. The elaborate body and facial tattooing that were formerly the hallmark of all Mundurucú, both male and female, is also on the wane. It is common now to see young people who are half tattooed, or who have only the first few lines, never completed because of the lapse of the practice.

Summary

The current decadence of Mundurucú culture is not unexpected. On the contrary, it is remarkable that the Mundurucú have preserved so much, and that they still have a semitraditional society after more than a century and a half of continuous peaceful relations with the whites. They arrived late on the Amazon historical scene, and were not noted in published reports until 1796.[2] Whether the Mundurucú reported at that time were the members of a war party or had migrated from their home territory is uncertain, for they were seen far to the north of the upper Tapajós country on the Maué-Assú River, a tributary of a channel of the Madeira River named the Paraná Mirim. But their center of strength remained roughly in their present habitat, and they fought a colonial military detachment in that region in 1795.[3] Their defeat at the hands of government troops ended more than two decades of Mundurucú raids upon the Portuguese settlements of the Amazon and ushered in a period of peaceful relations and active alliance with the whites.

Subsequent to their pacification, large numbers of Mundurucú drifted into the vicinity of the growing towns and missions on the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers. The missions are of especial interest to the subject matter of this study. In 1803 the mission of Santa Cruz was established on the lower Tapajós River

[1] The term "white" as applied herein to the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon is used as a shorthand way of saying "people having a local variant of Luso-Brazilian culture, and who identify themselves with Brazilian society." Actually, the total people represent varying degrees of Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid admixture.

[2] Rivasseau Taveira, 1801.

[3] Almeida Serra, 1802, pp. 6-8.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

142
291
304
301

A Young Mundurucú man. Note tattooed vertical lines on arm and continuing up off our plate and over hands. The houses of Cabruca are in the background.

[348]

A Mundurucú woman gathered in the ceremonial shed to attach feathers to masks.

[end plate 2]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional homeland as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Curiuú and Tropas rivers, only about 300 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

meters, but during July in the same period an average of only 6.05 mm. fell. The extremes during this seven-year ranged from 530.4 mm. in January, 1947, to no rainfall in July, 1945, and again in 1951. The rivers rise and fall with the rains, overflowing their banks in November or December and receding in May. 132

Contrary to popular belief, the heat is seldom excessive in this part of Brazil. Although the sea breezes that blow up the Amazon from the sea as far as Manaos every evening are not felt in the upper Tapajós, the temperature usually drops at night to very comfortable levels. It was my experience that one could use pajamas and two cotton blankets at night; the Mundurucú, who do not possess such luxuries, generally sleep in their cotton clothes and awaken at three or four in the morning to light a small fire beneath their hammocks. There are no great variations in temperature from one month to another. Days are slightly warmer and nights cooler during the dry season, but the lower humidity makes it more agreeable than the rains. Maximum temperatures throughout the year range between 87° and 95° F. (30° and 35° C.), minimum temperatures between 63° and 77° F. (17° and 25° C.). During June, a cold wind blows from the distant Andes and chills the entire region for two to four days. Temperatures then fall to as low as 63° F. (17° C.). [291] [513]

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Mundurucú habitat is surely not an earthly paradise, but neither is it the "green hell" so often pictured by royalty-minded travelers and writers. The Brazilians of the Tapajós River, however, do live in a social and economic hell. They distinguish themselves from the Indians by the self-designation of *civilizado* or, less often, *cristão* (Christian). The Indian is commonly called *caboclo* by them, 101 648

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more 177
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- [422]
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [323]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear
and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress.
The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men
of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these
articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and
a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the
overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [658]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected,
the people are not deeply affected by the missionary
teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and re-
spected without any commitment or great interest on the
part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who
have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidaruí), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (caap), and the bow which is difficult to draw (tarí) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (pangnie, or uup, tupi vibe) but poisoned war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a uitotap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [388] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Dicciomario geograph. II. 126 and Cerqueira e Silva Corograf. paraense 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (espravatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 The Mundrucus are great artists in the manufacture of feather orna-
287 ments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most labori-
292 ous products of Indian industry: scepters (buza) carried on festive occasions in the hand; stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (bombim manja); hats (akeri) often outfitted with long braids of arara feathers (akeri kaha); cords and tassels with arara feathers (paro-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for
231 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mutums or hoccos (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope), the king and the white vulture (Cathartes papa and Falco urubutinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

734 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them,
276 the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [390] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaiodes, which is in
000 vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Maues. But they

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 727 contents of each bowl to ascertain whether a ritually impure person had defiled the food.

After partaking of the ceremonial feast, the men went to the men's house, across the front of which they lined up in a single row with the boys behind. They sang songs celebrating warfare and their arms until dawn, at which time the ceremony ended and the guests returned to their villages. At the conclusion of the rite, the *Dajebosh* resumed his normal life. His person and the trophy head no longer carried their power, but he retained the title and distinction for life. [594]

This account suggests some of the functions of the ritual complex in relation to the practice of warfare and to the social structure, in general. First, the high status accorded the *Dajebosh* acted to give personal incentive to individual warriors and thus contributed to more effective military action. The taker of the trophy head was further motivated, for the power possessed by him and the head increased the yield of the hunt. The concept of this magical influence also provided an additional group motivation and rationale for warfare and served to root it more firmly in Mundurucú beliefs. The emphasis on warfare was further heightened through the celebration of Mundurucú prowess by the *Daroábi*; and this phase of the ritual provided a means of indoctrinating the young into the militarism in which they would one day take part.

The ritual complex was also related to aspects of Mundurucú culture other than warfare. The burial of the humerus of the warrior slain in battle was the most important occasion for the expression of intervillage ritual hostility. And the attachment of feather pendants to the ears of the trophy head was one of the few remaining corporate functions of the fragmented clans. Finally, and this is true of all the important intervillage ceremonies, the warfare rites served to integrate the populations of the several Mundurucú villages and to maintain bonds of association among scattered fellow clansmen.

Ceremonies of the Game

796 224 Two ceremonies, the *Aruierui* and the *Dajuewpariy*, were held in honor of the spirit mothers of the game. The several Mundurucú villages took turns as hosts in these intervillage rites, and one of the two ceremonies was held during most years. The purpose of the two rites was identical, and they differed only in length and in minor formal details. The following description of the *Dajuewpariy* is also valid for the *Aruierui*, except where noted.

A ceremony was usually held at the instigation of one of the older and more respected men of the village—not necessarily the chief—who then became its *piwet*, or leader and organizer. But it was essential for the leader to have the consent of his fellow villagers, for they had to join him in amassing food and drink for the visitors.

796 224 292 As in all Mundurucú ceremonies, the arrival of the guests signaled the beginning of feasting and preparation of ceremonial regalia. The actual ceremony began with the playing of flutes by a group of cloaked dancers who danced from house to house, performing in each. The cloaks were made of the long fronds of the

buriti palm and were fashioned in an extremely simple manner. The ends of a large bunch of fronds were tied together and a ring of vine was attached some five inches below the top knot. The vine ring was then placed on the dancer's head, and the leaves were arranged to fall uniformly down all sides of his body to a point below his knees. The garment was fastened to his waist by a buriti leaf belt. The dancer's arms protruded from the sides of the cloak, and the fronds were pushed aside to make openings for the eyes and mouth. Underneath these cloaks the dancers wore the same raiment used by all the other men during the ceremony. This consisted of a buriti leaf crown, to the front, back, and sides of which were attached vertical strips of buriti leaf. Bands of this leaf were also tied around the biceps, wrists, ankles, and just below the knees, and were crisscrossed across the chest and shoulders. The ends of each band were shredded and allowed to dangle. A belt of buriti leaf was also worn, and long thin strips of this leaf hung from it to form a knee-length skirt. Thin fibers hung from the back of a buriti-leaf neck choker to below the buttocks. The garment used in the *Awaiwa* ceremony was identical, except that the buriti leaves were first boiled in water and then hung in the sun to bleach white.

The instruments used by the dancers, called *kui*, consisted of bamboo tubes some 19 inches long with a reed made of the root of the paxiuba palm inserted in the mouth. Identical instruments were used in a secular dance, the *Parawa*, but those for the *Dajaurapanp* and *Awaiwa* could not be used for such profane purposes, for fear of insulting the Mother of the Game.

After the ceremony began, five cloaked dancers made the house-to-house rounds day and night and were replaced after each round by fresh dancers from the men's house. There was an occasional intermission to allow the men and the inhabitants of the dwelling houses to sleep. Each round began when three cloaked men, dancing side by side, approached the first house in a clockwise direction from the men's house. Playing their instruments, they danced to the doorway of the house three times and backed off, entering the house on their fourth approach. After entering the house they circled twice around the interior and then left for the next house in the same direction, repeating the same movements. As they left the house, the other two cloaked dancers approached it, entered in the same manner, and followed the first three through the village. During the rounds of the five *kui* players, the other men stayed in the men's house and sang songs appropriate to the ceremony. Most of these songs dealt with hunting and game animals, and some with fish and food-bearing plants.

The climax of the ceremony was the summoning of the spirit mothers of the game and their subsequent visitation. Some days after the beginning of the house-to-house dancing, temporary thatch walls were built about the open sides and front of the men's house. A great number of skulls of game animals were gathered and those of each species were placed in rows running east-west and parallel to each other. At the head of the line of tapir skulls was one that had been kept in the men's house and was considered to be the chief of all the skulls in the room. In front of the rows of animal skulls were those of two coatá monkeys. Their

4: Horton E-6 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Within the house each family has its own partitioned quarters and a fireplace or some manioc oven (Tocantins, 1877). How many families usually occupy a single house has not been reported. 342

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

The only item of *Mundurucú* clothing mentioned in the literature is the three-cornered penis cover suspended from a cotton cord, but there are several descriptions of the ceremonial leather garments for which this tribe is famous. Many authors consider the *Mundurucú* to have been the most expert leatherworkers in South America within the historic period. 291

Featherwork.—Featherwork includes aprons, capes (attached to headdresses), caps, diadems, belts, girdles, bandoliers, arm bands, and leg bands. The feathers used in this craft were at least in part obtained from birds kept in captivity; red, blue, green, and yellow feathers were carefully sorted by color and size and stored in baskets or in palm-stem cylinders. Martius was told that the *Mundurucú* were able to cause their parrots to grow yellow plumes by plucking their feathers and rubbing frogs' blood into the wounds.[6] The feathers are attached to a net fabric. Tail feathers, arranged in parallel rows, are used in capes and pendants; rosettes of small feathers, bound at the quills, are attached to the base net to cover the attachments of long feathers; intercutted breast feathers may be used to cover the surface of a fabric or to sheathe a cord. Decorative effects are produced by simple alternation of colors. 287 [25]

A characteristic featherd staff is described as a stem of cane or wood about 3 feet (1 m.) long and 2 or 3 inches in diameter. The shaft is either covered with long feathers laid flat against it or sheathed with fine breast feathers. At the upper end a dense band of rosettes forms a projecting collar; a free cluster of long plumes may project from the head of the staff. The feathers are attached with wax and cotton thread. These objects are highly valued and when not in use are carefully stored in cylindrical containers. Their significance has not been reported; Martius merely says that when he approached a *Mundurucú* village, staff-bearers came to meet him. 245

Tattooing and painting.—The *Mundurucú* tattooing designs consist of fine, widely-spaced parallel lines applied vertically on limbs and torso; bands of lozenges across the upper part of the chest; occasional parallel horizontal lines, and cross-hatchings. Around each eye is tattooed a single-line ellipse; curved lines are drawn around the mouth. Lines converging toward the ears across the cheeks give the appearance of wings spread across the face. (For illustrations of *Mundurucú* tattooing, see the sketches by Hercules Florence (Steinen, 1899).) 304

[6] Nordenskiöld (1924 b, p. 207) says of this custom, which has been reported from other South American tribes, that the color change actually occurs, but ornithologists attribute the change to dietary factors.

[47] Yet this Mundurucu had gone nearly mad over the Parintintin head. He would not part with it for an instant. When the time came for me to leave Necodemos, as I shall relate below, he and twelve other Indians escorted me on my eight-day journey through the forest to the headwaters of the Cadeurei. In [48] the course of this trip, when evening came and we had to stop for the night, the Indian would thrust into the ground next to his hammock a staff which he carried expressly [85] for this purpose, and on which he would hang the head, as if on a clothes-rack, covering it carefully with a cloth I had given him.

At dawn, his first glance was for the head: he would place it in his lap, run his fingers through its long hair, and croon it as if it were a beloved daughter.

He only handed me this relic at the last moment, when I had already embarked for my descent of the Cadeurei, and then he still said: "But I wanted it for myself!" I must say I had made him a present of a double-barrelled shotgun, some gunpowder, shot-lead, and other objects. Nevertheless, his gaze followed us until our canoe had vanished down the river.

In Necodemos there was yet another mummified head. It had been the head of a Parintintin warrior. The Mundurucu who owned it, already quite old, did not wish to show it to me and would not talk about it: I did not press the issue. Some of [50] the Mundurucu wore necklaces made from the teeth of enemies they had killed.

I saw children said by my interpreter to be captives taken in the last war. The villagers, however, did not even mention the subject; perhaps they feared that we should want to take their prisoners from them.

V

Legend of Mundurucu beginnings. -- Beliefs and traditions. -- Appearance of "Caru-Sacaebe." -- Ingratitude of the inhabitants of Acupari -- Punishment. -- Necodemos as the cradle of the human race.

[74] It seemed to me that I could distinguish traces of an ancient civilization among these strange people. The Mundurucu

tattooed or there was in the middle of the face a semilliptical, blue-black spot from which numerous, parallel lines extended over the chin and lower jaw down to the breast. From the middle of one shoulder to the other, two or three lines half an inch apart run across the broad chest. Under these there are vertically placed diamonds, some filled in, some left in outline to the end of the chest. The rest of the torso is adorned similarly though not so completely and the same lines are repeated on the extremities with or without the diamonds. Variations are introduced according to individual taste. Among women the whole face is rarely blackened, they have only a malha, a crescent shape, the pointed horns of which are turned upward. Their [300] ears are pierced, not in the lobe, but at the top in the first fold and they wear cane pegs in the holes. The face of these people is wide, with a low forehead shadowed by the hair which is cut straight across, the facial features marked, coarse and expressive of good nature. The eyes are always dark and not so slanted as the eyes of Indians of the more southerly tribes. The nose is large, often somewhat curved, not so short and blunt, with flaring nostils, like those we have noticed among the Indians of eastern Brazil. Their heads are covered with thick, shining black hair which turns gray among the Mundrucus only late and then only in individual cases. I have never seen among them, any more than among any other Indians, an old man who was white-headed. In the wilds they are unclothed except that the men wear a jock strap [Suspensorium] of cotton or a tacanhaoba. The women I saw were wholly naked, even in the mission, and to get an apron on them for church was a matter of some difficulty. The Mundrucus and their neighbors, the Mawes, with whom they are friendly, are, like the Apiacas, skilled in the art of spinning cotton thread and weaving hammocks which they hang outside their huts on hot nights. To catch fish they usually poison the water in which the fish are found.* They make

*They do this in ponds or dammed up brooks by stirring the crushed twigs and leaves of the timbo (Paullinia pinnata) into the water until it turns dark and foams. The fish, and even crocodiles, come to the surface belly up, stupefied or dead and the fish are eaten. The water is extremely poisonous.

4: Norton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent
442 of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823-31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled
727 his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

[309] [784]

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

266 Steinen believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Steinen's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

846 **Birth and naming.**—According to Martius, the father keeps to his
943 hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children
852 reach their 8th year, their tattooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

581 **Puberty and marriage.**—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

584 A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

727
301

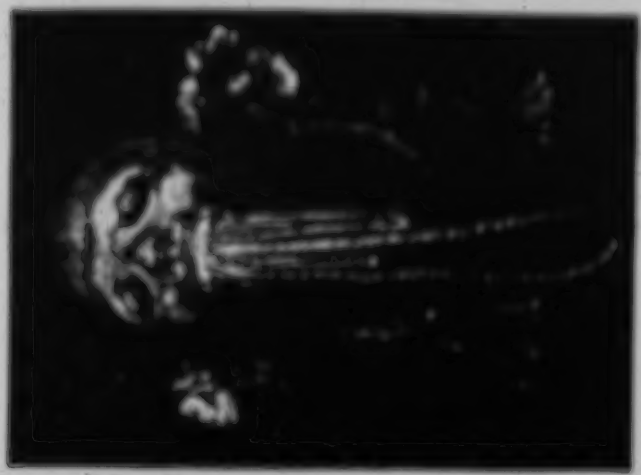


PLATE III—Mundurucú artifacts. *Left:* Preserved human head with external teeth and to eye sockets and a composition cord hanging from the mouth. (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.) *Right:* Belt of human teeth, worn by orders of a superior pilot to conclude. (Courtesy Museo Paranense Emilio Goeldi, Belém.)

[facing p. 282]

9: Murphy E-9 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was 727
exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained 229
when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his
wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid look- [534]
ing upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they
lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajabiuli spent most of his
time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to per-
form her household and garden chores.

The Dajabiuli was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies 746
that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of 727
the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of
the war party, leather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head;
certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the leathers of particular species
of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two pegs teeth
were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the
ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner
of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing
the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a perma- [301]
nent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the
men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage 746
participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Dawáki* or "mothers 515
of the arrow." The Dawáki was a society devoted to the celebration of Mun- 533
durucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held,
martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the
songs of the Dawáki. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle
terminated and the Dajabiuli and his wife resumed their normal life.[8]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They 727
were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into 597
the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treat- [559]
ment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members
of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Con-
temporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors,
although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to
have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their
native group. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave 721
"conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The
Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered
an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were
attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation
emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific ques-
tions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajebuik* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Mundurucú villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajebuik*. Come, drink *wera* and *mirí*. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Mundurucú style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting.

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Wuhadut*[1] society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajebuik* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the *pem*, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other moiety. The captor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (*i.e.*, during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Daruhi* moiety returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Daruhi* enter the village would be killed during the next war.

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajebuik*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with *beiji* (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and *beiji* and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten.

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vulturus had to eat apart from the other *Daruhi*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he died. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the yellowing sickness, or *ujewaii*. To prevent this a shaman examined the

[1] The identity of this term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

142
291
304
301

a. Young Mundurucú man. Note tattooed vertical lines on neck and continuing one of ear plugs and arm bands. The houses of Cururú are in the background.

[343]

b. Mundurucú women gathered in the communal shed in which farinha is made.

[end plate 2]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

174 try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

131 Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional homeland as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 300 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in 177 search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his [298] first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western [301] style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is [415] a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong 142 in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the [304] younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the 171 Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely 361 Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

291 Needlem to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children-- went and together naked.

302 609 We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

609 [145] The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadereri to the village of Necodemos on the plains

487 At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadereri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

609 [60] We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds, ten far dogs heralded a house of plenty.

[34] 29

609

From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia venifera); he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Absenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

The village of Absenanti was under construction; it comprised but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west

We found no one inside the house, but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the losenges; that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away, leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Absenanti and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

to harm them. We resumed our journey at dawn of the following day, crossing successively woods and stretches of open country.

While crossing one of those woods I came upon one of the most touching scenes of savage life. Near one of those numerous brooks that wind their way everywhere, and that constitute the head-
593 waters of the Cadereri, I met a young family The head was no more than eighteen years old, and his companion was not over fifteen or sixteen, yet she already carried in her arms a child of a few months. They were accompanied by an old Indian woman. The faces and chests of the young couple had not yet been painted with
[302 the indelible dyes of the tribe; but the young woman, who had been
515] bathing in the brook, had painted her face with urucu dye, which
[608] lent her a childlike attractiveness. This interesting couple, on seeing us pass, showed visible signs of surprise and alarm.

Tired as I was, and anxious to get to the end of the journey, it was not even possible for me to tarry a few minutes and have some friendly words with these poor savages; besides, the interpreter was not present at the time.

I would have liked, at least, to offer them a cloth with [80] which the two children -- mother and baby -- might ward off the burning rays of the sun during their journey across vast stretches of open country; but our men, rebellious like all Maué Indians, carried only what was strictly necessary for our own subsistence.

We have sketched here this touching scene in order to inspire sympathy for the poor savages, weighted down as they are with great misfortunes.

III

I arrive at the village of Necodemos. -- The Mundurucu offer me shelter and good hospitality.

131 After five days of incessant walking, counting from the spot where we had left our canoe at the headwaters of the Cadereri, we finally saw in the distance a column of smoke which rose from the maloca of Necodemos.

202 In the afternoon I nearly lost my way among the trails leading to the village. The Maué Indians who accompanied me, as well as the guide and the interpreter, had forged ahead, leaving me behind with two companions, and had already reached the maloca while I still attempted with difficulty to find my way, guided only by the sound of a horn which I could hear somewhere ahead of me.

It was a Mundurucu Indian from Necodemos, who had generously come to meet me, and who blew on his instrument to guide me.

My satisfaction was great when at nightfall I came upon
142 this savage, who was about thirty-five or forty, and who was short,
157 fat, dark and ugly, but so happy and cheerful that he seemed like a child. [81]

I arrived in Necodemos at seven o'clock in the evening.

I was finally realizing one of my fondest wishes, namely, to see a savage tribe in its primitive state, exactly as it must have been before the discovery of Brazil; living according to the laws of nature and lacking all contact with the ideas of other peoples that might serve to alter its beliefs and traditions.

There are thinkers who do not acknowledge biblical tradition and who hold that mankind began its earthly journey in darkness, in the state of nudity and savagery I saw before me, and guided by the light of reason and by Providence climbed to the present state of civilization. This doctrine is more comforting than the one which represents man as fallen from a paradise of light and bliss; fallen, for minor sins that were not his own, into the extreme misery of these unhappy savages.

609 When I arrived, some eighty stout Mundurucu awaited me on the village grounds and received me with a display of open curiosity.

302 To me, the appearance of these men was no less curious, painted as they were with such identical designs that they looked like uniformed soldiers. Dozens of fires which burned on the square lent this picture a sinister quality, casting reflections on the broad, naked, bronze-colored chests.

609 I greeted them, bidding them good evening with one of
57 the few words in their language I had memorized for such purposes: "Chipate." They all answered: "Chipate." One of them addressed

773 Now it so happens that a lage cave actually exists near the
[323] present site of Acupari. The Mudurucu say that even today the grunts of wild pigs and cries of agny may be heard there.

Others state that women's cnaments such as bracelets made of chestnut shells may be found nar the cave entrance, as well as other vestiges of the tremendous catastrophe. The Mundurucu dare not enter the cave of Acupat.

Then Caru-Sacaebê left wih Rairu, the only survivor of the disaster.

Arriving at the place where Necodemos stands today, he stamped his foot upon the ground, and from the large fissure that resulted he drew one pair of Mundurucu, one of white people, one of Indians, and one of Negroes.

● [302] Caru-Sacaebê painted the Nundurucu couple in the same fashion as he himself was painted, and this was the origin of the maloca of Necodemos and the beginnings of the tribe, which grew so large and powerful that the earth shook when they marched off to war.

The white people, the Indians and the Negroes set off to populate other lands.

In Necodemos, Caru-Sacaelê laid out a field and sowed it, and when the first rains fell there sprouted manioc, maize, sweet potato, yam, cotton, and other food-yielding and medicinal plants.

He taught how to build ovens and how to make manioc flour.

He made a small wooden statue, gave it life, and named it Hanhu-Acauâte; this was his second son.

To provide Hanhu-Acauâte with a mother, Caru-Sacaebê took as consort a maiden of the tribe by the name of Chicrichá. [88]

Hanhu-Acauâte grew; some women eluded the vigilance of Chicrichá and seduced him.

Caru-Sacaebê changed Hanhu-Acauâte into an ant, and Chicrichá and the guilty women into fish.

Necodemos was already strong and powerful.

773 Caru-Sacaebê drew on a high rock between Acupari and
172 Necodemos those symbolic characters which are still to be seen

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided the province of Pará into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maué, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

"The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

"They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

"Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

291 Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any
841 postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

152 I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I be-
573 lieve that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband ap-
684 peared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

555 Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are ex-
573 tremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

619 When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

302 Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

531 On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

302 Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

304 The tattoing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

[325] Then the painter traces the designs on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

[386] The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

304 619 It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacaebê.

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs --Burial customs.

[821] The Mundurucu call the sun caxi.

805 They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coatu and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

304 tattooed or there was in the middle of the face a semielliptical, blue-black spot from which numerous, parallel lines extended over the chin and lower jaw down to the breast. From the middle of one shoulder to the other, two or three lines half an inch apart run across the broad chest. Under these there are vertically placed diamonds, some filled in, some left in outline to the end of the chest. The rest of the torso is adorned similarly though not so completely and the same lines are repeated on the extremities with or without the diamonds. Variations are introduced according to individual taste. Among women the whole face is rarely blackened, they have only a malha, a crescent shape, the pointed horns of which are turned upward. Their [388] ears are pierced, [301] not in the lobe, but at the top in the first fold and they wear cane pegs 142 in the holes. The face of these people is wide, with a low forehead [302] shadowed by the hair which is cut straight across, the facial features marked, coarse and expressive of good nature. The eyes are always dark and not so slanted as the eyes of Indians of the more southerly tribes. The nose is large, often somewhat curved, not so short and blunt, with flaring nostrils, like those we have noticed among the Indians of eastern Brazil. Their heads are covered with thick, shining black hair which turns gray among the Mundrucus only late and then only in individual cases. I have never seen among them, any more than among any other Indians, an old man who was white-headed. In the 291 wilds they are unclothed except that the men wear a jock strap [Suspensorium] of cotton or a tacanhaoba. The women I saw were wholly naked, even in the mission, and to get an apron on them for 285 church was a matter of some difficulty. The Mundrucus and their neighbors, the Maues, with whom they are friendly, are, like the Apiacas, skilled in the art of spinning cotton thread and weaving hammocks which they hang outside their huts on hot nights. To catch fish [226] they usually poison the water in which the fish are found.* They make

*They do this in ponds or dammed up brooks by stirring the crushed twigs and leaves of the timbo (Paullinia pinnata) into the water until it turns dark and foams. The fish, and even crocodiles, come to the surface belly up, stupefied or dead and the fish are eaten. The water is extremely poisonous.

846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the
child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened
to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is
changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the
bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the
same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already de-
termined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband
dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take
her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage,
for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons
988

*The hopelessly degenerate Camés, Voturôes, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do
this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a
service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[10] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tame-
puyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to
this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old peo-
ple" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
[302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside
the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
[775] Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

304 Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [302] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, 286 and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [286] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of muriti palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

303 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a [173] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone [324] objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajóz River *Mundurucú* have a 616 patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

197 101 The Mundurucú are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors 302 101 and with the lingua geral. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

726 701 The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never [578 214] between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the [122] chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Trubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Horton, 1948, p. 273.

178 of the savannahs and the new ones of the river bank became attenuated, and
224 a lack of powerful shamans in the former communities may well have developed.
796 The shorter *Dajearuparip* ceremony was practiced as recently as 1945 or thereabouts but has since lapsed in spite of a few unsuccessful efforts to resurrect it. By that time the lack of shamans must have become acute, as it is today in many sections of the Mundurucú country. Also, the early 1940's were a period of intense rubber collection, owing to the stimulus provided by World War II. During these years the Mundurucú of the savannah villages grew more accustomed to clothing and other attractions of the outside world, and involvement with Brazilian society increased. The exact effect of these influences is uncertain, but interest in ritual undoubtedly was replaced increasingly by apathy and fatalism in the face of the decay of other aspects of Mundurucú culture. Ceremonialism not only heightens social cohesion, but it reflects it. So far as the structure of Mundurucú society was undermined by other factors, so also was the basis of the ceremonial reunions.

The form of the extinct ceremonies for head-hunting and the spirit mothers of the game was described by informants. Other rites were reported by them in very fragmentary form and were attributed to a more remote past. Only a curing ceremony and the complex of ceremonial activities surrounding the sacred trumpets are still extant and were observed by me.

The Duparip Ceremony

796 One elderly Mundurucú reported a ceremony called the *Duparip*, which he said
851 had ceased to be practiced long before his birth and which had been related to
852 him as a boy by the old men. The *Duparip* was said to have been held infrequently; it was initiated during the summer, and the associated ritual activities occurred intermittently over a two-year span.

It was not possible to obtain a full account of the purpose or form of the ceremony, for the informant remembered only disconnected items. It obviously had some significance as a rite of passage, for young boys[1] were taken into the men's house and allowed to return to their proper dwellings only at the end of the two-year ceremonial period. During this time they were referred to as pet jacamís by
[302] the men, and three stripes were cut through their hair, from front to back, in imitation of the feathering of that bird. When they were finally released from the men's house, they were given sharp wooden "beaks" with which they "pecked" at the women. During their confinement they could leave the men's house only to relieve themselves. The men periodically hastened the growth of the boys by standing upon their feet and lifting them up by the armpits. The "young jacamís"
[262] could eat only a certain type of deer, the meat of which was carefully examined for traces of skin, which was believed to make the boys ill.

Other passages of the *Duparip* included the previously mentioned rite in which three powerful shamans transformed people into animals.[2] Flutes were played by

[1] My informant reported that boys are recruited for this ceremony at the age of three; I think this most doubtful and believe that five years is a more reasonable age.

[2] See p. 42.

727 616 766 mentary moiety have the privilege (or pleasure, as some informants phrased it) of burying the dead of the other moiety, if only symbolically. For this purpose, the humerus of the dead Mundurucú was cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone after the arm was boiled and allowed to dry in the sun. Indicative of the symbolic importance attached to the moieties' prerogative of burying each other's dead was the practice of amputating the humerus of a wounded but still living warrior who was unable to continue the return journey. Furthermore, when the body was lost or a vengeance party was in hot pursuit and such Draconian measures were impossible, a symbolic arm bone was made out of a short piece of arrow cane and duly mourned, treasured, and buried.

727 766 The grisly operation of taking the humerus of the fallen warrior was performed by a member of the latter's *iboiwstitit*, or those clans of the opposite moiety that held the special burial right over the deceased's clan. This man brought the bone back to his village and guarded it carefully, sleeping with it in his arms "as if it were a baby." After an unspecified period, the man's mourners and many members of his *iboiwstitit* gathered to bury the bone in the floor of its custodian's house.

765 Both male and female kinsmen of the slain warrior were expected to weep loudly upon hearing news of his death. The patterned wailing of the men was of short duration, but that of the women was expected to last for several months. [302] Also, women, as in the event of the death of any relative, had their hair cropped close to the scalp and were prohibited from wearing any body ornamentation. The latter restriction applied also to men, but their hair was not cut. The cutting of the woman's hair was always done by a male member of her *iboiwstitit*.

727 796 The actual cycle of trophy-head ceremonies began shortly after the return of the war party with an observance known as *Iwyenborutaptem*, or Decorating the Ears. This ceremony and those celebrated in the two succeeding rainy seasons were held under the leadership of the taker (or takers) of the trophy head, who was thereafter honored by the title of *Dajebolii*, or Mother of the Peccary. Food was amassed by the host village under his direction, and invitations were issued to other villages. The purpose of this phase of the trophy-head ceremony was to decorate the head. Implicitly, its function was to inaugurate the head and its owner into the status that both would occupy until the conclusion of the cycle.

The preparation of the trophy head began during the return march from the enemy village. First the brains were extracted with the wide bamboo point of a war arrow, which was inserted into the head through the foramen magnum. The teeth were then knocked out and carefully stored away, and the head was lightly boiled and dried near the fire. This process made the skin dry and parchment-like and effectively preserved it. Finally a woven cord was inserted in the mouth and led out through the nostril by a hole pierced in the hard palate, leaving the tasseled ends of the cord dangling from the mouth and nostril. At a later time, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth affixed across either eye.

The Mundurucú considered the crowning glory of a trophy head to be the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534 The women made the manioc drink on the next, or third, day of the ceremony,
778 and the men then commenced thatching the walls of the trumpet chamber. The
796 men's house, say the Mundurucú, is the home of the karikó, and the trumpets must be moved into a completely roofed and walled dwelling at the same time that the men move. For this reason it is necessary to complete the walls and roof in one day and to move into the new men's house, with the trumpets, that very [342] night. Since it takes several days to thatch a roof properly, the roof of the old house is customarily dismantled and placed upon the frame of the new one. A new roof would be built during the next rainy season.

During the busy preparations for the installation of the instruments in their new home, considerable feasting and gaiety took place also. From the arrival of the guests until the completion of the thatching, everybody took part in intermoiety and intersexual joking. Mixtures of urucú or palm fruit and water were prepared and were thrown by the women upon men of the opposite moiety. The latter seized the women's supply occasionally and took revenge.

After thatching the roof of the new men's house and walling the trumpet enclosure, the men assembled in the old men's house. They unstrung their hammocks and assembled all their belongings and then took the trumpets from their old chamber. Three men of the same moiety as the clan to which the trumpets belonged then began playing the instruments and slowly marched toward the new village. The other men crowded about the players, wearing and waving palm leaves, to shield the sacred instruments from the eyes of the women. Within the protecting ring were four other men. One carried a hunting horn with which he occasionally sounded a signal consisting of two long, four short, and two more long blasts; another man followed this signal with the characteristic yell of the hunter who raises game. A third man sounded the gourd horn associated with the trumpets of Cabituti, and a fourth walked along shaking a rattle. The last man belonged to the opposite moiety of the trumpets and was referred to as their *ibowatitit*. [302] His head was covered with a paste made of urucú and ground maize.

The slow procession started from the old men's house at dusk, and night had fallen by the time the group of marchers reached the new village. The women shut themselves in the dwelling houses in anticipation of the men's arrival, and, as the men entered the village, the women began to wail in sorrow for the loss of the instruments that are believed to have once been theirs.* The procession of men circled each house of the village three times and then stopped in front of the new men's house. There the trumpets were played while the rest of the men drank the sweet manioc beverage and rested. The instruments were played outside the men's house until dawn and were then brought inside their new chamber and played until the sun rose. At that time they were retired to the rack suspended from the ceiling, and the guests departed for their own village. The old men's house was later burned to hide all evidence of the activities that once went on in it.

In view of the rapid disintegration of Mundurucú village life, it is doubtful

* See pp. 80–81.

/15 cont./

*241 Also:

192 pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties

262 banana—aku, 11 varieties

cotton—buru, two varieties

urucú—tyuku, tyuku a

papaya—asãu a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Mundurukú also have a certain number of vegetables which back-

• [302] woodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor.

[157] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet

[189] are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 From this list, it becomes clear that the Mundurukú must have

177 had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Mundurukú are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (9)

[171] 9. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation

302 Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

304 The tattoing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

[325] Then the painter traces the designs on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

[326] The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

304 It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social 69 bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacaebé.

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs -- Burial customs.

[326] 327 The Mundurucu call the sun caxi.

They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coatu and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

This is the squatting position which was also used by the Quechua and the Egyptians. [The Mundurucu] bury with the deceased a few objects he had used in life, such as weapons, feather ornaments, etc. My interpreter was an intelligent Indian and spoke, besides his Mundurucu dialect, the Portuguese and Tupi tongues. He would translate without hesitation into Mundurucu the following sentences: "I miss my mother -- Nheben uexi cahi" "I miss my son -- Nheben opute cahi." The word nehben means "to miss." "My soul goes to heaven -- Ubiumbe cabi cahi dhe."

This knowledge of the heavenly bodies, though still quite rudimentary; these beliefs in a future life, free from odious superstitions; this faculty to conceive and express abstract ideas and the purest and sweetest feelings of the human heart, such as nostalgia for mother or son -- all this surprised me on the part of a people that has always been considered one of the fiercest and most barbarous in the valley of the Amazon.

If the Mundurucu did not derive their beliefs and knowledge from some of the civilized groups on the Andean Plateau, I presume at least that for centuries they must have lived as the inhabitants of the plains villages do today -- that is, in centers as densely populated as [118] a savage economy based on hunting and the meager resources of a crude husbandry will permit. These villages are in constant communication with each other and preserve the same uses and customs. As I mentioned above, the Mundurucu tattooing pattern is really a blood initiation which stamps them with an indelible mark -- a sacred tie binding in brotherly communion all the members of this numerous and powerful tribe.

I will, however, abstain from drawing any conclusions whatever. My purpose is to observe facts with scrupulous care and to describe them with fidelity.

It may be that the light sketch I am tracing of the life of a savage tribe will be pondered by one of those superior minds who cogitate on human destiny and on the problems of mankind.

Theirs is the task to plumb the mysteries of Providence, to search for the beginnings of man's journeys on this earth, for the paths he has followed and the destinies that await him.

2: Kruse M-S (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

or kin, *bari'puye*. The Xingú Mundúrucú are also called by the Tapajós Mundurucú *Tynari-rinut*, "Tanarirana tribe or clan", as they make their loin, arm and ankle bands out of tanarirana bark. The linguistically related Wiaunyen are called *i baurem*, "hidden"—hidden in the region of the headwaters of the Rio Mutum.

b. By what names are the Mundurucú known to other tribes? These names differ much. The Mundurucú are called among the Apiacá, their friends, by the name of Pari, or Itiwa'i, or Maduruku; among the Bacahiri, Mandurukú; among the Chipaya, Karuriá; among the Juruna, Kaluriá; among the Kuruiya, Karudiat (compare Mundurucuan *Karu-rinut*, Red Arara sib); among the Matanawi, Paici; among the Múra, Patisi; among the Tongapi'i, Teuruvi (?); among the Pareci, Saruma (see infra); among the Torá, Kaubek; among a more distant tribe, Akékakuré. Among the Dyurupéa, a "giant" Indian tribe, the Mundurucú are called Tapéa'n. The Dyurupéa say: "When we come, they cry *tapéa'n* and then flee". The reference is here to the tribe which the Apiacá call U'rupéá. The Dyurupéa must speak Apiacá. In Apiacá, *tapéa'n*, *tapéa'n*, means "Indian, stranger". Among the Wófadawat, the Mundurucú are called Tupayu'n, so the Mundurucú say.

c. How are the Mundurucú called by the "civilized" people? The most common designation is Mundurucú. Nothing certain is known about the origin or meaning of this name, so I shall not go into the matter here. They are also called Caras Pretas, "Black Faces", on account of the dark (not black) tattooing on their faces. Their third name is Paikise. The word comes from the Lingua Geral, a corrupted Tupi-dialect, and means "Father Knife", as the Mundurucú were known as head hunters, although not as cannibals.

In the State of Matto Grosso the Mundurucú were known as Sarumá (see supra). As Von den Steinen noted, they lived there next to the Apiacá, and disturbed all the tribes of the Arinos and Xingú region by their attacks.

d. How do the Mundurucú call outsiders? Every non-Mundurucú, be he a "Brown-shirt" or be he some one with a pretension to a veneer of culture, is a *parinut*, a foreigner, to the "headhunters". But of course the Mundurucú living on the

[see errata sheet, Category 116, p. 51A — Analysis]

a different origin. Since I have already given the essential material
114 about the Apiacas it might, however, be appropriate to repeat here what I reported about the Mundrucus (Reise in Brasilien III. 1308 et. seq., 1337.) for no other traveller has actually observed these remarkable Indians in their native habitat.

The Mundrucus, Mondurucus, Mundurucus, Moturicus
(called by the Apiacas Pari)

131 The Mundrucus are, together with the Apiacas, the ruling tribe in the northern basin of the Tapajoz. Their largest aldea de S. Manoel, which has trade connections with the Brasilians, lies about a day's journey below the junction of the Rio Arinos with the Juruena at the Rio negro (vermelho).

142 [387] When I met the first Mundrucus in the Mission Novo Monte Carmel de Canoma I had to admit that I had never before seen Indians like these. Without exception they were athletically built, broad-chested and four-square, plump and well nourished in limbs and torso, and the hard muscles so evenly covered as though these people had never interrupted a life of comfortable relaxation with the hardships
[516] of war and the hunt. Their posture and their walk was that of conscious strength. What struck me the most, along with the general physical excellence of every member of the tribe, was the light skin color.
● 304 They were not so deep a copper red as many other Indians, in particular those living on plains or on large rivers, and this paler color was considerably accented by the tattooing (it was not just painting) which covered almost the whole of the body. * Either the whole face was

*See the illustration in Spix and Martius Reiseatlas. For this painful operation they use a comb made from the thorns of several varieties of palm trees. In all probability there is no other tribe in South America which practices tattooing to the same extent. Rob. Dudley has drawn similar ones from Guyana.

304 tattooed or there was in the middle of the face a semielliptical, blue-black spot from which numerous, parallel lines extended over the chin and lower jaw down to the breast. From the middle of one shoulder to the other, two or three lines half an inch apart run across the broad chest. Under these there are vertically placed diamonds, some filled in, some left in outline to the end of the chest. The rest of the torso is adorned similarly though not so completely and the same lines are repeated on the extremities with or without the diamonds. Variations are introduced according to individual taste. Among women the whole face is rarely blackened, they have only a malha, a crescent shape, the pointed horns of which are turned upward. Their [388] ears are pierced, [308] not in the lobe, but at the top in the first fold and they wear cane pegs 162 in the holes. The face of these people is wide, with a low forehead [302] shadowed by the hair which is cut straight across, the facial features marked, coarse and expressive of good nature. The eyes are always dark and not so slanted as the eyes of Indians of the more southerly tribes. The nose is large, often somewhat curved, not so short and blunt, with flaring nostrils, like those we have noticed among the Indians of eastern Brazil. Their heads are covered with thick, shining black hair which turns gray among the Mundrucus only late and then only in individual cases. I have never seen among them, any more than among any other Indians, an old man who was white-headed. In the 251 wilds they are unclothed except that the men wear a jock strap [Suspensorium] of cotton or a tacanhaoba. The women I saw were wholly naked, even in the mission, and to get an apron on them for 285 church was a matter of some difficulty. The Mundrucus and their neighbors, the Maues, with whom they are friendly, are, like the Apiacas, skilled in the art of spinning cotton thread and weaving hammocks which they hang outside their huts on hot nights. To catch fish [226] they usually poison the water in which the fish are found.* They make

*They do this in ponds or dammed up brooks by stirring the crushed twigs and leaves of the timbo (Paullinia pinnata) into the water until it turns dark and foams. The fish, and even crocodiles, come to the surface belly up, stupefied or dead and the fish are eaten. The water is extremely poisonous.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Within the house each family has its own partitioned quarters and a fireplace or stone manioc oven (Tocantins, 1877). How many families usually occupy a single house has not been reported. 342

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

The only item of *Mundurucú* clothing mentioned in the literature is the three-cornered penis cover suspended from a cotton cord, but there are several descriptions of the ceremonial feather garments for which this tribe is famous. Many authors consider the *Mundurucú* to have been the most expert featherworkers in South America within the historic period. 271

Featherwork.—Featherwork includes aprons, capes (attached to headdresses), caps, diadems, belts, girdles, bandoliers, arm bands, and leg bands. The feathers used in this craft were at least in part obtained from birds kept in captivity; red, blue, green, and yellow feathers were carefully sorted by color and size and stored in baskets or in palm-stem cylinders. Martius was told that the *Mundurucú* were able to cause their parrots to grow yellow plumes by plucking their feathers and rubbing frogs' blood into the wounds.[3] The feathers are attached to a net fabric. Tail feathers, arranged in parallel rows, are used in capes and pendants; rosettes of small feathers, bound at the quills, are attached to the base net to cover the attachments of long feathers; imbricated breast feathers may be used to cover the surface of a fabric or to sheathe a cord. Decorative effects are produced by simple alternation of colors. 287 [825]

A characteristic feathered staff is described as a stem of cane or wood about 3 feet (1 m.) long and 2 or 3 inches in diameter. The shaft is either covered with long feathers laid flat against it or sheathed with fine breast feathers. At the upper end a dense band of rosettes forms a projecting collar; a free cluster of long plumes may project from the head of the staff. The feathers are attached with wax and cotton thread. These objects are highly valued and when not in use are carefully stored in cylindrical containers. Their significance has not been reported; Martius merely says that when he approached a *Mundurucú* village, staff-bearers came to meet him. 293

Tattooing and painting.—The *Mundurucú* tattooing designs consist of fine, widely-spaced parallel lines applied vertically on limbs and torso; bands of lozenges across the upper part of the chest; occasional parallel horizontal lines, and cross-hatchings. Around each eye is tattooed a single-line ellipse; curved lines are drawn around the mouth. Lines converging toward the ears across the cheeks give the appearance of wings spread across the face. (For illustrations of *Mundurucú* tattooing, see the sketches by Hercules Florence (Steinen, 1899).) 304

[3] Nordenskiöld (1924 b, p. 207) says of this custom, which has been reported from other South American tribes, that the color change actually occurs, but zoologists attribute the change to dietary factors.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

304 Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [302] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, 285 and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [286] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of muritĭ palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a [172] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundu-* [324] *rucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajóz River *Mundurucú* have a 616 patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tribe in general and the extended family in particular. Also, although the men's houses are still built according to the traditional pattern, the dwellings are now built on a rectangular floor plan in contrast to the older elliptical shape. 178 621 [341]

Modification of the traditional Mundurucú village is even more striking on the shores of the Cururú River. Some villages number almost 100 inhabitants, but others are tiny hamlets of two small houses; none has the men's house. All dwellings face toward the river, but there is no over-all village plan. The houses are constructed of wattle and daub and, but for a few distinctively Mundurucú characteristics, are much like those of the Neo-Brazilian population. This conformity to the architecture of the whites[2] is even greater on the Tapajós River, where the Mundurucú live in single-family isolation.

The decline of Mundurucú culture is also evident in the physical appearance and dress of the people. All now wear the cheap cotton shirts and trousers or Mother Hubbard dresses sold to them by the traders. The more traditional men of the savannah villages generally wear penis sheath and bark belt beneath this raiment and usually hunt in the latter accoutrements only. The elaborate body and facial tattooing that were formerly the hallmark of all Mundurucú, both male and female, is also on the wane. It is common now to see young people who are half-tattooed, or who have only the first few lines, never completed because of the lapse of the practice. 178 [304]

History

The current decadence of Mundurucú culture is not unexpected. On the contrary, it is remarkable that the Mundurucú have preserved so much, and that they still have a semiautonomous society after more than a century and a half of continuous peaceful relations with the whites. They arrived late on the Amazon historical scene, and were not noted in published reports until 1768.[3] Whether the Mundurucú reported at that time were the members of a war party or had migrated from their home territory is uncertain, for they were seen far to the north of the upper Tapajós country on the Maué-Assú River, a tributary of a channel of the Madeira River named the Paraná Mirím. But their center of strength remained roughly in their present habitat, and they fought a colonial military detachment in that region in 1795.[4] Their defeat at the hands of government troops ended more than two decades of Mundurucú raids upon the Portuguese settlements of the Amazon and ushered in a period of peaceful relations and active alliance with the whites. 175

Subsequent to their pacification, large numbers of Mundurucú drifted into the vicinity of the growing towns and missions on the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers. The missions are of especial interest to the subject matter of this study. In 1803 the mission of Santa Cruz was established on the lower Tapajós River 175 797

[2] The term "white" as applied herein to the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon is used as a shorthand way of saying, "people bearing a local variant of Luso-Brazilian culture, and who identify themselves with Brazilian society." Actually, the local people represent varying degrees of Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid admixture.

[3] Monteiro Noronha, 1862.

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dancers clothed in cloaks of buritĭ leaf, who danced from house to house, playing in each. Another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat. 796 881 852 [304] [616]

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing signalized full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Duparip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of pecking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group. 304 796 884

Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundurucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and returned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad. 796 727

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.[3] No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundurucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain clans of the comple- 766 727 616

[3] Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

142
291
304
301

a. Young Mundurucú man. Note tattooed vertical lines on neck and continuing use of ear plugs and arm bands. The houses of Cabruá are in the background.

[343]

b. Mundurucú women gathered in the communal shed in which *farinha* is made.

[end plate 2]

THE SETTING

174 try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional home-
131 land as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 360 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in
177 search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his
[298] first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western
[301] style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is
[415] a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong
142 in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the
[304] younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the
171 Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely
361 Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and coöperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha anyen,* a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 customers of the patron remain in their isolated dwellings the year round.

439 Every rubber collector deals steadily with the same
648 patron, because the latter controls the section of forest land in which his clients work. The trader usually has no legal title, but receives rights of exploitation by paying
[651] the state tax on the gross cash return from the land. The right of exploitation, perpetuated by the state tax, usually rests on a nebulous title, and, according to Wagley, it is
[423] "control over the land, and not legal documents" which establishes ownership in the Amazon.[8] The patron grants permission to the rubber tapper to extract rubber from his lands and, in return, exerts a trade monopoly in which his client sells rubber to him and buys goods from him.
[651] The patron profits from both sale and purchase and, since he passes the state tax on to the rubber collector, the latter receives but small return in terms of the prices prevailing in the urban markets. The client has freedom of movement only when he is not in debt to the patron, which rarely happens. If he owes money, he can transfer to another patron only if the new one settles the debt and transfers it to his own books. The rubber collector sometimes deals with the *regatões,* or itinerant merchants who ply the rivers, but these transactions are infrequent and in small amounts because the patron does not tolerate a substantial loss of commerce. The rubber collector who deals too often with the *regatão* might be denied credit by his regular patron or, less frequently, evicted from his avenue.

311 The economic power of the trader is especially strong
439 on the upper Tapajós River because of a combination of
648 geographic and economic factors. The lower Tapajós, from its mouth at Santarém to the first rapids 150 miles upstream, is economically diversified, and its rubber pro-

[8] Wagley, 1953, p. 92.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

duction is overshadowed in value by agricultural products, 311
cattle, and hardwoods. Some rubber is still produced at 439
the old Ford plantations, now government-owned, at Bel- 648
terra and Fordlandia, but both installations are currently mainly used for experimental cattle breeding. Commerce is correspondingly brisker on the lower Tapajós. The inhabitants are not only visited regularly by several traders, but they have access to the market facilities of small towns and the city of Santarém.

The upper Tapajós and its two main tributaries, the São 133
Manoel and Juruena rivers, are broken by a series of heavy rapids, some of which are impassable in the dry season. The first set of rapids, the Cachoeira de Maranhão, can be passed during the flood stage of the river only with considerable danger. For this reason, a five-mile-long road 439
was built around them early in the century with the result that the trading company that controlled the road could force the local patrons to deal only with it, and thus effectively monopolize trade on the river. This is done by allowing only freight bought from the company and destined for freightage on the company launches to be transported on the road. Several attempts at competition by passing cargo through the dangerous rapids have ended in failure. Whatever company has controlled the two-way trade of rubber export and consumer-goods import has been able to fix consumer prices at whatever the market would bear. These prices have usually been too high to keep a stable, permanent working force, and there has been a chronic labor shortage on the Tapajós, even after the great rubber boom ended. The prices charged by the company for freight and goods are based on a cost index already made high by lack of the deep-water transportation available on the lower Tapajós. On the upper river, the rapids force the use of shallow-draft diesel launches

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tato (*Ipomoea batatas*), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, 241
and pepper. At some time after the advent of the whites in 262
the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, po- [177]
tato, and sugar cane were introduced. Cotton, although [248]
native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the
Mundurucú until the nineteenth century. Similarly, although the potato is native in western South America it was not found aboriginally in the eastern part of the continent.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village is more 134
than adequate, but not unlimited. Amazonian forest soil 241
is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and fri- 311
able and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks formerly used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. There is some variation in soil quality, however, even in this rather uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Mundurucú territory because it is periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass-covered savannah. The tillable forest land is classified by the Mun- [823]
durucú into the categories of black, red, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only kind in which they raise squash, melon, beans, and rice. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings. 241
On the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter 311
manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 311 themselves and yield for several years in abandoned gardens. Other plants, such as timbó and some fruit trees are also productive long after the garden goes out of regular cultivation. The reason for planting a field only twice is obvious when one considers that bitter manioc matures in about eight months on the first planting and in more than a year on the second in the already "tired" soil. A third planting would yield little and, also, as the local Brazilians say, "the jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there is adequate virgin forest or old second-growth forest available to meet the needs of the population, and they simply clear new gardens. The usual system is for each man to clear land annually and thus have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting. But men often feel that they have adequate crops and let a year pass without clearing forest; this is especially common if a housemate has a new garden.

The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness [423] forest land explains the absence of concepts of private or corporate property in land among the Mundurucú. When the best forest soils within a convenient range are exhausted, the village moves a short distance to the prox- [361] imity of fresh soil. But the Mundurucú build new villages every ten years whether nearby garden land is scarce or [166] not, and the present depleted population may shift within a one-mile radius over a forty- to fifty-year period. When conveniently situated forest is exhausted, they merely move out of this orbit to a new locale a few miles away, near which they remain for another long period. Villages probably moved somewhat longer distances in time past, when their populations exceeded two hundred people and pressure on the land was correspondingly greater.

423 The same causes that operate to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

is usually used, because it is navigable to a point only five 361
hours from the village. From the Cabitutú River port of 487
Cabruá which consists of a house and clearing on the river bank, the path to the village winds through a belt of gallery forest of several miles depth. After crossing a few minor streams that flow into the Cabitutú, the path emerges into an open savannah and gently climbs for about three miles until the crest of the height of land between the Cabruá and Cabitutú rivers is reached. Cabruá is at this point surrounded by a belt of underbrush and low trees that have grown from cast-off seeds and have been fertilized by human waste.

Three hundred yards away at the base of the hill on 312
which the village is built is a small stream and a strip of bordering gallery forest only two hundred yards wide. The stream rises from springs a few miles away and its waters are clear, pure, and cool. People draw their water here, wash clothes, and bathe—the Mundurucú are personally [515]
very clean and perform their ablutions at least twice daily.

The village is in open country, but large expanses of 361
deep, virgin forest are nearby. Paths radiate outward in 487
all directions from the village, leading to the stream, the port, other villages, and to the forest. The forest itself is criss-crossed with trails used for hunting; others lead to the gardens. The latter are generally no more than 45 minutes walk from the village. This is considered a rather long [482]
trip, because the women must carry their harvest in burden baskets back to the village. Land is not unlimited in 311
the environs of Cabruá; stretches of forest are subject to minor inundation in the rainy season, and large areas are sandy and horticulturally worthless savannah. The village, 361
then, must be moved at long intervals. Since contemporary Cabruá has only 67 inhabitants, there is no great pressure [161]
on land. Houses age and fall into disrepair rapidly, how-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the [311] more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking [166] ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

166 The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered 361 greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this [688] was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

622 The household of the chief included 17 people, and the 592 largest house unit of the village had a population of 26. 621 The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

162 men's house, and the newly formed Cauí, is 60. On the other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

361 Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east, [312] but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest. [311] There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage [134] of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one [342] [177] of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal [343] dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds [177] adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctively Brazilian trait.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the Cururú and are found near its mouth on the Tapajós. Not all fission arises from factional splits such as that described. Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the move from one village to another or to permanent residence in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal conflicts.

These disputes are frequently over women, who are scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow but continuous emigration of the more mobile young males, which results in hostility and competition between the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself. At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long concealed in small villages. Extramarital sex relations are common in the savannahs also; but there are enough unmarried girls to make female adultery less frequent and competition over women less intense. Correspondingly, there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs caused by sex.

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fission. When one's village house gets old it is often more convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

is usually used, because it is navigable to a point only five 361
hours from the village. From the Cabitutú River port of 487
Cabruá which consists of a house and clearing on the river bank, the path to the village winds through a belt of gallery forest of several miles depth. After crossing a few minor streams that flow into the Cabitutú, the path emerges into an open savannah and gently climbs for about three miles until the crest of the height of land between the Cabruá and Cabitutú rivers is reached. Cabruá is at this point surrounded by a belt of underbrush and low trees that have grown from cast-off seeds and have been fertilized by human waste.

Three hundred yards away at the base of the hill on 312
which the village is built is a small stream and a strip of bordering gallery forest only two hundred yards wide. The stream rises from springs a few miles away and its waters are clear, pure, and cool. People draw their water here, wash clothes, and bathe—the Mundurucú are personally [515]
very clean and perform their ablutions at least twice daily.

The village is in open country, but large expanses of 361
deep, virgin forest are nearby. Paths radiate outward in 487
all directions from the village, leading to the stream, the port, other villages, and to the forest. The forest itself is criss-crossed with trails used for hunting; others lead to the gardens. The latter are generally no more than 45 minutes walk from the village. This is considered a rather long [482]
trip, because the women must carry their harvest in burden baskets back to the village. Land is not unlimited in 311
the environs of Cabruá; stretches of forest are subject to minor inundation in the rainy season, and large areas are sandy and horticulturally worthless savannah. The village, 361
then, must be moved at long intervals. Since contemporary Cabruá has only 67 inhabitants, there is no great pressure [161]
on land. Houses age and fall into disrepair rapidly, how-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may 596
be seen in the fact that each household has but one fire- 592
place, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire ex- [354]
tended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women [312] and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in 476
distribution and consumption applies also to the organiza- 462
tion of production. Although gardens are nominally con- 596
sidered to be the property of the man who chose the site [423]
and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Coöperation and collectivism extend to relationships be- 224
tween households also. When a hunter kills a large game 431
animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and 476
equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious
breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in 431

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

162 men's house, and the newly formed Cauí, is 60. On the
361 other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

361 Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east, [312] but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest. [311] There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage [136] of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one [342] of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the [177] Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal [343] dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds [177] adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctively Brazilian trait.

/9/

*241 313 4. Felling—yup chign or yup chichign. The felling of the trees is almost an art in itself, for doing it in good style requires knowledge and ability, a steady eye and calculation, especially as to how the trees will fall or how they must be cut in order to fall in the most desirable way. There is a certain method involved in felling trees: a larger tree is chosen (whenever possible, in one of the corners, or at least on one of the higher sides of the ground), and an imaginary line is drawn enclosing a strip /of ground/ that broadens out in the shape of a wedge. Within this strip, all trunks are chopped about halfway through, until they begin to snap. But the larger tree is chopped last, all the way through, and felled. It falls on the neighboring, half-cut trees, dragging them down in its fall, and through them all the other trunks within the chosen and prepared wedge. An entire strip of forest thus goes down at one fell swoop with a big noise, opening an enormous clearing, sometimes 100 meters long or more. Then, whatever timber may have been left standing is felled, and so are the remaining corners, "to straighten out the shape," rounding off or squaring off the plot. But "only these are cut down one by one."

[221] The felling of trees is usually carried out in April and May. The time of felling is determined by that of clearing, which precedes it by about two to four weeks. As a rule, the Mundurukú takes three days' work to do the felling on an average plot.

*241 312 5. The burning—imapign. The vegetation felled to clear the new plot is kept "resting" for two months or more, in order to dry thoroughly. The Mundurukú usually burn their clearings around the month of August. They grant the sun sufficient time to dry even the larger trunks. This relatively long spell /is granted/ so that the vegetation may burn as thoroughly as possible. The burning then becomes a light and easy task. Whatever trunks may still chance to remain after the burning are left right there, and are frequently utilized as a source of firewood for the village or house. As a rule, the plots of the Mundurukú are quite thoroughly burned.

/10/ To set the fire, they choose a breezy day when the wind is not too strong. Thus the breeze feeds the flames but does not allow

439 also gather large quantities of salsaparilla, india-rubber and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily-wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares--cheap cotton cloths, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaça--amongst the minor chiefs, and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce". [1863, pp. 243-244]

439 When rubber became the major product of Amazonia the same pattern of trade was perpetuated among the Mundurucu. All of the rubber collected was turned over
622 to the chief, who alone negotiated directly with the trader. The merchandise
624 given for the rubber was, insofar as could be ascertained through contemporary informants, equitably distributed to each man in proportion to the rubber he had
[314] produced. But since chiefs were commonly more prosperous than other men, it can be assumed that they did not suffer in their role of middleman. The share taken by the chief, however, was never so great as to result in truly significant wealth differences. In fact, the traders usually managed to keep the Indians in debt, and this debt was charged against the chief as the representative of the village. Tocantins, who visited the Mundurucú in 1875, published a bill presented to one chief [Tocantins, p. 154]. If this bill is typical, the Indians' indebtedness was frequently very heavy. These debts were used to force the chief to extract greater production from his followers.

As the Mundurucu depended increasingly upon trade, the chief became more subordinate economically to the trader, who manipulated him accordingly. The trader eventually was able to appoint "chiefs" to carry on the trade. An appointed chief was usually known as the capitao, or "captain", as distinguished from the hereditary village chief, who was called anyococucat or ichöngop. By using the "captains" as local trade representatives, the traders were able to increase their control over the villages. At the same time, by robbing the hereditary chiefs of their trade function, they weakened the entire structure of leadership. In time, the capitao displaced the hereditary chief almost entirely. To increase the prestige of the trader-appointed chief, the trader often took his protegé on his annual trip to buy supplies in Belém, where the chief's position was confirmed by the governor or some other official.

The Mundurucú dependency upon trade at first evidently increased the peacetime authority of the hereditary chief, for the villagers relied upon him to promote and secure their best interests in trading activities. The appointment of capitoes undermined the native chief, and initially increased the trader's control over the village. The people became confused, however, as to whether
[578] the capitao or the anyococucat should be regarded as "chief". Ill feeling towards and suspicion of the appointed chiefs began to develop, for the Indians were always aware of, although powerless to cope with, the sharp practices of the traders, and they usually assigned the capitao a share of the blame. Upon the latter fell the onerous task of goading the people to harder work in the rubber avenues. Since most Mundurucu do not even today consider rubber collecting a congenial occupation, the role of the capitao must have done little to increase his popularity. During the field research among the Mundurucú, the young, bilingual trader-appointed "chief" of the village of Cabitutú was in danger of losing his life. Distrust of the trader, whom the "chief" represented, was centered upon this young man and threatened his position so greatly that he was on the verge of flight.

In later years, as will be described subsequently, individual Mundurucú Indians have tended increasingly to deal with the trader directly rather than through the "chief". For this reason, village political organization has been effectively shattered.

439 The white-appointed Mundurucú "chief", unlike his Northeastern Algonkian
624 counterpart, mediated trade relations between a group of followers and the
178

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

624
439
178

whites. After individual trading had become strongly established among one section of the Mundurucú, however, "chiefs" were chosen by the Indian Agent and by missionaries in order to control the general behavior of the Indians, and not specifically for commercial purposes. This more nearly approximates the modern Montagnais situation, although it was reached through a different sequence of functional roles and from a different aboriginal base. In both cases, the Indians themselves were very conscious that these men were not genuine chiefs in terms of aboriginal leadership patterns, and both groups apparently suspected that the white-recognized chief was promoting the interests of the white men rather than those of his own people. The new leadership patterns never became fully established. While these patterns were functional in terms of white-Indian relations, they were dysfunctional in terms of the native socio-cultural structure.

Among the Mundurucú, therefore, the integrity of the local socio-political groups was, in part, temporarily maintained by a change in the functional role of the chieftain. That the changed pattern of leadership eventually became dysfunctional resulted in part from the ecological adaptations necessary to rubber collection. These adaptations, however, did far more than contribute to the disintegration of political controls. They undercut the very economic basis of village life.

Hevea brasiliensis, the native and most common specie of rubber tree, grows wild throughout the upper waters of the Amazon. It can be exploited only during the dry season, and, in the upper Tapajós River valley, the maximum length of the gathering season is from May to early December, approximately seven months. Since these trees are scattered throughout the low lands near the watercourses, they are reached by circuitous paths cut through the undergrowth. The spacing of the trees and the work involved in rubber collection generally limit the number of trees tapped daily by one man to one hundred and fifty or less. Some collectors improve their yield per tree by maintaining two or three separate avenues which they visit only every second or third day. The distribution of rubber trees is such that each avenue gives access to trees within an area of about three to five square miles. The actual size of this territory depends, of course, upon the density of the rubber trees. In some sections of the Amazon drainage wild rubber is more abundant than are others. One may travel ten to twenty miles on reaches of river where rubber is sparse without passing a single habitation, but, where rubber is more plentiful, one encounters houses at intervals of a mile or even a half-mile. 314

The rubber tapper must work in his avenue or avenues almost daily, and therefore must live near them. Since each tapper exploits a considerable tract of land, his physical remoteness from neighboring tappers is a matter of necessity. Thus, on the Tapajós River, which has a population of about 3,000 excluding the Mundurucú, there are only two Brazilian villages of any consequence. One of these has a population of about 700, and the other has only 150 people. The other settlements are merely hamlets consisting of a trading post and from two to seven houses. The majority of the population live in isolated houses on the river banks. [36]

The exploitation of wild rubber is a solitary, individual occupation in that the tapping of the tree, the subsequent collection of the latex, and the final coagulation process are one-man jobs. The last phase, carried out at the end of the day, consists of solidifying the latex over a smoky fire. The simplicity and the daily time-schedule of the entire rubber process in Amazonia is such that no one can profitably leave off collection to specialize only in tapping or collection or coagulation. For similar reasons, two men do not work in the same avenue. However companionable, it would not be a practicable means of increasing production.

This brief account of how wild rubber is exploited is necessary to an understanding of changes in Mundurucú society. In the earlier contact period, the 439

439 Mundurucú traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Mundurucú product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucú acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

221 314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, [171] out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-26].

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucú, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individu- [224] al hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucú. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy [291] the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Mundurucú villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucú, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucú dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, fire- [415] arms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product [323] has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucú barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Despite the flourishing trade in gewgaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucú economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous. 439 177

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucú and the Montagnais are porbably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucú, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inexorably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucú families, like those of the Algonkians, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucú. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucú were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucú country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucú villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucú was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucú to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucú warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective. [622] 721 177 439 [797]

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucú acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucú society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucú who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy. 177 621

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucú villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large [221] 314 361 177

portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the Cururu River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururu River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

Political authority on the Cururu River was almost nonexistent. The migrants began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururu River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the Cururu River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Sundays when the people come to trade and to enjoy social contacts. The patron is also expected to intervene in cases of serious violation of the law, and he is frequently called upon to settle disputes among his clients. The latter depend heavily on the traditional mutual obligations between patron and client. If the rubber collector falls ill and cannot work, the patron is expected to continue to extend credit to him so that his family may subsist. The patron is also supposed to offer food and coffee when his client visits and to show generosity to the latter's children, even if he is not their godfather. In turn, the client is expected to produce as much rubber as possible and to be loyal to his patron. But it is, at best, a very loosely knit community, for membership shifts frequently and the daily life of the people is carried on in one- or two-family isolation. The most important factor holding the community together is trade with the same patron.

This paucity of social interaction and the loose cohesion of the community is generally caused by the extraction economy prevailing in Amazonia and especially by the collection of wild rubber. The wild rubber trees exploited in the Amazon are scattered along the streams and are usually found on land flooded during the rainy season. Access to the trees is along paths that wind through the forest from one tree to another. The average rubber gatherer has one to three such "avenues" that he visits in rotation every third day to make a fresh cut in the bark of the tree and, later in the same day, to collect the latex that has accumulated in a metal cup placed below the incision. The trees are so widely distributed, except in the richest areas, that he usually works from dawn to late afternoon just to tap one avenue. The great area necessarily exploited by each rubber tapper, plus the fact that large riverine areas are found with few rubber trees and are thus unoccupied,

314 makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transpor-
361 tation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined
[489] with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

314 The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up
511 to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to
[226] fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber.
[224] The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other im-
241 portant subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is
511 not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situa-
621 tion. Under these circumstances of great distance from his
511 neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete individualization of production, the bonds of economic coöperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no re-
[426] course because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 182 648 [161] 1869, 100; 1895, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirím and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses [797] with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians [191] spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[22] [249] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco [314] and the collection of *guaraná*, sarsaparilla, and *copaiba* oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[20] Agassiz, 1869, p. 308.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 424.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early commerce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.[26] The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The regatões served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

> They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of mandioca and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaca—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.[27]

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs. The regatão gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

[26] Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 243–244.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to
628 the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a
796 far more isolated existence than they did in former times, and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

314 The economic and social adjustments made by the Mun-
439 durucú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be
648 described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration. The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly mentioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rubber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader in the hamlet of Sae Cinza, but occasionally make transactions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá maintains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of his sons and another man maintain a separate residence not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the Tropas, but some do business with the trader of São Martinho, on the Tapajós. The people of Cabruá live in three separate hamlets on the Tropas. At one, the most powerful shaman of the village lives with two younger men of his household, and another is occupied by another man of the same house and his son-in-law. These two men trade on behalf of their rubber-avenue co-residents, and the chief of Cabruá is not considered to be their representative in trade. The Cabitutú River has only one or two all-year residents, and these are Brazilian. A number of families of Brazilians and eight Mundurucú families maintain regular homes on the Tropas, however. The latter Mundurucú associate to a varying extent with the villagers during the rubber season and occasionally come to Cabruá to seek the services of a shaman or simply to visit, but they remain marginal to village life.

The Mundurucú of the savannah communities collect less rubber than those of the Cururú and far less than the the Brazilian tappers. The latter generally commence production as soon as the flood recedes in May or early June and collect until the rains and rising waters make their rubber avenues inaccessible in November or December. The efforts of the campineiros, however, are limited by their alternating residence between village and rubber-avenue dwelling. The residents of Cabruá have to clear land for gardens before they may depart, and this generally holds them until May. But only the more industrious Mundurucú leave at this time; many linger in the village until June or July, and in 1952 one man stayed until August. Rubber is collected until August, at which time the trees lose their leaves, and the yield drops off sharply for two to three weeks. Some Indians use this occasion to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in their garden sites and then return to the rubber avenue until

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

221 planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in
314 the village. The average collecting season of the savannah
[241] Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed
342 frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm
[343] leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often
[592] house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

361 There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the
592 membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days
314 a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely
461 works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may
512 have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home. He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit his rubber avenue, the Mundurucú hunts or fishes. He is joined by the other men of the house if there are any; otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting techniques cannot be employed. This and the general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely do so because they do not have enough workers to clear forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting them. The resident families have a local supply of farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the village and transported to the rubber avenue, a difficult chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Caleruá. These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result 462 of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timber-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, 314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially 317 individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and [592] their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

319 571 476 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of cooperation [594] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode [597] of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between homes make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the 423 economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

Hairdress.—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets, ropes, and netting.—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of muriti palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

Ceramics.—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

Weapons.—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajós River *Mundurucú* have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

TAPPERS AND TRAPPERS

439 Mundurucú traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Mundurucu of the upper Tapajós "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Mundurucú product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucú acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

321 314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-26]. [171]

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucú, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individual hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucú. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Mundurucu villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucu, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader. [224] [291]

A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucú dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, firearms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucú barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour. [415] [323]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more 177
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- 422
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [323]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear
and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress.
The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men
of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these
articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and
a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the
overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [658]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected,
the people are not deeply affected by the missionary
teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and re-
spected without any commitment or great interest on the
part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who
have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

/19 cont./

422 Thus, certain rights of exclusivity are established beforehand for
462 the individual. This is expressed in the principle of the sexual division of labor. For example, the raw materials and the products
[285] of basket making are exclusively the property of the man; clay and
[323] pottery articles, of the woman. Traditionally, basket weaving is done only by men, pottery making only by women. In all sectors of tribal life, the tasks devolving to each sex are determined by these traditional principles. Thence derives the concept of private property.

462 Throughout the material culture of the Mundurukú, as well,
[185] the two work cycles—of men and of women—are clearly evident. This "muscle-bound" division only concerns us here as regards agriculture. The subject, however, is almost a borderline case, where these two work cycles meet. In agriculture there are tasks
241 performed exclusively by men, especially in the initial phase of
462 the preparation of the plot; and there are tasks performed exclusively by women, especially from the time /20/ of planting onward; but there are also joint tasks, in which both sexes participate, such as in the planting of bitter manioc. There the man opens up the pit with the digging stick and the woman places the branch or shoot of manioc in the open hole and closes it by stepping on it.

The tasks at each garden stage are thus determined by the system of "muscle-bound" cycles. An outline provides the following picture:

TASKS

of the man	of the woman
1. Choosing the site and the soil	--
2. Determining the size and shape	--
3. Clearing the undergrowth	--
4. Felling the trees	--
5. Burning the felled vegetation	--
6. Piling up the remaining brush	--

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

304 Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [302] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, 285 and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [286] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of muritĭ palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a [172] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone [324] objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajóz River *Mundurucú* have a 616 patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only once in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers of the scattered collector population.

[439] Several days and barely 400 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Mundurucú population. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and das Tropas. A number of Mundurucú villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and an occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually ragged or ill-fitting clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading posts. Racially, the Mundurucú does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes [144] are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes among the local Brazilians.

If one wishes to reach the village of Cabruá, a typical Mundurucú community of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabitutú River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of dawn-to-dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 100 yards away. The house is usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabruá go there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village, one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from the valley of the Cabitutú and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a sun-scorched savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one to the village.

361 The majority of the Mundurucú now live on the banks of the larger streams of the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there. Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 reside on the Cururú River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated part of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River. But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River [173] is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the historic period and, according to Mundurucú tradition, since the creation of man.

178 The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Mundurucú 621 architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a 341 central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance precincts and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbush. And the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tribe in general and the extended family in particular. Also, although the men's 178
houses are still built according to the traditional pattern, the dwellings are now 621
built on a rectangular floor plan in contrast to the older elliptical shape. [341]

Modification of the traditional Mundurucú village is even more striking on the shores of the Cururú River. Some villages number almost 100 inhabitants, but others are tiny hamlets of two small houses; none has the men's house. All dwellings face toward the river, but there is no over-all village plan. The houses are constructed of wattle and daub and, but for a few distinctively Mundurucú characteristics, are much like those of the Neo-Brazilian population. This conformity to the architecture of the whites[2] is even greater on the Tapajós River, where the Mundurucú live in single-family isolation.

The decline of Mundurucú culture is also evident in the physical appearance and 291
dress of the people. All now wear the cheap cotton shirts and trousers or Mother 178
Hubbard dresses sold to them by the traders. The more traditional men of the savannah villages generally wear penis sheath and bark belt beneath this raiment and usually hunt in the latter accoutrements only. The elaborate body and facial tattooing that were formerly the hallmark of all Mundurucú, both male and female, is also on the wane. It is common now to see young people who are half-tattooed, or who have only the first few lines, never completed because of the lapse of the practice. [304]

History

The current decadence of Mundurucú culture is not unexpected. On the contrary, 175
it is remarkable that the Mundurucú have preserved so much, and that they still have a semiautonomous society after more than a century and a half of continuous peaceful relations with the whites. They arrived late on the Amazon historical scene, and were not noted in published reports until 1768.[3] Whether the Mundurucú reported at that time were the members of a war party or had migrated from their home territory is uncertain, for they were seen far to the north of the upper Tapajós country on the Maué-Assú River, a tributary of a channel of the Madeira River named the Paraná Mirím. But their center of strength remained roughly in their present habitat, and they fought a colonial military detachment in that region in 1795.[4] Their defeat at the hands of government troops ended more than two decades of Mundurucú raids upon the Portuguese settlements of the Amazon and ushered in a period of peaceful relations and active alliance with the whites.

Subsequent to their pacification, large numbers of Mundurucú drifted into 175
the vicinity of the growing towns and missions on the lower Madeira and Tapajós 797
rivers. The missions are of especial interest to the subject matter of this study. In 1803 the mission of Santa Cruz was established on the lower Tapajós River

[2] The term "white" as applied herein to the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon is used as a shorthand way of saying, "people bearing a local variant of Luso-Brazilian culture, and who identify themselves with Brazilian society." Actually, the local people represent varying degrees of Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid admixture.

[3] Monteiro Noronha, 1862.

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.

and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

291 Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children-- went altogether naked.

302 619 We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

609 [145] The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadereri
to the village of Necodemos on the plains.

487 At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadereri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

609 [231] We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

[342 231]

609

[352] From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled [262 574] with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia venifera); he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully.

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Absenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

342 621 The village of Absenanti was under construction; it comprised but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

[352] We found no one inside the house, but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

[609] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

302 This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the lozenges; that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

609 When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

123 609 In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away, leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Absenanti and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
[576] I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
[591] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
[574] in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
[562 a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female
342] sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ekçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermacetti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhẽ."

513 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn
534 all through the night in their quarters or ekçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

161 Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of
[221 families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the
312] woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

161 It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and
181 most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

115 In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

621 Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim
161 Caetano Corrêa.
103

NAME OF THE MALOCAS	POPULATION
Dauapone	1,500
Carucupi	2,300
Dairi	2,600
Capipique	2,000
Necodemos	2,100
Aikã (Samuuma)	1,500
Acupari	800
Areucrê	700
Arebaduri	400
Teiu Curupi	500
Ipsananti	600

621	Cererepçá	500
161	Cabroá	500
103	Imburariri	350
	Macapá	360
	Ucuberi	250
	Cabetutum	350
	Chacorão	700
	Airi	300
	Bacabal (Mission)	500
	Boburé	100
	Total	18,910

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these malocas may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacorão, for example, is now abandoned; that of Boburé is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the numbers of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 18,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the banks of the Upper and [99] Lower Tapajoz, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

XIII

Maloca of Necodemos -- Plan of Mundurucu malocas.

361 Necodemos is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

In the center of the maloca stands the ekçá or warriors' 362 quarters.

361 The ekçá consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ekçá is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.

513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ekçá above his hammock -- bows, arrows, warclub, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

462 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
248 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the ekçá, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the ekçá stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemos these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the ekçá], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
[562] never set foot in the ekçá. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pnyc*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracereru. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceara ?], the Carawat, known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nyc*, the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [41!] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [231] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The [222] wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can 261 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

242 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57 - A. - Analyst]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have 142
the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children.

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and 614
Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *tubê* or *ãpa* and are embodied [534]
(verkoerpert) in the large *kaduke*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kaduke* are blown at the men's [716]
festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mêsêri*,
a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the [272]
kaduke from above, is caught in a cúia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot [784]
and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the 614
"Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by 616
Karusakaibê,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karurinat*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibê is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become mem- 614
bers of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i barip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly 342
had *Ihge waket*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last
[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. -- Analyst]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

342 such hut stood until recently upon the Ikurihi, a plain not far from our Cururu mission.

614 616 156 I shall now give the names of the moieties and of the respective sibs under each moiety:

A. Moiety of the Whites, *i riritya'eye*

1. *Ari* tree (m). 2. Cotton bush (m). 3. *Datye* sparrow hawk. 4. Sloth. 5. Fish otter. 6. *Ikö* sparrow hawk. 7. *Ikapi* wasp. 8. Jabuti [Land tortoise]. 9. Japim [?]. 10. Toad. 11. Macaco de cheiro [Chrysothrix ?]. 12. Macaco prego [Cebus fatuellus]. 13. Piaiu [a fish]. 14. Seringueira-Itaiba (m) [rubber tree]. 15. Spider. 16. Swamp deer (Sumpfhirsch). 17. Taperibaseiro (m) [genus Spondias ?]. 18. Wild cat (Wildkatze). 19. *Yeiu* tree (m).

B. Moiety of the Reds, *i pappikai'eye*

20. Coroca [a bird ?]. 21. Cutia [aguti, Dasyprocta]. 22. Jacu [guan, Penelope]. 23. Japu [Cassicus, Ostinops or Xanthornus]. 24. *Kobabobu* bird. 25. *Kapak* (Red Jurini ? *Wa'emayu pakpak-riwat* ?]. 26. Mãe da lua [a nocturnal bird]. 27. Mutum [curassow, Crax]. 28. Roe-deer (Reh). 29. Red Arara [red macaw]. 30. Saúba [an ant, Oecodoma cephalotes]. 31. Black Arara [black macaw]. 32. *Uyui* wasp. 33. *Wa'eu* tree (m). 34. Cricket (Zirpe).[2]

TRADITIONAL ORIGIN OF THE SIB SYSTEM

614 173 The sibs are supposed originally to have been independent tribes. "Os *riwat* foram primeiro nações," was told me without my inquiring into this fact. The tribes had been at war with one another. Then came Karusakaibé and united them into one large nation, the Mundurucú confederacy. This great Indian event is supposed to have taken place where the Tapajós Mundurucú now live.

"Who told you this?" I asked my informant, a man who was in his best years. "An old man of the plain told me that," was the answer. In order to be more certain, I had the story repeated later in Mundurucú. This is the translation:

[2] The identifications, given in angular brackets in these two paragraphs, have been added by the editor,—in some cases tentatively only,—from more readily available sources in ZE, JSAP, etc.—ED.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 37-A -- Analyst

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1946
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

236 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
234 Steinen's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

250 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana crush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a halbrace of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Steinen's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made
[272] from wild-beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water.
[273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in
[276] tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the territory of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

● 342 The dwelling house (ekça, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a
[562] long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Steinen describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Within the house each family has its own partitioned quarters and a fireplace or stone mantle *pura* (Tocantins, 1877). How many families usually occupy a single house has not been reported. 342

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

The only item of *Mundurucú*-clothing mentioned in the literature is the three-cornered penis cover suspended from a cotton cord, but there are several descriptions of the ceremonial feather garments for which this tribe is famous. Many authors consider the *Mundurucú* to have been the most expert featherworkers in South America within the historic period. 291

Featherwork.—Featherwork includes aprons, capes (attached to headdresses), caps, diadems, belts, girdles, bandoliers, arm bands, and leg bands. The feathers used in this craft were at least in part obtained from birds kept in captivity; red, blue, green, and yellow feathers were carefully sorted by color and size and stored in baskets or in palm-stem cylinders. Martius was told that the *Mundurucú* were able to cause their parrots to grow yellow plumes by plucking their feathers and rubbing frogs' blood into the wounds.[8] The feathers are attached to a net fabric. Tail feathers, arranged in parallel rows, are used in capes and pendants; rosettes of small feathers, bound at the quills, are attached to the base net to cover the attachments of long feathers; imbricated breast feathers may be used to cover the surface of a fabric or to sheathe a cord. Decorative effects are produced by simple alternation of colors. 287 [8]

A characteristic feathered staff is described as a stem of cane or wood about 3 feet (1 m.) long and 2 or 3 inches in diameter. The shaft is either covered with long feathers laid flat against it or sheathed with fine breast feathers. At the upper end a dense band of rosettes forms a projecting collar; a free cluster of long plumes may project from the head of the staff. The feathers are attached with wax and cotton thread. These objects are highly valued and when not in use are carefully stored in cylindrical containers. Their significance has not been reported; Martius merely says that when he approached a *Mundurucú* village, staff-bearers came to meet him. 295

Tattooing and painting.—The *Mundurucú* tattooing designs consist of fine, widely-spaced parallel lines applied vertically on limbs and torso; bands of lozenges across the upper part of the chest; occasional parallel horizontal lines, and cross-hatchings. Around each eye is tattooed a single-line ellipse; curved lines are drawn around the mouth. Lines converging toward the ears across the cheeks give the appearance of wings spread across the face. (For illustrations of *Mundurucú* tattooing, see the sketches by Hercules Florence (Steinen, 1899).) 304

[8] Nordenskiöld (1924 b, p. 207) says of this custom, which has been reported from other South American tribes, that the color change actually occurs, but endeavors attribute the change to dietary factors.

in any way. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucu was especially deep. The men hunted, fished, and did only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also made baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women did all of the other gardening work, processed manioc, cooked, tended children, wove hammocks, made pottery, and fetched water and firewood. The burden of the more onerous work fell on the women. The men had far more leisure time.

67% Within the sexes, and on occasion cross-sexually, cooperation was the keynote of the Mundurucu economy. Except for crafts, which were almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts involved people working as a group. This is not to discount the non-cooperative pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trailing, bow and arrow fishing, and the planting of minor crops, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture was done by numbers of men working in coordination.

Housebuilding was also a collective task in which men did the heavy work of construction while women and children aided in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since housebuilding was almost always done only when the villages moved, every household helped the others in the task of construction. All the houses of the new village rose uniformly instead of being completed one at a time.

67% Among the women the same held true. The women made baskets together, harvested crops together and even went

361 of 250 to 300 for the old Mundurucú villages.

The aboriginal Mundurucú village consisted of three to five dwelling places and the men's house, or akaa.* The average population was about 250 people. Commonly, these villages were located on stretches of high savannah. Such a site was easily defensible as its open location protected it from the surprise attacks always used by Amazonian Indians. Also, these locations were relatively free of insects. The [317] Mundurucú say too that "it is beautiful here for you can see far."

362 The houses were oblong with rounded ends and had steeply pitched thatched roofs. Some houses were 80 to 100 feet in length. The eaves of the roofs terminated at about five feet from the ground and the house was closed by vertical bark walls. Doors made of the center stalks of palm fronds were used.

364 The men's house was a large lean-to type building, the open end of which always faced east. It was up to 100 feet long and had a roof that gently sloped from the east end, at which point it was about fifteen to twenty feet high, until it met the ground at the west end. The front and both sides were open. Adjoining the south side of the west end [778] of the men's house was the small room in which the sacred trumpets, forbidden to female eyes, were kept. Three horizontal beams, one in the middle and one on either side of the house, ran from east to west at about five feet above

164 * The phonetic system used above and throughout this work is, with a few exceptions, that of English. The exceptions are: ã is pronounced like the German ä; ĩ and ũ are pronounced as in Portuguese fiara and usar, respectively.

ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the man's life was the men's house and that of the woman the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Mundurucú culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their new village.

The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the griddle on which the beiju was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large babricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534
778
796

The women made the manioc drink on the next, or third, day of the ceremony, and the men then commenced thatching the walls of the trumpet chamber. The men's house, say the Mundurucú, is the home of the karikó, and the trumpets must be moved into a completely roofed and walled dwelling at the same time that the men move. For this reason it is necessary to complete the walls and roof in one day and to move into the new men's house, with the trumpets, that very [902] night. Since it takes several days to thatch a roof properly, the roof of the old house is customarily dismantled and placed upon the frame of the new one. A new roof would be built during the next rainy season.

During the busy preparations for the installation of the instruments in their new home, considerable feasting and gaiety took place also. From the arrival of the guests until the completion of the thatching, everybody took part in intermoiety and intersexual joking. Mixtures of urucú or palm fruit and water were prepared and were thrown by the women upon men of the opposite moiety. The latter seized the women's supply occasionally and took revenge.

After thatching the roof of the new men's house and walling the trumpet enclosure, the men assembled in the old men's house. They unstrung their hammocks and assembled all their belongings and then took the trumpets from their old chamber. Three men of the same moiety as the clan to which the trumpets belonged then began playing the instruments and slowly marched toward the new village. The other men crowded about the players, wearing and waving palm leaves, to shield the sacred instruments from the eyes of the women. Within the protecting ring were four other men. One carried a hunting horn with which he occasionally sounded a signal consisting of two long, four short, and two more long blasts; another man followed this signal with the characteristic yell of the hunter who raises game. A third man sounded the gourd horn associated with the trumpets of Cabituná, and a fourth walked along shaking a rattle. The last man belonged to the opposite moiety of the trumpets and was referred to as their drowsyhead. [902] His head was covered with a paste made of urucú and ground maize.

The slow procession started from the old men's house at dusk, and night had fallen by the time the group of marchers reached the new village. The women shut themselves in the dwelling houses in anticipation of the men's arrival, and, as the men entered the village, the women began to wail in sorrow for the loss of the instruments that are believed to have once been theirs.* The procession of men circled each house of the village three times and then stopped in front of the new men's house. There the trumpets were played while the rest of the men drank the sweet manioc beverage and rested. The instruments were played outside the men's house until dawn and were then brought inside their new chamber and played until the sun rose. At that time they were retired to the rack suspended from the ceiling, and the guests departed for their own village. The old men's house was later burned to hide all evidence of the activities that once went on in it.

In view of the rapid disintegration of Mundurucú village life, it is doubtful

*See pp. 90-91.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

342

a. Bark-walled dwelling house occupied by chief Antônio and his wife.

[352]

b. Interior of Mundurucú dwelling.

[end plate 3]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

342
352

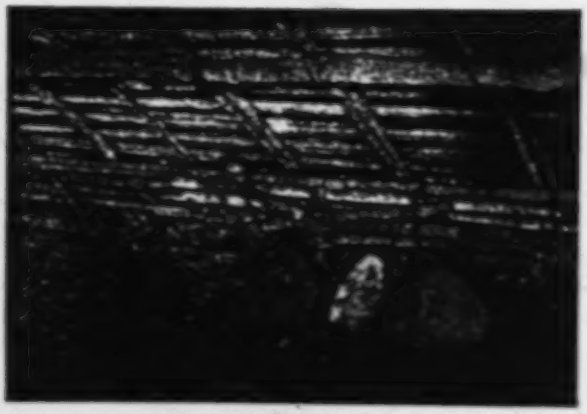
Sleeping section of the men's house. The hammocks of members of the White moiety are hung in the foreground, those of the Red moiety in the background. The fur wall contains the entrance to the chamber in which the sacred trumpets are kept.

[end plate 4]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534
778
415
796
342



a. Instruments used in the ceremonies of the Game. The cylinders are horns played in these rites, and the earthenware pots are used as containers of the beverage offered to the "spirit mothers" of the game animals. Note the tapir skull between the vessels.

b. Mundurucú man playing one of the sacred trumpets, or *karikó*. Another of the set of these instruments is leaned against the wall at the right.

[end plate 5]

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper 648
Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a
prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or 743
private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém 759
visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but
medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There
is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company
rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural
experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for
most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants 871
who read and write usually learned to do so in another [212]
area or through literate parents. Actually, the Mundurucú 648
are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, be- 658
cause both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service
post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educa-
tional facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the 361
Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical [342]
habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle
and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower
Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher sec-
tion of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods.
These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the
major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers,
often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the
barracões (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local
traders, who buy the produce of the caboclo and sell him
needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm
clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses ad-
jacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same
forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the
houses of rubber tapper whose rubber avenues are
nearby, and others belong to people who live there during
the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175
439
657

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

175
166
361
[177]
[342]

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro,* the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

175
184
361
175
184
186
[797]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 that the only proper place for "people" is in the savannah.
[186] Residence beyond this heartland is tantamount to becoming a pariwat, or "outlander."

THE VILLAGE

342 Each village contains two to five dwelling houses and the
[361] men's house, or *eksá*. The former have rectangular ground-plans of about 20 by 40 feet in dimension and are internally uncompartmented. The walls are made of the bark of the *tauarí* tree and extend to approximately two feet from the roof. The intervening space is either left vacant or loosely covered with palm fronds to allow ventilation. The roofs are steeply pitched and made of thatch placed over a pole framework. This architecture represents a departure from the traditional type. Until recent times, houses had roughly elliptical ground plans; structures of 80 to 100 feet in length are said to have been common in the more populous past.

361 The houses are arranged in a circle around a central plaza that is now underbrush and weed-infested. The
345 men's house is always located on the west side of the village perimeter, and faces east into the plaza. It is totally unlike the dwellings in design and construction. Made in the form of an open-sided lean-to, it consists only of a roof that rises from the ground on the west side to a height of about 15 feet, and is supported by posts at the middle and both sides at four points along its length. Men's houses of twenty to thirty years ago were said to measure some 100 feet in length, but that of the contemporary village of Cabruá is only 50 feet long and 30 wide.

361 Modern Cabruá is typical of the savannah communities,
487 except for certain situational factors of population and immediate environment. It is accessible from the Tapajós River by either the Cabitutú or Tropas rivers; the former

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

562 mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male posi-
578 tion, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to
571 the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here,
[184] unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans
182 but remain functional in protecting the village from super-
534 natural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual
778 roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a soli-
562 dary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling
342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

hammocks and the middle is left open. The communal 342
hearth that serves the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms in the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants draw freely from it.

Only females and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwell- 592
ing house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining 594
hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended family leads a most communal existence.

Matrilocality, it has been said, has resulted in highly 592
diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's 591
house. Despite the generational continuity of the females 611
and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them also. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Mundurucú, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and clans of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal status. This conflict does not prevent the women from 611
placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their 591
co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, named matrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes is reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

221 planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in
314 the village. The average collecting season of the savannah
[241] Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed
342 frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm
[343] leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often
[592] house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

361 There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the
592 membership of rubber-avenue dwellngs. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days
314 a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely
461 works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may
512 have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard. 439 501

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river. 177 342 361

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old coöperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group. 182 476 571 178

162 men's house, and the newly formed Cauí, is 60. On the
361 other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

361 Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east, [312] but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest. [311] There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage [136] of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one [342] [177] of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal [343] dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds [177] adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctively Brazilian trait.

/25 cont./

*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard- [594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the [423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sys- [291] tem of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal ●[342] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, [423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties [476] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*241 177 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

*241 602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

/27 cont./

*241
361

15. The complete lack of fertilization methods among the Indians of the Amazon forest is well known. It is only when fallow plots are burned that the depleted soil derives some fertilizing elements from the ashes.

has to seek new sites farther out and set up his gardens ever farther away, so that, after a certain period of time, the Indian group actually lives far from its source of subsistence, until the Indians themselves find transportation of the crops to their homes difficult. Then comes the time to move the village to another /28/ more favorable location. On such occasions, the original (and no doubt the most fitting) form of this reciprocal relation of garden and village becomes apparent.

When a move takes place and a new village is built, the latter [622] lies in the center of the new garden plot of the tuxaua, or chief of the group. The traditional shape of the garden plot is rounded, as already mentioned. In the center of it, the plaza of the new village is cleared, also in rounded shape. Within it, the houses are laid out [342] in a square: the men's house or shed (hoksa), open in front to the [346] east, with the house of the ancestral spirits (kaduke) alongside it; the oval houses for women and children (hok-a) to the right and left; and the square is closed with another hok-a on the east side, if need be.

/Figure 3 appears here./

[621] The nucleus thus formed becomes a new center of the tribal group, of the clan or sib. The garden plot and the village thus form a unit, with the village standing within the first plot. In the years that /29/ follow, the garden plots expand outward. And if the soil is not suitable, the garden is moved farther out, ever farther, until, after a number of years, the need is felt to transfer the village and start all over again. Thus originate the cycles of intraterritorial group migrations.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

142
291
304
301

a. Young Mundurucú man. Note tattooed vertical lines on neck and continuing one off ear plugs and five bands. The houses of Cabruca are in the background.

[343]

b. Mundurucú women gathered in the ceremonial dual in which [illegible] is made.

[end plate 2]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in the village. The average collecting season of the savannah Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

[342] men's house, and the newly formed Cuxi, is 60. On the
[34] other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

[361] Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east, [32] but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest. [30] There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage [134] of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one [342] of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the [177] Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal [343] dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds [177] adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctively Brazilian trait.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well- 361
weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use [343]
the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the [487]
port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a 592
shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear [594]
family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse [602]
does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined [476]
forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average [476]
household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little cooperation between the houses.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipiti for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing. Steinen's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

Food preparation.—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a halbrace of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Steinen's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water. The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tucuri bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Magalon (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

The men's house (ekopa) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors sleep [illegible] during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

The dwelling house (ekopa, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Steinen describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of frame-work filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

[361] of 250 to 500 for the old Mundurucú villages.

The aboriginal Mundurucú village consisted of three to five dwelling places and the men's house, or *ekto*.* The average population was about 250 people. Commonly, these villages were located on stretches of high savannah. Such a site was easily defensible as its open location protected it from the surprise attacks always used by Amazonian Indians. Also, these locations were relatively free of insects. The [371] Mundurucú say too that "It is beautiful here for you can see far."

[362] The houses were oblong with rounded ends and had steeply pitched thatched roofs. Some houses were 80 to 100 feet in length. The eaves of the roofs terminated at about five feet from the ground and the house was closed by vertical bark walls. Inner ends of the center stalks of palm fronds were used.

[364] The men's house was a large lean-to type building, the open end of which always faced east. It was up to 100 feet long and had a roof that gently sloped from the east end, at which point it was about fifteen to twenty feet high, until it met the ground at the west end. The front and both sides were open. Adjoining the south side of the east end [illegible] [778] of the men's house was the small room in which the sacred trumpets, forbidden to female eyes, were kept. Three horizontal beams, one in the middle and one on either side of the house, ran from east to west at about five feet above

* The phonetic system used above and throughout this work is, with a few exceptions, that of English. The exceptions are: *j* is pronounced like the German *ja*; *i* and *y* are pronounced as in Portuguese *lara* and *ser*, respectively.

360 the ground. Between these beams, the men stretched their hammocks to sleep.

361 Like all Tropical Forest Indian villages, the Wundurucú village shifted location every five to ten years due to the exhaustion of nearby stands of high forest in which to make gardens. Each village had a definite area, usually a certain savannah, in which it moved. After 30 to 50 years a new forest cover on previously used land made it adaptable to horticulture again. Today, the reduced population of the contemporary villages makes frequent village shift due to lack of garden land unnecessary, but a new village is built every ten years due to the rapid decay of the houses, and also because the immediate environs become overgrown with weeds that are soon infested with insects and snakes. The locale of the new village was chosen by common consent, and the houses were built collectively. The last structure to be 362 363 built was the men's house. Until it was built the flutes were kept in the old men's house.

The men's house

The Wundurucú exhibited the most complete development of the male-female social dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex to be found in South America. Among the Canayura, the men's house is a ritual center.[14] Among the Sorora, it serves this function and is also a bachelor's and young men's sleeping quarter.[15] However, all the Wundurucú males from the age of about seventeen, worked, gathered and held council,

14. Oberg, 1953, p. 84.

15. Colbacchini, 1942, p. 35.

ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the men's life was the men's house and that of the women the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Mundurucú culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their own village.

The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the activity on which [illegible] was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large babricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

"dwellers of the river). The Aru (parrot) sib is referred to as arudiwai, or "people of the river of the parrot." There was no legend of genealogical descendancy, but each sib recognized its eponymous object as their particular "old person." In addition, many sibs had other "old people" who were linked with th sib through those sacred trumpets belonging to it. These ancestors were spoken of as "companions of the trumpets." Sibs whose trumpets had one or more of the same companions was considered to be more closely allied to each other than to to other sibs of that moiety. This linkage was so close in some cases that the members of one were considered the wives of the other. During my residence in Cabruá a your Mundurucú man of that village used the sib names of Katharu and Kabe because they were linked. Another case in Cabruá was that of a father who had so many sons that he assigned he last two to another sib in his phratry that had suffed from a decline in membership.

All of the sternal manifestations of the sibs were to be found in the men house. It has already been mentioned that there were three oriental poles supporting two rows of hammocks in the men house. This division was not ar- [illegible] the nom row of hammocks slept the men of the white moiety and [illegible] the south row, those of the red moiety. Also, within this moiety division, each man slept adjacent to his fellow sib members and then fellow phratry members. On the upright posts of the red moietie's side were painted the crests of the red sibs and on the other side of the men's house, those of the white. These crests,

simple geometric and slightly curvilinear designs, were painted there by members of the sib depicted, at the time of the erection of the men's house.

The sacred trumpets, called *paraka*, embodied the souls of the "old people" of the sib owning them and also had their own proper souls. These spirits exerted a benevolent influence over the village, but had to be offered food and periodically played in order to maintain this protection. Each village had a set of these trumpets and each one was the property of a certain sib. No special supernatural benefits accrued to the sib owning the trumpets. They were the property of a certain sib only because they took the sib membership of the man who made them. The important thing was that they contained the spirits of "old people" and not that they embodied the ancestors of any particular sib.

The sibs had no particular functions in the sense of duties or privileges. They served mainly to integrate the society by fixed and formalized intervillage kinship bonds. They integrated the whole tribe, but were expressed by outward symbols in the village men's house. The above mentioned arrangement of hammocks in the men's house indicates that sib and moiety membership served to integrate men from various villages. In marriage regulations, the sibs were superceded by the moieties. The moieties also buried each other's dead and had certain reciprocal ceremonial duties.

Political organization

Each Mundurucu village had an hereditary chief of limited power. In addition, each house had a recognized

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in each village, and informants say that villages of four or five houses were common in the last century.

The men's house was of square floor plan, but had an unusual silhouette. Although a semipermanent structure, it was built in the form of a huge inato, open on three sides. At the southwest corner was a small, completely enclosed chamber which housed the sacred trumpets. Running from back to front of the men's house at an elevation of five feet above the ground were three long, horizontal poles. One pole ran down the middle and the other two were on the outer edges of the structure. From these poles the men hung their hammocks in two separate rows. The men of Red moiety slept in the south row, and the men of White moiety occupied the north row.

The Mundurucú men's house was unlike most such institutions in the degree to which it divided the everyday life of the men from that of the women. Here the division was complete. The men neither ate, slept, worked nor relaxed with their women. Every male, from the age at which his tattooing was completed and he became a full-fledged warrior, slept in the men's house. His bows and arrows were kept in the thatch above his hammock. The hammock arrangement followed moiety lines in the north-south separation of the hammock rows, and clan comembers slept adjacent to each other. They, in turn, were adjoined by members of other clans of the same phratry. Due to the fragmentation caused by matrilocal residence, several clans were represented in most men's houses. The contemporary village of Cabruú, for example, has a population of only seventy, but men of ten different clans were present.

When a Mundurucú married, there was no ceremony of any sort, and a minimum of formalities were observed. The young man or his parents went to the girl's parents and requested her hand. The request was usually granted except when the young man was for some reason undesirable to the girl's family. Prearranged marriages were common and were often the means by which cross-cousins were united. The actual event of marriage was little more than a public recognition of the alliance. The bridegroom moved to the wife's village and took up residence in the men's house there. He brought his daily kill of game

In most other respects he had remarkably loose bonds with the household of his wife's family. He frequently went there for a between-meal snack or to play with the children. However, the large meals which he ate before and after the day's hunt at morning and at nightfall were taken in the company of the other men immediately outside of the men's house. The women of each household prepared an equal part of the food consumed there, and all of the men squatted around the common pots to eat. The separation of men and women was made complete by the fact that male craftwork, such as the manufacture of arrows and baskets, was done in the men's house, and the men whiled away their idle hours there.

Even when it involved a move to a new village, matrilocality imposed no great burden on the men. They did not shift from one dwelling or household to another, but from one men's house to another. The internal arrangement of

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and prematrilocal stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1954) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring Tupian groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group.* This influence was probably brought about [illegible] and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Mun-
613 durucú. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaibó divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This belief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to
[114] which the Mundurucú were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaibó through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[9] The latter account and the previously
614 mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *dituat*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*di* = river, *uat* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Paruwadituat* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would
614 contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the
591 Mundurucú are—and this is important—predominantly matrilineal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brides; fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patrilocality, [illegible] with the possibility that the Mundurucú underwent a basic [illegible] in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than [illegible] by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued in the following discussion of the ritual prerogatives of clanship.

614 Each savannah village has a men's house, which is the
[345] dormitory and club house for all post-puberscent males.

[9] Kruse, 1956, pp. 56-57.

THE LOCAL GROUP

that the only proper place for "people" is in the savannah. Residence beyond this heartland is tantamount to becoming a pariwat, or "outlander."

THE VILLAGE

Each village contains two to five dwelling houses and the men's house, or *ekad*. The former have rectangular ground-plans of about 20 by 40 feet in dimension and are internally uncompartmented. The walls are made of the bark of the *tauari* tree and extend to approximately two feet from the roof. The intervening space is either left vacant or loosely covered with palm fronds to allow ventilation. The roofs are steeply pitched and made of thatch placed over a pole framework. This architecture represents a departure from the traditional type. Until recent times, houses had roughly elliptical ground plans; structures of 80 to 100 feet in length are said to have been common in the more populous past.

The houses are arranged in a circle around a central plaza that is now underbrush and weed-infested. The men's house is always located on the west side of the village perimeter, and faces east into the plaza. It is totally unlike the dwellings in design and construction. Made in the form of an open-sided lean-to, it consists only of a roof that rises from the ground on the west side to a height of about 15 feet, and is supported by posts at the middle and both sides at four points along its length. Men's houses of [illegible] years ago were said to measure some 100 feet in length, but that of the contemporary village of Cabruá is only 50 feet long and 30 wide.

Modern Cabruá is typical of the savannah communities, except for certain situational factors of population and immediate environment. It is accessible from the Tapajós River by either the Cabituká or Tropas rivers; the former

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization of male and female social activity is separately treated. The Mundurucú exhibit the most complete development of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayurá men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Mundurucú, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

562 345 575 [794]

This unusually complete division presents points of difference with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated the Mundurucú men's house *ekná* to be the residence of village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unreliable extant source on Mundurucú culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the *ekná*, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the *ekná* are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

114 345 575

[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 54.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 38.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 102.
[6] Ibid., p. 103.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but it is equally possible that the former reporter was correct and that the present composition of the men's house represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceeding from Martius's data on other aspects of Mundurucú social structure, if the men's house was the residence of bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality would have kept the latter in the village. They would then have been faced with either permanent residence in the men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incorporation into the household economy and authority structure. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocality by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such easement is important, for, in contrast to the local exogamy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[7] the Mundurucú male commonly comes from another village and does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts prerogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans undoubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from another community. The young man caught in the process of change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate himself to permanent residence in a village in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female, the male plays the main role in the structure of authority and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

[7] Cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, although this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, deference, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely dissociated from the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently relax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And, as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

In the *akaã* lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleeping arrangements. On each side of the men's house and [illegible] horizontal poles running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the ekwá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening meal, the occupants of the ekwá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on cooperation between the men transcends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to dissociate himself

from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Cooperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men. Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

This emphasis on harmony and cooperation among the Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origin, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that cooperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But there are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the club only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in which the sacred trumpets (karikó), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stowed in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

539
778
[1v5]

leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karikó spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karikó consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

539
778
N2

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

[1v6]

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attenuated, and each karikó is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karikó has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They retrieved with sticks such sweeps, three flutes, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

539
542
778
778

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

done by the men, women, and children, working in common.

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reestablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for fancy and other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

178 182 395 [562] ururú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 796

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 561 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [409] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

439 674 The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

/27 cont./

*24/
36/

15. The complete lack of fertilization methods among the Indians of the Amazon forest is well known. It is only when fallow plots are burned that the depleted soil derives some fertilizing elements from the ashes.

has to seek new sites farther out and set up his gardens ever farther away, so that, after a certain period of time, the Indian group actually lives far from its source of subsistence, until the Indians themselves find transportation of the crops to their homes difficult. Then comes the time to move the village to another /28/ more favorable location. On such occasions, the original (and no doubt the most fitting) form of this reciprocal relation of garden and village becomes apparent.

When a move takes place and a new village is built, the latter [622] lies in the center of the new garden plot of the tuxaua, or chief of the group. The traditional shape of the garden plot is rounded, as already mentioned. In the center of it, the plaza of the new village is cleared, also in rounded shape. Within it, the houses are laid out [342] in a square: the men's house or shed (hoksa), open in front to the [346] east, with the house of the ancestral spirits (kadube) alongside it; the oval houses for women and children (hok-a) to the right and left; and the square is closed with another hok-a on the east side, if need be.

/Figure 3 appears here./

[621] The nucleus thus formed becomes a new center of the tribal group, of the clan or sib. The garden plot and the village thus form a unit, with the village standing within the first plot. In the years that /29/ follow, the garden plots expand outward. And if the soil is not suitable, the garden is moved farther out, ever farther, until, after a number of years, the need is felt to transfer the village and start all over again. Thus originate the cycles of intraterritorial group migrations.

They are held once a year for the five four years following the warrior's death.

On the fourth year, the celebration ends with the burial of the head; on this occasion, the women as well as the men address it with the following words:

"My brother (or my son), we have come here to bury thee. Thou hast died; to this end were thou born. Thou hast died in war, because thou wert brave; to this end did our mothers and fathers nurture us. We must not fear our foe. Whosoever dies in war dies with honor; it is not as death from illness. We have come from all the maloca to weep and dance to the end of thy burial."

The Mundurucu version runs as follows:

"Uadum inhaçan uat uhe dcit schéme. Imuthame ari uiñ bai uiñ mai pâume. Ibiñ uadum uiñ rupadum bi aihocate edii. Imuthame uiñ xi uiñ me pito uiñ bai ari ut uiñ tebi aihocate epeçupeidie ipi bi uiñ pacaxa ama uiñ rupadum bi-xime. Rupadum-bi tat a ñen aihocate edii tura ue-e uiñ rupadum bi-ibi pame ume pito idiuxi ma uiñ pa-ñme pai bi-ime cauxi pibiñe. Idiñxi uiñume aihuxcaxi bitti caracuie cuiñ bi uiñme uat cañe ure recui axima uiñe iaiape ibi uiñ uiñat pam uiñ uxe ahaçam achi-ñuñme pee ihimas uiñ diapite diei." [132]

At the same time, around the funerary basket, the women speak as from the dead man's mouth:

"My mother (or my wife), thou wilt die in bed of illness. I died in war because I was brave."

In the course of these ceremonies the shaman blows on a special instrument: it is a kind of horn which they call carupai.

To this end the shaman hides in a small hut which is especially built for the purpose, and where the women are strictly forbidden to enter.

On the other hand, these superstitious women avoid the sight of that sacred and mysterious instrument in every possible way. They are convinced that were they to glance at the carupai but for an instant, they would commit a sacrilege that would cause them misfortune for the rest of their lives.

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The *ekgá* is only for sound men, warriors, and
302 their sons over eight years of age.

513 Each warrior slings his hammock whenever he pleases inside the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the *ekgá* above his hammock -- bows, arrows, wanclab, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

462 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
298 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the *ekgá*, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the *ekgá* stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemon these houses are five in number, quite large built with greater care [than the *ekgá*], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal, but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: bowls, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
357 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women never set foot in the *ekgá*. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept: such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled with the fruit of the moriti palm (Mauritia vinifera). he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necoderoon if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully.

In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Abenamri.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

The village of Abenamri was under construction. It comprised but one large new house, with a thatch covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

We found no one inside the house, but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a timorous look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

This youth was about twenty. his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the lineages, that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [78] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain royal conclusion.

When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were running to to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away leaving my companion to spend the night in Abenamri and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to injure them.

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
341 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ekgã is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.

343 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

341 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors sling their hammocks on clear summer nights. [102]

342 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ekgã above his hammock -- bowl, arrows, wrrchab, and bow.

342 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
343 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

342 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
341 pare the thread and the netting.

341 Inside the ekgã, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the ekgã stand the houses of the women, which also
341 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

It Necodemus these houses are five in number, quite large built with greater care [than the ekgã], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal, but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
342 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: lances, bows, baskets, etc. In the center of
343 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
342 come into the women's house whenever they please, but the women never set foot in the ekgã. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

1: Tocantins--77 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Maué SQ12.

brook that winds every which way through the fields and through the shade of the virgin forest.

Following the evening meal, each would string his hammock; those who had not brought one would prepare couches of branches and leaves.

The Maué and the Mundurucu, formerly implacable enemies who could not meet without fighting, now slept peacefully side by side.

I have often been told about the profound silence of the desert. But in these parts, during the night, there is not a single instant of absolute silence. A thousand loud voices, now near, now far, hoarse or sharp, shrill or mellow, form a strange orchestration: the croaking of branches, the chirping of insects, the hissing of reptiles, the mournful cries of nocturnal birds.

And in the midst of these discordant sounds a cry echoes, piercing and plaintive, which appears to move constantly about.

The Maué, brothers of the Tupi nation, said that it was the "cry of the ashangé." Yet although I questioned them repeatedly on the subject, I was unable to find out whether they attributed the cry simply to the small white deer they call ashangé, or to the evil spirit which according to their beliefs is wont to take the form of a deer in order to deceive them and lead them astray when they go hunting. When they spoke of the ashangé, however, they showed no signs whatever of superstitious fear.

Indeed, Tupi mythology portrays the principle of evil simply as a cunning deer that invents ingenious tricks to lead the hunters astray.

It is not Iowa, portrayed by the oldest Sanskrit [181] civilization as forever thirsty for blood, nor is it the Ashtaroth of the Persians.

It is also very remote from Satan, that combined figure of dread and masquerade which the missionaries of old so often mentioned in their sermons and in their chronicles.

At the headwaters of the Cabrori I spent my last day and night with the Mundurucu who had come with me from Necodemus.

I gave them all I had in my canoe, including those personal possessions which were not indispensable to me, and deeply regretted my inability to do more.

[illegible] PLATE 3

342

a. Dark-walled dwelling house occupied by the author and his wife

[352]

b. Interior of Mundurucú dwelling

[end plate 3]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Manducrow SQ13

[illegible] PLATE 4

342
352

Hanging outside of the arm's boom. The hammocks of members of the White mission are hung in the foreground, those of the Red mission in the background. The fan will ventilate the entrance to the chamber in which the sacred trumpets are kept.

[end plate 4]

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
341 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ciqã is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.

343 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

347 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors sling their hammocks on clear summer nights. [102]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ciqã above his hammock -- bows, arrows, wooden, etc; bows.

362 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
363 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

362 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
364 pare the thread and the netting.

364 Inside the ciqã, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the ciqã stand the houses of the women, which also
341 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

It Necodemus these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the ciqã], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal, but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
362 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: bowls, looms, baskets, etc. In the corner of
367 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
362 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
363 never set foot in the ciqã. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream, in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yuca or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Cooperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men come and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

609

[362] From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled

[363, 574] with the fruit of the mauri palm (Mauritia vestifera). He showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully.

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Abenauati.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

362, 631 The village of Abenauati was under construction. It comprised but one large new house, with a thatch covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

[363] We found no one inside the house, but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

[364] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

362 This youth was about twenty. His face was as yet completely painted. It merely bore the lozenges, that pen which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [78] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel consistency.

[364] When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were running in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

[365, 669] In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away, leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Abenauati and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention of harming them.

§13 I was working through every means to convince them that they would find dedicated friends among us, when they replied that Tete Burnlé had told them H. M. the Emperor was a friend of the Mundurucu.

Tete Burnlé was a Mundurucu who had left the villages many years previously, and returned after a long absence. He presented himself in the malocca of Celestí elegantly dressed after our fashion. His kinsmen greeted him with delight.

Then he told them that he had been baptized in Rio de Janeiro, that he had taken the name of Maximiliano de Alcantara, and that H. M. the Emperor had served as his godfather and patron. He found in the malocca of Celestí various relatives, and in particular a sister who treated him with great devotion. When he had left his native village, at a very young age, he had been accompanied by a brother, and together they had traveled down the Cururú River.

This Mundurucu painted a vivid image of the advantages of civilized life, without moving his kinsmen to renounce their savage existence.

Eventually the change in his way of life made him ill, and he came down with violent fever.

It was said in the malocca that his elegant clothes had cast an evil spell upon him, so his sister angrily gathered them on the village grounds and set them afame.

As he recovered from his illness he met even greater distress, for now he was naked.

He finally died. His sister, who had not forsaken him for an instant, buried him under her own hammock. [100]

XII

Population of the central Mundurucu malocca.

[101] It is very difficult, indeed impossible, to furnish an exact census of these Indians, living as they do in maloccas situated in inaccessible stretches of bush country.

Cawaypé	500
Celeuá	500
Imburanú	350
Macapá	300
Urubeu	250
Celemanum	250
Chacuriko	700
Aiú	300
Bacabal (Mission)	500
Sobant	100
Total	10,000

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these maloca may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacuriko, for example, is now abandoned, that of Sobant is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the number of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 10,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the basis of the Upper and Lower Tapajos, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

XIII

Maloca of Necodemus -- Plan of Mundurucu maloca

Necodemus is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

In the center of the maloca stands the ciká or warriors' quarters.

The ciká consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and immune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The *ekeá* is only for sound men, warriors, and those over eight years of age.

Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors sling their hammocks on clear summer nights. [102]

Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the *ekeá* above his hammock -- bows, arrows, wrislets, and bars.

They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also prepare the thread and the netting.

Inside the *ekeá*, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

Around the *ekeá* stand the houses of the women, which also shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemon these houses are five in number, quite large built with greater care [than the *ekeá*], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal, but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may come into the women's house whenever they please, but the women never set foot in the *ekeá*. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept: such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadeceri.

In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly united although divided into twenty villages.

It is true that the villages owe allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious, but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the *ciça* or warriors' quarters.

171 But they
381 do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Maues. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

244 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[161] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[439] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Würzschilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajoz now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
361 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[127] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from motumun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the thief [Mitnchmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

726 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
224 Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

252 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made
[272] from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water.
[273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

[276] They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

•361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

342 The dwelling house (ekça, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a
[562] long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

deer were also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal, especially at longer range, and, if there are two or three hunters, the possibilities of successfully dispatching the animals are increased.

Fishing

Fishing was an economic activity definitely secondary to hunting, although as we will see later, the circumstances of acculturation have changed one large section of the tribe to a group which relies primarily on fish for proteins. The aboriginal Wundurusú generally built their villages in places several hours inland from the nearest navigable streams. Thus their defensive position was improved while in no way impairing their attacking power. This settlement pattern was well adapted to a warrior society, but removed them from the best fishing sites. The small streams within easy reach of the villages yielded only smaller species of fish and in limited quantity. That the Wundurusú relied little on the water system for food or transportation is shown by the fact that only in recent times has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The usual modern Wundurusú canoe is of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders. In pre-contact times, the only water craft used was the bark canoe of the type described by Von den Steinen on the upper Xingú River.[8] Not even this canoe was native to the Wundurusú for they acknowl-

8. Steinen, 1894, pp. 222-223.

Tribal integration was also aided by the ceremonial [illegible]cycle, which in nearly all cases brought people from a number of villages together in a host village. Despite the lack of central political controls the Mundurucú can be called a tribe in that they were united by interpersonal connections and were able to act as a political entity under temporary political controls.

The village

At present there are eighteen Mundurucú villages having an average population of fifty to sixty people. The balance of the population of 1800 are living in isolated groups usually consisting of one small extended family or, at times, only one nuclear family. It is impossible to judge exactly how many villages there were in earlier times or what their populations were. The shifting settlement pattern makes a plotting of old villages indefinite and the climate and vegetation destroy all vestiges of abandoned villages after about twenty years. The sources are just as useless on this point. Tocantins, one of the few men who reported on a trip to a 19th century Mundurucú village, states that the village of "Karodeuna" (Karodyar is the correct transcription) consisted of five houses and a men's house.[12] He had previously cited the statistics of one Joaquim Torres, then Director of the Indians of the Tapajós River, to show that this village had a population of 2100, a patent absurdity.[13] The best estimate based on informant data gives a maximum population

12. Tocantins, 1877, p. 103.

13. Ibid., p. 101.

of 600 to 900 for the old Mundurucú villages.

The aboriginal Mundurucú village consisted of three to five dwelling places and the men's house, or ekto.* The average population was about 800 people. Commonly, these villages were located on stretches of high savannah. Such a site was easily defensible as its open location protected it from the surprise attacks always used by Amazonian Indians. Also, these locations were relatively free of insects. The Mundurucú say too that "It is beautiful here for you can see far."

362 The houses were oblong with rounded ends and had steeply pitched thatched roofs. Some houses were 80 to 100 feet in length. The eaves of the roofs terminated at about five feet from the ground and the house was closed by vertical bare walls. Brown reeds of the center stalks of palm fronds were used.

364 The men's house was a large lean-to type building, the open end of which always faced east. It was up to 100 feet long and had a roof that gently sloped from the east end, at which point it was about fifteen to twenty feet high, until it met the ground at the west end. The front and both sides were open. Adjoining the south side of the west end of the men's house was the small room in which the sacred trumpets, forbidden to female eyes, were kept. Three horizontal beams, one in the middle and one on either side of the house, ran from east to west at about five feet above

364 * The phonetic system used above and throughout this work is, with a few exceptions, that of English. The exceptions are: ã is pronounced like the German ä; ĩ and ũ are pronounced as in Portuguese lare and usar, respectively.

the ground. Between these beams, the men stretched their hammocks to sleep.

Like all Tropical Forest Indian villages, the Wundurumé village shifted location every five to ten years due to the exhaustion of nearby stands of high forest in which to make gardens. Each village had a definite area, usually a certain savannah, in which it moved. After 30 to 50 years a new forest cover on previously used land made it adaptable to horticulture again. Today, the reduced population of the contemporary villages makes frequent village shift due to lack of garden land unnecessary, but a new village is built every ten years due to the rapid decay of the houses, and also because the immediate environs become overgrown with weeds that are soon infested with insects and snakes. The locale of the new village was chosen by common consent, and the houses were built collectively. The last structure to be built was the men's house. Until it was built the flutes were kept in the old men's house.

The men's house

The Wundurumé exhibited the most complete development of the male-female social division and accompanying men's house complex to be found in South America. Among the Canayura, the men's house is a ritual center.[14] Among the Sorora, it serves this function and is also a bachelor's and young men's sleeping quarter.[15] However, all the Wundurumé males from the age of about seventeen, worked, gathered and held council,

14. Oberg, 1948, p. 84.

15. Colbacchini, 1942, p. 35.

6: Mudy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Tapajós town established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites after the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The rubber trade had used an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued on the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 3000. The communities were located in the middle of the savannah country, away from surprise attacks and free of the insects endemic of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

The nine villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a set of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clans. The feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves, is a primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apinaié Indians, were beings with whom the "people" had have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. The they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and bel tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. Therefore and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

While unleashing hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflicts between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in with co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since not statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, I would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[i.e. The mile of the nineteenth century.—Analyst]

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ17 Mundurucu SQ15

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extension warfare formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1862, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men sleep, eat, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

[illegible]

[illegible] position of subsistence based individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 150 years, of which only 40 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper (Murphy 1956).

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savanna lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The terrain in this region is quite varied, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because mosquitoes from the larger streams affected some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the number of insects which infest the river banks, while the presence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the Jum warriors attacks launched by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only sparingly, isolation from the rivers was not a handicap.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Kiptchakans were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The single, [illegible] matrilineal matrilocal hunting bands of the Kiptchakans were roughly equivalent to the matrilocally [illegible] villages of the Mundurucú. In both societies, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level. But there were no permanent inter-village political controls. Just as Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and communication, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Kiptchakan bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Kiptchakans were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Matrilineal kinship and residence in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and permanent. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden work and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilineal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Lowie's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Portuguese shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Portuguese family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilineal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilineal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males spent meaning sleep-overs slept in the men's house, which was located on the ceremonial perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and went food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most [illegible] tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

9: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Manduruku SQ13

639
438
178

chiefs. Other individual trading has become strongly centralized among one section of the Manduruku, however, "chiefs" were chosen by the Indian Agent and by businessmen in order to control the general behavior of the Indians, and not specifically for commercial purposes. This more nearly approximates the modern Brazilian situation, although it was reached through a different sequence of functional roles and from a different aboriginal base. In both cases, the Indians themselves were very conscious that these men were not genuine chiefs in terms of aboriginal leadership patterns, and both groups generally suspected that the white-recognized chief was promoting the interests of the white men rather than those of his own people. The new leadership patterns never became fully established. While these patterns were functional in terms of white-Indian relations, they were dysfunctional in terms of the native socio-cultural structure.

Among the Manduruku, therefore, the integrity of the local sociopolitical groups was, in part, temporarily maintained by a change in the functional role of the chieftaincy. That the changed pattern of leadership eventually became dysfunctional resulted in part from the ecological adaptations necessary to rubber collection. These adaptations, however, did far more than contribute to the disintegration of political controls. They undermine the very economic basis of village life.

Hevea brasiliensis, the native and most common species of rubber tree, grows wild throughout the upper waters of the Amazon. It can be exploited only during the dry season, but, in the upper Tapajós River valley, the maximum length of the gathering season is from May to early December, approximately seven months. Since these trees are scattered throughout the low lands near the watercourses, they are reached by circuitous paths cut through the undergrowth. The spacing of the trees and the work involved in rubber collection generally limit the number of trees tapped daily to one hundred to one-hundred and fifty or less. Some collectors improve their yield per tree by establishing two or three separate avenues which they visit only every second or third day. The distribution of rubber trees is such that each avenue gives access to trees within an area of about three to five square miles. The actual size of this territory depends, of course, upon the density of the rubber trees. In some sections of the Amazon drainage wild rubber is more abundant than are others. One may travel ten to twenty miles on reaches of river where rubber is sparse without passing a single habitation, but, where rubber is more plentiful, one encounters houses at intervals of a mile or even a half-mile.

The rubber tapper must work in his avenue or avenues almost daily, and therefore must live near them. Since each tapper exploits a considerable tract of land, the physical nearness from neighboring tappers is a matter of necessity. Thus, on the Tapajós River, which has a population of about 3,000 excluding the Manduruku, there are only two Brazilian villages of any consequence. One of these has a population of about 700, and the other has only 150 people. The other settlements are merely hamlets consisting of a trading post and from ten to seven houses. The majority of the population live in isolated houses on the river banks.

The exploitation of wild rubber is a solitary, individual occupation in that the tapping of the tree, the subsequent collection of the latex, and the final coagulation process are one-man jobs. The last phase, carried out at the end of the day, consists of solidifying the latex over a smoky fire. The simplicity and the daily time-schedule of the entire rubber process in Amazonia is such that no one can profitably leave off collection to specialize only in tapping or collection or coagulation. For similar reasons, two men do not work in the same avenue. However cooperatively, it would not be a practicable means of increasing production.

This brief account of how wild rubber is exploited is necessary to an understanding of changes in Manduruku society. In the earlier contact period, the

314
[34]
438

Despite the fluctuating trade in progress, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucu economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous. 459 177

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucu and the Nambiquara are partially to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucu, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to most local needs, both old and new, inevitably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who fabricated these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucu families, like those of the Algonkians, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucu. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucu were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucu country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucu villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently necessary in character and auxiliary to Brazilian occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucu was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucu to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1924 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucu warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective. [622] 721 177 939 [797]

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucu acculturation, only basis of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucu society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucu who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy. 177 621

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucu villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large [221] 319 361 177

[17] 1st

[illegible] and [illegible]

[17] 3a 3b 3c portion of the Manduruku, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods could no longer be satisfied by the trade of only three months' work in the rubber economy, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Manduruku acculturation. Their resettlement in the rubber region, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary island villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber season houses to make it more profitable [32] during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the island villages, the lack of their social lives lies increasingly within the orbit of the communities of southern families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturation process will come when they abandon horticulture for their full time to work in the rubber economy, [37] and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Amerindian Ka'apor, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned situation on the Tapajós River had indifferent success in attracting the Manduruku until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The businessmen were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Tapajós River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

[17] 7a 7b 7c The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to maintain in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the seasonal communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to [illegible] on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, eventually replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy new tools, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the elementary division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

[illegible] 178 Political authority on the Tapajós River was almost nonexistent. The migrants began to trade as individuals, fighting with the businessmen and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the private and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Tapajós River represent a transition to nuclear family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the [221] Tapajós River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

Map 2. Mandaroni territory and villages.

of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only once in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers of the scattered collector population.

Several days and barely 300 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Mundurucú population. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and das Tropas. A number of Mundurucú villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and an occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually ragged or ill-fitting clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading posts. Racially, the Mundurucú does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes among the local Brazilians.

If one wishes to reach the village of Cabruá, a typical Mundurucú community of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabitutú River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of dawn-to-dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 200 yards away. The house is usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabruá go there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village, one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from the valley of the Cabitutú and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a sun-scorched savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one to the village.

The majority of the Mundurucú now live on the banks of the larger streams of the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there. Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 beside on the Cururú River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated quart of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River. But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the historic period and, according to Mundurucú tradition, since the creation of man.

The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Mundurucú architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance precincts and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbrush. And the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

in the men's house rolled in leaves and then slowly roasted and dried out over a fire. Tobacco smoke is blown upon it, and sweet manioc broth is ceremonially poured upon it to please and feed it. The dried fetus is believed to become transformed in time into a baby tapir containing the mother of the tapir, and the shaman places it near one of the pools or the headwaters of the streams. Even weaker shamans can make the *bia ši*, and any pregnant tapir serves this purpose.

Although the manufacture of a *bia ši* was never witnessed during our residence among the Mundurucú, I was able to observe the preparation of a mother of the peccary in the savannah village of Cabruá. On this day, the hunters had chased a band of peccary that had passed close to the village. The band, however, had a fair head start on the hunters and escaped, leaving a half-grown member behind. The dogs cornered the animal in a bush, and the hunters were about to capture it as a pet when the shaman arrived on the scene. He ordered the men and their dogs to stand back while he smoked intently and concentrated his gaze upon the animal. He then announced that the young peccary was carrying the mother of the peccary, or *daje ši*, within its body. As the news spread, all the villagers came out to gaze upon the animal and to admire its "beauty," evidently singing thereby to gratify the spirit. The shaman then grabbed the squealing peccary and sat upon it, while another shaman sewed it by its snout. A third shaman pulled out the animal's eyebrows and some hair from its back and released it unharmed. The first shaman then brought the hairs back to the trumpet chamber adjoining the men's house and placed them inside the hollow limb of a burití palm. Every day thereafter he blew smoke upon his creation and poured a sweet manioc drink over it. After a period of this treatment it was believed that the hairs would turn into a young peccary with the mother of the peccary inside it. The animal would similarly be carried to one of the deep pools in the neighborhood and would attract herds of peccary. Strong shamans, it was believed, could make the *daje ši* from the hairs of any peccary, but weaker practitioners, as in this instance, had to select an animal that already had a *daje ši* within it.

Other Functions of the Shaman

In addition to his curing activities and his role in the propitiation of the spirit mothers, the shaman performs a variety of lesser duties. When the village is moved to a new locale every ten years or so, the shaman must inspect the site selected. He ascertains if there are many fever-producing *ceuši* in the neighborhood, and he looks also for signs of the *Ferupari* and other malignant beings. These malevolent forces can also exist below the surface of the ground, and the shaman must send his *wawši* to inspect the earth below the proposed village site. After the instrument has completed its investigation, it returns to the shaman and tells him of its discoveries.

The shaman, through another of his instruments, the *shibit*, can also discover lost persons and lost or stolen objects. He blows smoke upon the *shibit*—a small piece of cane—and sends it upon its mission. In the case of a stolen object,* the

* Theft is extremely rare among the Mundurucú and probably owes its occasional occurrence to the contemporary acquisition of trade goods.

L2:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE SETTING

179 try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

181 Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional homeland as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 300 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in 177 search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his [298] first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western [301] style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is [305] a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong 192 in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the [304] younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the 171 Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely 341 Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

Lf: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) F960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

as most of the population. These small one- or two-family groups do not have the social frame of reference necessary for the perpetuation of the native social system. And the social units are too small for the effective transmission of the traditional culture to the young.

Village life, relative isolation from Brazilians, greater population density, and, therefore, more intensive interaction with other Mundurucú, make for better preservation of the Indian culture among the residents of the Cururú River. But here, too, tradition is on the wane, and the native social structure has been drastically modified.

Actually, the stronghold of Mundurucú society and culture lies in the remaining savannah villages; and it is from the savannah area, once far more populous, that the contemporary dwellers of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers originally emigrated. It cannot be said that the Mundurucú of the savannah villages represent the "aboriginal culture," for they too have been deeply affected and altered by Brazilian society. But change has been the least among this population. A greater degree of political and economic autonomy is preserved, and the native social system persists, although it has been subjected to modifications. Society and culture in the savannahs is certainly not the same as one hundred fifty or even fifty years ago, but it is still more distinctively Mundurucú than in the Cururú villages and far more so than among the scattered Indians of the Tapajós River.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Planalto de Mato Grosso is a thinly forested and rugged upland, ranging in altitude from 2,000 to 3,000 feet, which forms the divide between the streams flowing north to the Amazon and south to the Paraguay River. The headwaters of the Madeira, Tapajós, Xingú, and Araguaya

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

while the lands lying north of the last rapids, the Cachoeira do Maranhão, will be termed the "lower Tapajós"; this division follows local usage. The traditional location of their villages has been in a high and hilly area inland from the Tapajós, between the Cururú and Tropas rivers. This is a region of mixed savannah and forest in which several minor tributaries of the Tapajós have their headwaters. Topographically, this high savannah land is a continuation of the Serra do Cachimbo; it extends northwestward through the Mundurucú country and across the Tapajós at the Cachoeiras de Capoeira and Chacorão. Beyond this point there is some savannah land at the headwaters of the Secundurý and Abacaxis rivers, but the terrain soon flattens out into the great, forested Amazon lowland encompassed by the Negro and Madeira rivers.

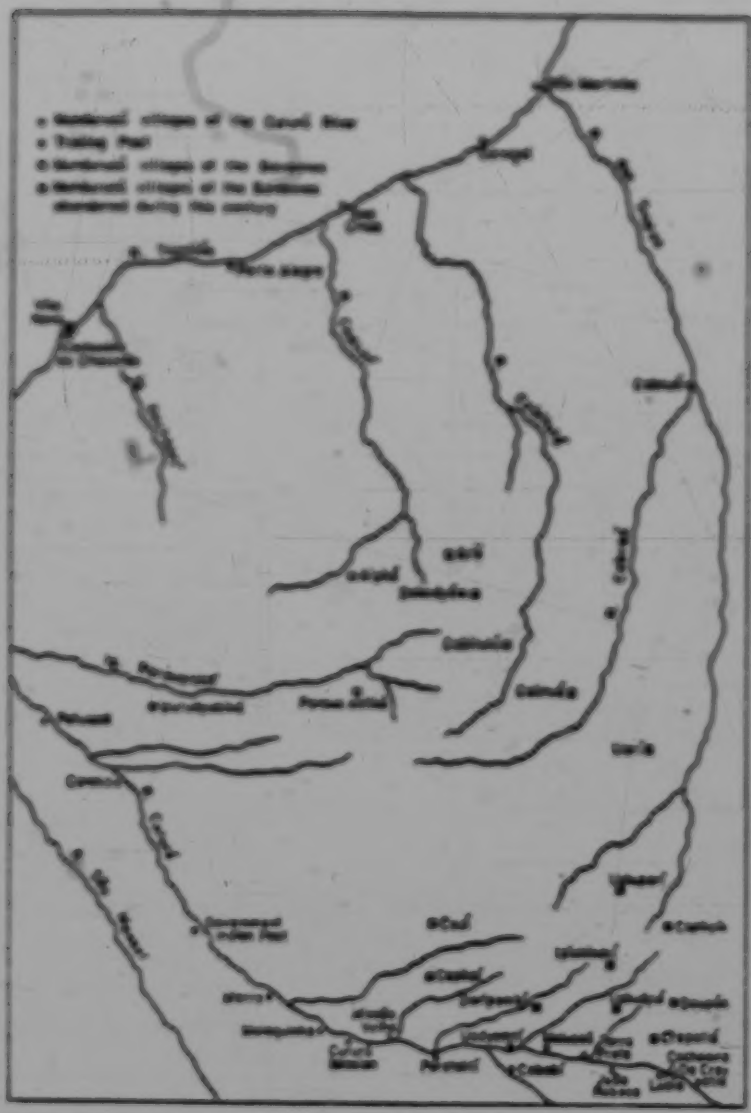
The savannahs in which the Mundurucú have long dwelled are considered agreeable by Indians and Brazilians alike, although the latter do not live in the area. The villages are usually situated on high, grassy knolls, and some offer vistas of twenty miles across forests and open country, low hills, and valleys. The local streams are small, but the water is cool and pure. And the forests are far richer in game than in the more heavily settled areas of the Amazon.

The climate of the upper Tapajós follows a more pronounced wet-and-dry cycle than that of the Amazon valley proper. The rains begin in mid-September and increase in frequency and intensity for the next three months. The heaviest rains fall between January and March; then they gradually slacken until the dry season commences in June. The great extremes between wet and dry seasons can be seen from the following figures on average January and July rainfall, collected by the Cururú Mission. During 1945–1951, the average January rainfall was 420.6 milli-

[Text continues on page 15]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucú SQ13

102
103
191
133
•361
366



Map 2. Present territory of the Mundurucú Indians

P-14

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants who read and write usually learned to do so in another area or through literate parents. Actually, the Mundurucú are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, because both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educational facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher section of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods. These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers, often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the *barracões* (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local traders, who buy the produce of the caboclo and sell him needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses adjacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the houses of rubber tappers whose rubber avenues are nearby, and others belong to people who live there during the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 customers of the patron remain in their isolated dwellings the year round.

439 648 Every rubber collector deals steadily with the same patron, because the latter controls the section of forest land in which his clients work. The trader usually has no legal title, but receives rights of exploitation by paying [651] the state tax on the gross cash return from the land. The right of exploitation, perpetuated by the state tax, usually rests on a nebulous title, and, according to Wagley, it is [423] "control over the land, and not legal documents" which establishes ownership in the Amazon.[8] The patron grants permission to the rubber tapper to extract rubber from his lands and, in return, exerts a trade monopoly in which his client sells rubber to him and buys goods from him. [651] The patron profits from both sale and purchase and, since he passes the state tax on to the rubber collector, the latter receives but small return in terms of the prices prevailing in the urban markets. The client has freedom of movement only when he is not in debt to the patron, which rarely happens. If he owes money, he can transfer to another patron only if the new one settles the debt and transfers it to his own books. The rubber collector sometimes deals with the *regatões*, or itinerant merchants who ply the rivers, but these transactions are infrequent and in small amounts because the patron does not tolerate a substantial loss of commerce. The rubber collector who deals too often with the *regatão* might be denied credit by his regular patron or, less frequently, evicted from his avenue.

311 439 648 The economic power of the trader is especially strong on the upper Tapajós River because of a combination of geographic and economic factors. The lower Tapajós, from its mouth at Santarém to the first rapids 150 miles upstream, is economically diversified, and its rubber pro-

[8] Wagley, 1953, p. 92.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Sundays when the people come to trade and to enjoy social contacts. The patron is also expected to intervene in cases of serious violation of the law, and he is frequently called upon to settle disputes among his clients. The latter depend heavily on the traditional mutual obligations between patron and client. If the rubber collector falls ill and cannot work, the patron is expected to continue to extend credit to him so that his family may subsist. The patron is also supposed to offer food and coffee when his client visits and to show generosity to the latter's children, even if he is not their godfather. In turn, the client is expected to produce as much rubber as possible and to be loyal to his patron. But it is, at best, a very loosely knit community, for membership shifts frequently and the daily life of the people is carried on in one- or two-family isolation. The most important factor holding the community together is trade with the same patron.

This paucity of social interaction and the loose cohesion of the community is generally caused by the extraction economy prevailing in Amazonia and especially by the collection of wild rubber. The wild rubber trees exploited in the Amazon are scattered along the streams and are usually found on land flooded during the rainy season. Access to the trees is along paths that wind through the forest from one tree to another. The average rubber gatherer has one to three such "avenues" that he visits in rotation every third day to make a fresh cut in the bark of the tree and, later in the same day, to collect the latex that has accumulated in a metal cup placed below the incision. The trees are so widely distributed, except in the richest areas, that he usually works from dawn to late afternoon just to tap one avenue. The great area necessarily exploited by each rubber tapper, plus the fact that large riverine areas are found with few rubber trees and are thus unoccupied,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transportation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber. The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other important subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situation. Under these circumstances of great distance from his neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete individualization of production, the bonds of economic coöperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no recourse because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken. 175 648

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cuparí River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[16] Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343; [182] [361] [177] 175 182 648 [161]

[16] *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 240.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 797 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose somewhat as a result of export restrictions imposed on the planters of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a greater return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to grow up on the river banks. This population shift proceeded so rapidly that by 1950 there were only about 360 Mundurucú left on the savannahs, whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

175 439 797 [361] [166] [162]

Of less importance in attracting a permanent population to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadirirí rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

175 439 657

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175
439
657

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

175
166
361
[177]
[342]

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

175
184
361
175
184
186
[797]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

3

economic life

Until about 1925, the bulk of the Mundurucú population of the Tapajós area lived in the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest that begins some twenty to thirty miles east of the upper Tapajós River. The population of about 360 living in seven villages in this area today is constantly diminishing. The villages and their approximate populations are: Arö, 90; Cabitutú, 45; Cabruá, 67; Aipka, 50; Dekodyem, 50; Cauí, 25; and Parawaröktiká, 30. The last-named village is in the traditional savannah area and has some antiquity, but in recent years the organization of village life has shifted to the characteristic pattern of the Cururú River. Cauí was established in recent times by conservative Mundurucú who became dissatisfied with their new way of life on the Cururú River and wished to revert to more traditional practice. How-

131
162
361
184
361

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

184 ever, the people of the village still maintain trade relations
361 and their closest social contacts with the Cururú River settlements.

The other five communities are those which before the migration to the Cururú were farthest removed from its shores. A glance at the map will show that communication by water with the dwellers of that river is not feasible, and a two or three days' march would be necessary by land. Thus, geographical removal has combined with the social gulf that has arisen between campineiros and Cururú residents to make contact between the two groups most sporadic.

THE SAVANNAH VILLAGES

121 Most of the research in the savannahs was done in the village of Cabruá. The choice was made primarily for physiological and nonscholarly reasons; it had the least insects and the most food of all the villages. A vacant house was also available and ready to be occupied. Beyond considerations of creature comfort, Cabruá was suitable because it had the second largest population, several excellent old informants in residence, and it was a typical community of the more traditional type. Its five houses
[361] were arranged in the customary circle around a central plaza, and its male population lived in the traditional men's house. My wife and I accordingly settled in Cabruá during the second half of our Mundurucú sojourn.

22 The Mundurucú are essentially forest dwellers. Al-
[361] though their villages are on high savannahs, they depend on the resources of the forests and rivers for their subsistence. Their ecological adaptation does not differ greatly from that of other tropical forest tribes except in varying emphasis on different pursuits. Hunting, fishing, gathering, and gardening were and still are the basis of Mun-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 streams rely primarily upon fish for protein. The savannah villages are several hours inland from the nearest navi-
[361] gable streams. This settlement pattern was well adapted to the defensive requirements of a warrior society, but it removed the communities from the best fishing sites. The narrow, shallow streams within easy reach of the villages yield only smaller species of fish and in limited quantities.

The Mundurucú relied little on the river system for
177 food or transportation in times past, as is shown by the
501 fact that only in recent years has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The modern Mundurucú canoe is usually of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders; before contact with the whites the only water craft used was the bark canoe. Not even this canoe, however, was native to the Mundurucú for they acknowledge having acquired it from their Tupian-speaking neighbors, the Apiacá. In early times, the bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when the Indians were on war expeditions. Small streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among the Mundurucú of the savannahs, despite their annual dry-season residence on large streams. Only two men in the village of Cabruá owned canoes and no one in Cabitutú had one.

An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual
226 rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks, allowing the
[132] fish to disperse through the flooded forest where they feed on fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is difficult in the rain-forest region, even for people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who have to fish with bow and arrow from the river banks, it is almost impossible. The modern residents of Cabruá say that their lack of canoes would make it necessary for them during

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 themselves and yield for several years in abandoned gar-
311 dens. Other plants, such as timbó and some fruit trees are also productive long after the garden goes out of regular cultivation. The reason for planting a field only twice is obvious when one considers that bitter manioc matures in about eight months on the first planting and in more than a year on the second in the already "tired" soil. A third planting would yield little and, also, as the local Brazilians say, "the jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there is adequate virgin forest or old second-growth forest available to meet the needs of the population, and they simply clear new gardens. The usual system is for each man to clear land annually and thus have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting. But men often feel that they have adequate crops and let a year pass without clearing forest; this is especially common if a housemate has a new garden.

The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of
[423] forest land explains the absence of concepts of private or corporate property in land among the Mundurucú. When the best forest soils within a convenient range are exhausted, the village moves a short distance to the prox-
[361] imity of fresh soil. But the Mundurucú build new villages every ten years whether nearby garden land is scarce or
[166] not, and the present depleted population may shift within a one-mile radius over a forty- to fifty-year period. When conveniently situated forest is exhausted, they merely move out of this orbit to a new locale a few miles away, near which they remain for another long period. Villages probably moved somewhat longer distances in time past, when their populations exceeded two hundred people and pressure on the land was correspondingly greater.

423 The same causes that operate to make individual prop-
erty in land meaningless apply on the family and village

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

5

the local group

The village is the locus of economic and social life among the Mundurucú of the savannahs. Remoteness from larger streams makes these communities rather isolated in today's economic and social setting, but their positions on open, grass-covered hills fitted them ideally for purposes of defense in earlier times. The men still prefer savannah life because insects are lacking and the country is considered beautiful. But of greater importance, it is strongly felt that the proper place for a "true" Mundurucú village is in this locale. As will be shown in the next chapter, the conditions of migration have imposed overwhelming economic and social obstacles to the transplanting of traditional Mundurucú communities to the banks of the Cururú River and other larger streams, but these inhibiting factors have been supported by the deep conviction

361 [621]

[p. 97]

361 that the only proper place for "people" is in the savannah.
[186] Residence beyond this heartland is tantamount to becoming a pariwat, or "outlander."

THE VILLAGE

342 Each village contains two to five dwelling houses and the
[361] men's house, or *eksá*. The former have rectangular groundplans of about 20 by 40 feet in dimension and are internally uncompartmented. The walls are made of the bark of the *tauarí* tree and extend to approximately two feet from the roof. The intervening space is either left vacant or loosely covered with palm fronds to allow ventilation. The roofs are steeply pitched and made of thatch placed over a pole framework. This architecture represents a departure from the traditional type. Until recent times, houses had roughly elliptical ground plans; structures of 80 to 100 feet in length are said to have been common in the more populous past.

361 The houses are arranged in a circle around a central plaza that is now underbrush and weed-infested. The
345 men's house is always located on the west side of the village perimeter, and faces east into the plaza. It is totally unlike the dwellings in design and construction. Made in the form of an open-sided lean-to, it consists only of a roof that rises from the ground on the west side to a height of about 15 feet, and is supported by posts at the middle and both sides at four points along its length. Men's houses of twenty to thirty years ago were said to measure some 100 feet in length, but that of the contemporary village of Cabruá is only 50 feet long and 30 wide.

361 Modern Cabruá is typical of the savannah communities,
487 except for certain situational factors of population and immediate environment. It is accessible from the Tapajós River by either the Cabitutú or Tropas rivers; the former

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

is usually used, because it is navigable to a point only five 361
hours from the village. From the Cabitutú River port of 487
Cabruá which consists of a house and clearing on the river bank, the path to the village winds through a belt of gallery forest of several miles depth. After crossing a few minor streams that flow into the Cabitutú, the path emerges into an open savannah and gently climbs for about three miles until the crest of the height of land between the Cabruá and Cabitutú rivers is reached. Cabruá is at this point surrounded by a belt of underbrush and low trees that have grown from cast-off seeds and have been fertilized by human waste.

Three hundred yards away at the base of the hill on 312
which the village is built is a small stream and a strip of bordering gallery forest only two hundred yards wide. The stream rises from springs a few miles away and its waters are clear, pure, and cool. People draw their water here, wash clothes, and bathe—the Mundurucú are personally [515]
very clean and perform their ablutions at least twice daily.

The village is in open country, but large expanses of 361
deep, virgin forest are nearby. Paths radiate outward in 487
all directions from the village, leading to the stream, the port, other villages, and to the forest. The forest itself is criss-crossed with trails used for hunting; others lead to the gardens. The latter are generally no more than 45 minutes walk from the village. This is considered a rather long [482]
trip, because the women must carry their harvest in burden baskets back to the village. Land is not unlimited in 311
the environs of Cabruá; stretches of forest are subject to minor inundation in the rainy season, and large areas are sandy and horticulturally worthless savannah. The village, 361
then, must be moved at long intervals. Since contemporary Cabruá has only 67 inhabitants, there is no great pressure [161]
on land. Houses age and fall into disrepair rapidly, how-

361 ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the [311] more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking [166] ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

166 The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered 361 greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabituítú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this [688] was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

622 The household of the chief included 17 people, and the 592 largest house unit of the village had a population of 26. 621 The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the Tropas, but some do business with the trader of São Martinho, on the Tapajós. The people of Cabruá live in three separate hamlets on the Tropas. At one, the most powerful shaman of the village lives with two younger men of his household, and another is occupied by another man of the same house and his son-in-law. These two men trade on behalf of their rubber-avenue co-residents, and the chief of Cabruá is not considered to be their representative in trade. The Cabitutú River has only one or two all-year residents, and these are Brazilian. A number of families of Brazilians and eight Mundurucú families maintain regular homes on the Tropas, however. The latter Mundurucú associate to a varying extent with the villagers during the rubber season and occasionally come to Cabruá to seek the services of a shaman or simply to visit, but they remain marginal to village life.

The Mundurucú of the savannah communities collect less rubber than those of the Cururú and far less than the the Brazilian tappers. The latter generally commence production as soon as the flood recedes in May or early June and collect until the rains and rising waters make their rubber avenues inaccessible in November or December. The efforts of the campineiros, however, are limited by their alternating residence between village and rubber-avenue dwelling. The residents of Cabruá have to clear land for gardens before they may depart, and this generally holds them until May. But only the more industrious Mundurucú leave at this time; many linger in the village until June or July, and in 1952 one man stayed until August. Rubber is collected until August, at which time the trees lose their leaves, and the yield drops off sharply for two to three weeks. Some Indians use this occasion to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in their garden sites and then return to the rubber avenue until

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

221 planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in
314 the village. The average collecting season of the savannah
[241] Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed
342 frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm
[343] leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often
[592] house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

361 There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the
592 membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days
314 a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely
461 works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may
512 have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 especially the old, cling tenaciously to residence there. In
185 times long past, the alternatives to village life were priva-
621 tion and death at the hands of enemy war parties; the village was the basic unit in economy and defense and was fundamental to the workings of the social organization.

182 The pacification of the Tapajós River region, and the
621 rubber trade, have presented the opportunity for an altèr-
[361] nate mode of residence along the banks of larger streams. That it offers certain attractions is manifest from the fact that almost three-quarters of the surviving Mundurucú of the area have elected it. But the 360 people who still reside in the savannahs pursue a way of life which is distinctively Mundurucú. It is a changed culture, a changed social structure, but it is genetically rooted in the Mundurucú past. Life in these savannah villages obviously exerts a considerable hold over its members, for the communities have been persisting despite more than a century and a half of contact with Brazilian society and a constant population drain through emigration and epidemic disease. Some of the principal bases of this cohesion lie in the social means by which Mundurucú technology is implemented, for these provide fundamental ties of personal and familial interdependence.

2 The keynote of this organization lies in coöperation in
186 production, and collectivism in consumption. Men depend
621 on coöperation in hunting to bring game to bay within short range of their bows and to concentrate their fire power. Women share the arduous chore of farinha making
[441] and increase their efficiency by a division of tasks. The efficiency gained is perhaps sacrificed to conviviality, but a dull and arduous job is nonetheless made more pleasant. The implements used in manioc processing are expensive and beyond the means of individuals, but the village buys

182 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The
439 quest of the Mundurucú for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi-
[166] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens
[241] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

182 Individual nuclear families sometimes move immedi-
166 ately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of
• 361 course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the
621 desire for sociability and economic coöperation commonly motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Mundurucú who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together.
182 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gar-
476 dening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their
621 resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

canoe and firearms. Fishing is easier with watercraft and solitary hunting more effective by firearms. Both may be bought by the individualized labor of rubber production, and both further free the individual of his dependence on a larger group.

The net effect of the social processes currently affecting the Mundurucú is to scatter the population into semi-isolated and economically independent units. When the now middle-aged and old people die, the process will probably accelerate and the savannah villages will pass out of existence. The families will presumably settle, as all now do in the dry season and several throughout the year, on the waters of the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. Those on the former two rivers will no doubt be customers of the post of Sae Cinza and the residents of the latter will be clients of the patrons of Caroçal and São Martinho. Trips to the trader's store and increased use of canoes will allow the residents of each river to maintain frequent relations with each other, but the long distances between the streams will propably inhibit similar communication between their inhabitants. Beyond the membership of the hamlets in which small groups of nuclear families congregate, the only more inclusive form of economic interdependences will be that between patron and client. This relationship will probably grow in importance, and the Indians will become more firmly integrated into the loose communities, typical of the Amazon, composed of the trader and his customers.

These predictions are not entirely conjectural, for the projected way of life is essentially that of the Mundurucú who have already migrated to the Tapajós River and its tributaries. The nature of the migration and the following life by the river prohibits the reconstitution of savannah-type villages.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

7

the mundurucú of the cururú river

167 The Cururú River was permanently settled by the
184 Mundurucú in the 1920's and 1930's through much the
361 same processes that are observable today along the Cadirirí, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. The people who moved to the Cururú came largely from the southernmost savannah communities, and they settled on this particular stream because their dry-season residences and commercial bonds were there. When people move from the more northerly, contemporary savannah communities today, their choices of particular streams are dictated by the same reasons. There is no other cause for the differential migration that has split the northern and southern villages than proximity to certain rivers and corresponding ties to

[p. 154]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

particular patrons. Two or three decades ago, all savannah communities were much alike and, except for differing places of dry-season residence, the populations of all maintained frequent contact through intermarriage, visiting, and joint participation in ceremonies. The cultural and social differentiation of Cururú and savannah dweller is thus quite recent.

There are two major points of difference between the migration to the Cururú and that to the more northerly rivers. First, in the former large numbers of people moved in a comparatively short period. Secondly, the patrons on the Cururú River were not Brazilian rubber traders, but a group of German Catholic missionaries who were deliberately attempting to attract the population and modify their culture. The missionaries achieved little success during their first ten to fifteen years of activity and attracted large numbers of Indians only after the price of rubber rose. On the other hand, the astuteness of this example of applied anthropology should be given recognition, for the missionaries offered high rubber prices and low-cost merchandise, and thereby accelerated the migration process.

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRATION

The population move to the Cururú occurred in piecemeal fashion, for, as in the contemporary savannahs, nuclear families or segments of extended families shifted and not whole villages. Co-resident groups of Indians who commonly collected rubber and fished on the banks of the Cururú during the dry season were lured into setting up permanent residences there by the attraction of trade goods and the persuasion of the missionaries, who sought thereby to bring the Indians more directly under their influence. Other rubber-season residents perceived the economic advantages of all-year occupation of the Cururú,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and they too abandoned the annual return to the savannahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the people of Cabruá today, to choose avenues near their close kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails; other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farinha-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting, and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry summer. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard. 439 501

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river. 177 342 361

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old coöperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group. 182 476 571 178

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 796

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

439 648 The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

lages and easy transportation is lacking. But on the Cu- 439
rurú, even the man who has a separate dry-season resi- 461
dence has direct access to his village by canoe.

THE CURURÚ VILLAGE

The Mundurucú population of the Cururú River has for 162
several years maintained an average figure of 700. This in- 361
cludes 200 Indians with permanent residences at the mis-
sion and 70 to 80 who live at the Indian post. Part of these
latter two groups spread out every summer to collect rub- [221]
ber while the others work for the two agencies as garden-
ers, general workmen, fishermen, and crew members on
the launches. The post and mission Mundurucú settle-
ments are in no way autonomous villages, and all general
economic and political direction is provided by the Indian
agent and the priests.

The rest of the population is principally distributed in eleven settlements ranging in size from hamlets of two or three houses with populations of 20 to 25 people to the largest settlement, Missão Velha,[1] with eleven houses and 90 inhabitants. In addition there are many scattered dwellings along the banks which are the all-year residences of one or two nuclear families. In 1942 there were only about seven villages on the Cururú and practically no isolated dwellings, although the population then was substantially the same. The increase in number of villages and of families living in isolation is the result of a fission process in which segments of villages split away to form new communities. The Cururú River settlements are in this sense more unstable than the contemporary savannah communities. Thus, the average population of the five traditional savannah villages, excluding Parawaröktiká, which has no

[1] Old Mission. So named because it is near the site of the first mission, abandoned in 1921.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

162 men's house, and the newly formed Cauí, is 60. On the other hand, the average Cururú River community, excluding the mission and Indian-post settlements, numbers less than 40 people. The Cururú settlements have few of the cohesive aspects of the savannah villages, but are afflicted with the cultural inheritance of many of their divisive tendencies. This can be illustrated by briefly presenting the community organization in one Cururú village.

361 Its eleven houses and 90 people make Missão Velha the largest village on the Cururú River. The village suffers from the same disadvantages that made it necessary to move the mission from the area. It is set back about a half mile north of the river bank because the river here is bordered by a stretch of savannah that is inundated annually. There is a clear stream about ten minutes walk to the east, [312] but the annual flooding makes it inaccessible in the rainy season and water must be taken from the intervening flooded forest. To the north, behind the village, is a region of low savannah interspersed with stretches of forest. [311] There is a limited amount of land suitable for horticulture, and, after seventeen years of occupation of the village, nearby land is already scarce. An additional disadvantage [136] of Missão Velha is the presence of the usual quota of insects that infest the Cururú, which make the relatively insect-free savannah villages more agreeable.

Missão Velha, like most of the other riverine villages, grew up without planning of internal arrangement or location except for proximity to rubber avenues. All but one [342] of its eleven houses have wattle-and-daub walls in the [177] Brazilian fashion. The exception has walls made of vertical wooden laths, also a Brazilian mode of building. One house has the high, steep roof and rounded ends of the aboriginal [343] dwelling, although its walls are of mud. The cook sheds [177] adjoining the rear entrance or the side of each house are a distinctively Brazilian trait.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well- 361
weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use [343] the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths [487] radiate outward from the village in the direction of the port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a 592
shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear [594] family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse [602] does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined [476] forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average [476] household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little coöperation between the houses.

/2 cont./

*241 174 mythological and legendary traditions of the Mundurukú lead us to believe that they were not always a people given to the cultivation of plants. This, however, /applies to/ a remote past, which is no longer verifiable nowadays. In historic times, ever since they came *241 175 [269] into contact with civilized people and came to be known, they have been observed to cultivate gardens and to make manioc flour. It is true that the Mundurukú gained greater fame as warriors, for whenever the opportunity arose they did not hesitate to attack even cities such as Santarém (1780) and Gurupá (1784). (1)

[721]

1. Horton, 1948: 272-273.

As colonial rule was strengthened, however, and warring activities decreased, these Indians seem to have tended increasingly toward a more stable way of life and a more extensive and more diversified agriculture. I believe that available texts must be interpreted in this light. Even though they are not all in agreement, the traveling writers provide glimpses of a development in the cultivation methods of these Indians.

*241 [361] Martius, speaking in a general way of the Tupi tribes of the upper Tapajós, including the Mundurukú, regards them, precisely because of this incipient agriculture, as seminomadic. He says: "They practice a primitive agriculture and, therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (2) Monteiro Baena

2. "Sie treiben einen nothduerftigen Landbau, sind daher im strengeren Sinne keine Nomaden; doch bleiben ihre Niederlassungen nicht unveraenderlich an derselben Stelle." Martius, 1867: 201.

[175] testifies that at first, in the years following the pacification of the Mundurukú, their propensity for agriculture was not very great or very strong. Referring to the "Mundrucús" forcefully brought to and

/8 cont./

*241 or if other relatives have come to live in the house, then the plot is
[804] made larger. The calculation is thus basically intuitive, even
though it is based on practical experience gathered through generations.

*241 Nowadays, the Indian usually plants a little more than he needs
177 for his own use, to obtain a surplus (along with the surplus of rubber
[437] he has gathered) and improve his lot by using it in the purchase of
clothes, nets, machetes, etc. The garden, therefore, helps him to
maintain his economic balance at his present stage of acculturation.

[242] Another factor which also depends in part on the terrain is the
shape of the plot. Here, however, other elements are already in
evidence, especially the influence of neo-Brazilian acculturation.
Whenever possible, the Mundurukú prefer the traditional shape, which
is rounded or elliptic-oval. Thus did the ancestors make their plots,
and thus they are made to this day in the villages of the interior.
Still in 1957, this garden shape could easily be distinguished when
flying over the villages of the Kabitutu and Pararokti. But this is no
longer an iron rule. "It depends on the terrain," they told me. But
I believe that the influence of the peasants is stronger than that of
the terrain. Thus we find gardens of various shapes, elongated,
rectangular, and even square. The latter predominate especially in
[361] the Cururú and Tapajós regions and thus in areas where the Mundurukú
no longer live in village communities but in isolated dwellings. The
[182] dismembering of the community and the emancipation of the
Mundurukú family from the village system are reflected here as they
are in many other aspects of the culture.

*241 3. Clearing—tyut tatabm. To clear is to cut down the under-
growth with the machete, removing from the site of the future garden
shrubs, young trees, and brush. This is done to prepare for the next
task, which is the felling of the trees. In this way, the woodcutters
have greater freedom of action. After the trees are felled, it would
be impossible to clear the ground of undergrowth. As a rule, the
clearing is done in three days' work, and some time is allowed to
elapse for the brushwood to dry.

/16 cont./

*241 177 [171] of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Mundurukú.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the [361] Mundurukú, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Through this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Mundurukú and were, for the most part, adopted [797] by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquistions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grass-262 lands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour ex-177 emplifies this process. In the old days, the Mundurukú were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not [252] know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which sometimes they even roasted on stone (slabs)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Mundurukú of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Mundurukú of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial pur- [439] poses. Martius, Bates, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Mundurukú of the Tapajós carried on with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems 241 obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the 177 Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the mere usage of a plant

/26 cont./

*241 602 421 are closely united, or when, owing to some reverse, one of the family members cannot prepare his own garden but can help in the preparation of that of his father, brother, son, etc. then, sometimes, a communal plot is prepared. This refers, however, to the concept of "garden" in its absolute sense: a garden of bitter manioc, of tubercles. For they always continue to plant their own bananas, pepper, etc., separately, for their own private use, each family for itself. This type of "communal garden" is found also (or exclusively?) /27/ outside the old community, among the acculturated Mundurukũ. I observed such a case, between father and son, in the mission itself, where everyone has his own home. Both parties have equal right to the use of the garden. This type of "communal garden" is quite similar to that known among the peasants as a "company garden." The difference between the two types might perhaps be defined as follows: the "communal garden" serves directly for the use and sustenance of the families involved; the "company garden" exists on a contract basis, and its foundations and goals are usually commercial.

423 428 Once there is property, there arises the problem of inheritance. Each garden has its owner, with all ownership rights. In case of death, the plot passes into the hands of the eldest son, who is, however, nothing more than the "administrator" of this inheritance with a share in the usufruct. The heir is the family, represented by the eldest son in the sense that he must look after the plot, which the family shares along with him. When there is no family, the brothers inherit the plot. If there are no brothers, the other relatives do. In any case, the garden is not allowed to go to waste, and its produce is always utilized.

3. Garden and group: intraterritorial migrations

*241 361 At first sight, the Mundurukũ gardens often seem to lie far from the house or village. And, in fact, this is frequently the case. But this is nearly always the result of long years of permanence in one and the same spot. As time goes by, the soil around the houses be- [134] comes weak and exhausted. (15)? It is for this reason that the Indian

? [See category 116, p. 32 for explanation of this footnote--analyst]

/27 cont./

*241
361

15. The complete lack of fertilization methods among the Indians of the Amazon forest is well known. It is only when fallow plots are burned that the depleted soil derives some fertilizing elements from the ashes.

has to seek new sites farther out and set up his gardens ever farther away, so that, after a certain period of time, the Indian group actually lives far from its source of subsistence, until the Indians themselves find transportation of the crops to their homes difficult. Then comes the time to move the village to another /28/ more favorable location. On such occasions, the original (and no doubt the most fitting) form of this reciprocal relation of garden and village becomes apparent.

When a move takes place and a new village is built, the latter [622] lies in the center of the new garden plot of the tuxaua, or chief of the group. The traditional shape of the garden plot is rounded, as already mentioned. In the center of it, the plaza of the new village is cleared, also in rounded shape. Within it, the houses are laid out [342] in a square: the men's house or shed (hoksa), open in front to the [346] east, with the house of the ancestral spirits (kaduke) alongside it; the oval houses for women and children (hok-a) to the right and left; and the square is closed with another hok-a on the east side, if need be.

/Figure 3 appears here./

[621] The nucleus thus formed becomes a new center of the tribal group, of the clan or sib. The garden plot and the village thus form a unit, with the village standing within the first plot. In the years that /29/ follow, the garden plots expand outward. And if the soil is not suitable, the garden is moved farther out, ever farther, until, after a number of years, the need is felt to transfer the village and start all over again. Thus originate the cycles of intraterritorial group migrations.

/29 cont. /

*24 361 [182] [621] [166]

From this relationship of garden and village, and also, of garden and community, there results the relatively slight local stability of the tribal groups, which, however, does not reach the stage of nomadism, and perhaps not even that of seminomadism in the strict sense of the term. In fact, there is a certain amount of group migration resulting from the agrarian situation, since it is the soil that forces the Indian to keep moving on. But these migrations are a slow process which is not strikingly noticeable because the moves from one location

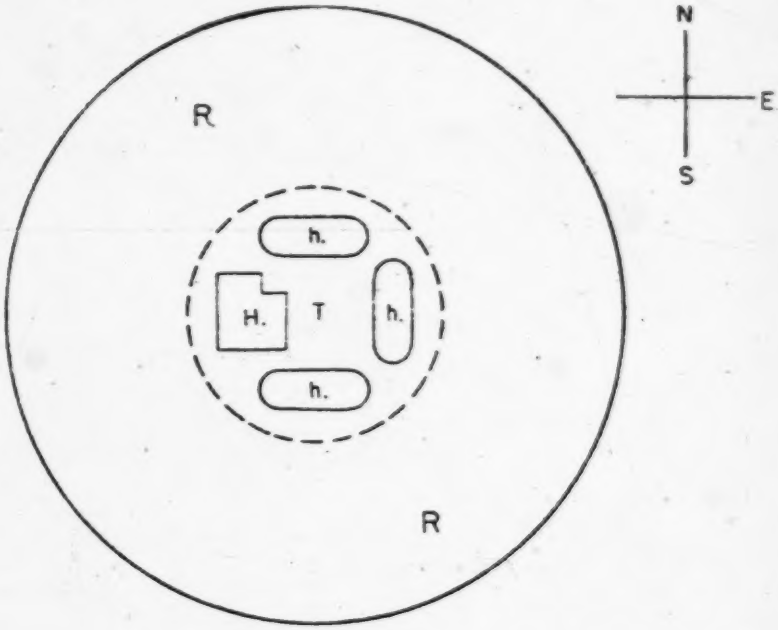


Figure 3. Plan of a Mundurukú village
T: plaza; H: hoksa; h: hok-a; R: Garden plots.

/29 cont./

*241 to another only occur at long intervals, within decades, and because
● 361 they occur within a certain well-defined area which is precisely the
166 habitat of the tribe. When these moves overshoot the boundaries of the pertinent territory, the causes must usually be sought in other spheres: in wars, pressure by other tribes, or, as is noted among the present-day Mundurkú, in the influences of trade and of rubber gathering. But, in their original and usual sense, these "internal" migrations, that is, these displacements and movements of groups within the area peculiar to the tribe, are based solely on the agrarian conditions mentioned above. Martius had already said of the Tupí of the upper Tapajós, as quoted earlier: "They practice a primitive agriculture, and therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (16) He had, thus, already noted these moves

16. Martius, 1857: 201.

[182] and had recognized the fact that agriculture was responsible for the greater or lesser stability of the Indian within his territory. In fact, the same thing may be said in a concrete way of the Mundurukú. They are not nomads, precisely because of their agriculture. But neither are they entirely stable within their habitat for the same reason—agriculture—which, owing to soil exhaustion, forces them into repeated moves which, in the last analysis, result in slow internal migrations which I have termed intra-territorial /sic/.

/30/

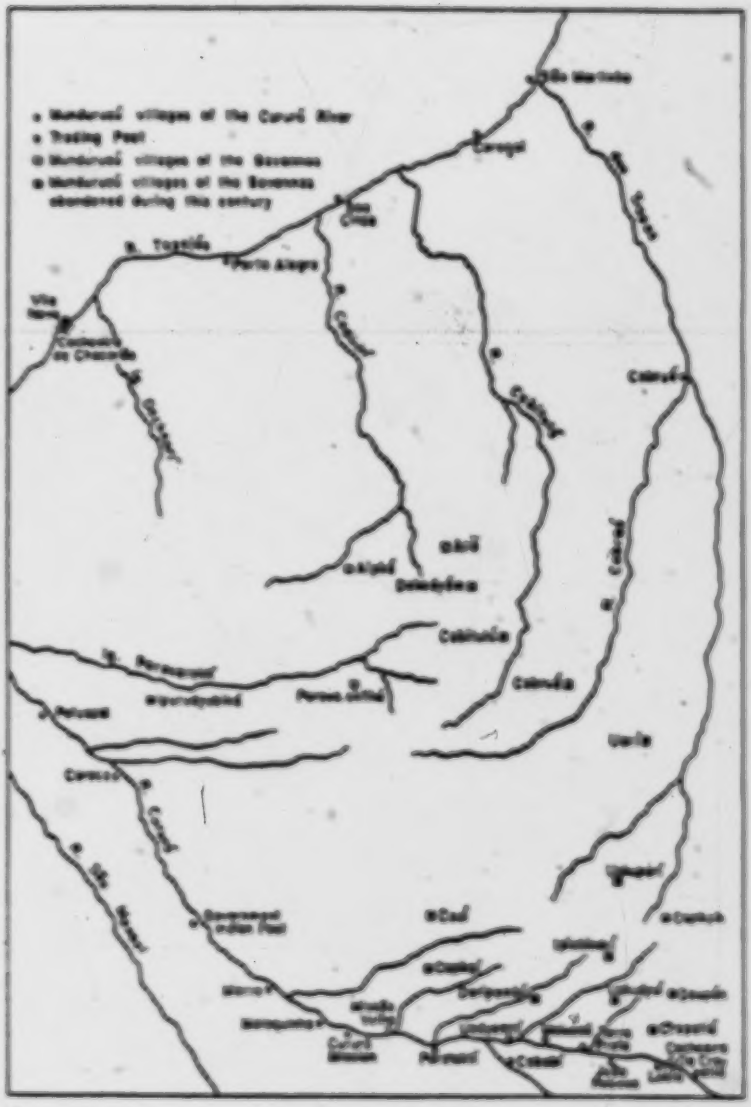
*241 IV. Native terminology referring to garden plots and cultivated plants
104

1) Referring to the garden. (17)

17. The phonetics have been adapted to Portuguese whenever possible. Note the following, however:

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

102
103
131
133
361
● 366



Map 2. Present territory of the Mundurucú Indians

P- 14

/9/

*241 313 4. Felling—yup chign or yup chichign. The felling of the trees is almost an art in itself, for doing it in good style requires knowledge and ability, a steady eye and calculation, especially as to how the trees will fall or how they must be cut in order to fall in the most desirable way. There is a certain method involved in felling trees: a larger tree is chosen (whenever possible, in one of the corners, or at least on one of the higher sides of the ground), and an imaginary line is drawn enclosing a strip /of ground/ that broadens out in the shape of a wedge. Within this strip, all trunks are chopped about halfway through, until they begin to snap. But the larger tree is chopped last, all the way through, and felled. It falls on the neighboring, half-cut trees, dragging them down in its fall, and through them all the other trunks within the chosen and prepared wedge. An entire strip of forest thus goes down at one fell swoop with a big noise, opening an enormous clearing, sometimes 100 meters long or more. Then, whatever timber may have been left standing is felled, and so are the remaining corners, "to straighten out the shape," rounding off or squaring off the plot. But "only these are cut down one by one."

[221] The felling of trees is usually carried out in April and May. The time of felling is determined by that of clearing, which precedes it by about two to four weeks. As a rule, the Mundurukú takes three days' work to do the felling on an average plot.

*241 372 5. The burning—imapign. The vegetation felled to clear the new plot is kept "resting" for two months or more, in order to dry thoroughly. The Mundurukú usually burn their clearings around the month of August. They grant the sun sufficient time to dry even the larger trunks. This relatively long spell /is granted/ so that the vegetation may burn as thoroughly as possible. The burning then becomes a light and easy task. Whatever trunks may still chance to remain after the burning are left right there, and are frequently utilized as a source of firewood for the village or house. As a rule, the plots of the Mundurukú are quite thoroughly burned.

/10/ To set the fire, they choose a breezy day when the wind is not too strong. Thus the breeze feeds the flames but does not allow

/10 cont./

*241 372 them to work too quickly, or else they would merely burn the small branches and foliage and leave the trunks intact. The trees would be charred rather than burned.

To set the brush on fire, the Mundurukú use torches made of dry straw or of certain resinous woods. With them, they set fire to various parts of the clearing. If there are other gardens or even houses nearby, and danger that the fire may reach them, they often [816] burn first a narrow strip of brush lying below the wind, so that later on the great fire in the clearing will meet a firebreak and will not go on to the neighboring forest or house. As a rule, they also prefer to burn the clearings before they set fire to the grasslands, as is their [821] custom. According to them, the burning of huge expanses of grasslands would attract rainfalls that would interfere with the burning of the clearings.

6. The remaining brush. Taipa is "the brush"; "to pile up the brush" = taipa chign or taipa chichign; "to burn the brush" — taipa mapign or simply imapign, "to burn."

While the thin branches and trunks burn within hours or within a day, the larger trunks take longer, burning down slowly. Then comes the turn of the remaining brush. Foliage, branches, and pieces of timber which have not burned up completely are gathered together and piled up on top of the thicker, still smoldering trunks, the better to destroy them. Then fire is set once more to this pyre, in order to reduce the remaining timber to ashes and clear the ground for planting.

Like all garden tasks, the burning, the piling up of the brush, and the burning of the pyre require practice and ability. Otherwise the Indian will get a poorly burned field.

*241 [221] 7. Digging and planting. Next comes the time of planting, in the month of September or October, depending on the first rains. Men and women go to the new plot to plant together. Planting is a dual task consisting of two distinct acts: digging or opening up the ground, and planting, /11/ that is to say, slipping the bitter-manioc [462] shoots into the ground. The first task is the man's, the second the woman's.

727 when they feel or fear they are being pursued. At night they
[373] guide themselves with torches made with fragments of a resinous wood which they call ouichique-taque, and which the Indians of the Lower Tapajoz know by the name of pau candeia [(Port.) "lamp wood"]. This wood, when dry, catches fire easily; it blazes brightly when carried on the run.

726 Almost invariably these expeditions last so long that the
[263] Indians run out of provisions and subsist on chestnuts rather than manioc flour and sweet potatoes. They suffer long privations; some of them return thin.

It is maintained that the Mundurucu make these forays every year and that they always bring captives.

A very old Indian woman, probably a native of the interesting Tapajoz tribe which gave the river its name and which is now extinct, told me that more than once during her youth [96] the Mundurucu had come down the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajoz, striking cruelly at the many malocas then extent, cutting enemy heads, and spreading boundless terror throughout the region.

A well-verified tradition also has it that these barbarians once reached the mouth of the Tapajoz, and besieged the fort built by the Portuguese in the Christian Tapajoz village which is now the site of the flourishing city of Santarém.

X

Facts about some native tribes whom the Mundurucu fight and who wander through the valley of the Upper Xingu and toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

728 The Mundurucu say that they still find many heathen bands in the extensive regions they roam, and that towards the east there
[373] runs a broad and mighty river, full of waterfalls, which they call Canumunzi and the banks of which are inhabited by many pagans.

This must be the Upper Xingu, which is indeed one of the major tributaries of the Amazon and one of those which run closest to the capital of Pará. Its upper course, however, is still entirely unknown.

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

175 The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the [131] mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

14 In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided 131 the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with 101 the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maué, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

[302 386] "The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing [727] to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

[623] "They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

[648] "Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

461 Whenever I had the opportunity to enter one of those
252 houses, I always found the women working; some wove hammocks, some made flour, others smoked meat, some cooked, some prepared banana mush, etc.

262 They never failed to offer me something to eat: now
574 cooked sweet potatoes, now banana mush. [104]

[386] A cheerful and merry Indian woman, her face all painted up with urucu dye in addition to the usual designs, offered me a tremendous caterpillar which she held on her finger. It was a repulsive thing which contracted and stretched convulsively; and the woman insisted upon transferring it to my own hand, telling me that it was something to eat: "Cobi-cobi."

XIV

Symbolic characters drawn on the cliff of Cantagalo, on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and on the hills of Areu-crê between Acupari and Necodemos.

172 On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the place known
532 as Cantagalo, fifteen figures are to be seen, drawn on the face of a cliff which is about one hundred meters high and which was carved perpendicularly by the stream.

These figures have been there for ages untold: the oldest frontiersmen who explored the Upper Tapajoz, and the oldest Mundurucu, found them just as they are but do not understand their meaning.

They are dark red, like ocher, and stand about eight meters above the highest level of the water at the time of its maximum winter swelling.

At the present time it would be impossible for a man to draw them at this height, even with the help of scaffolding, for the current is fierce where the river curves in at the base of the cliff, expecially at the time of year when the water level reaches its maximum height.

302 Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

304 The tattoing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

[825] Then the painter traces the designs on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

[386] The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

304 619 It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacaebê

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs --Burial customs.

[824] 805 The Mundurucu call the sun caxi.

They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coatu and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

B 439 648 The court found him guilty, and the poor boy is now carrying out his sentence in the penal institution of Bahia.

The other Indians immediately abandoned the trading post. It is now four years since they regained their freedom at a time when they least expected it, and the heroic child who broke their fetters lies forgotten in prison, away from his people, and not yet of age. [159]

XXIX

I return from the maloca of Necodemos to the headwaters of the Cadereri -- The cry of the anhangá -- Farewell.

M 484 When the day of my departure finally came, I went from house to house and took leave of the inhabitants of Necodemos.

M [471] At this time thirteen Mundurucu, among them the boy who gave me the Parintintin head, seized their bows and arrows and prepared to go with me, although they had told me nothing of their decision. I must confess that I was not in the least eager to travel for eight days in the company of these barbarians through dense and deserted jungles; I was hoping instead that they would remain peacefully in their molaca.

I told them that I had no more flour or other supplies, and that it would be impossible for the twenty-odd men we would number to walk that far without provisions.

But this matter was of no concern to them; they merely prepared to take with them a few sweet potatoes, which at best would suffice for a frugal luncheon.

In fact I do not know exactly what these men ate during the journey. They were constantly hunting, catching birds and lizards and gathering wild fruits on which they fed.

M [515] Every once in a while we would come upon a limpid and delightful stream, and the savages never missed the opportunity to leap into the fresh waters, unfettered as they were with the task of undressing and dressing again. At night we would all gather at the sound of the horn, and we always stopped by a [160]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pnyc*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracereru. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceara ?], the Carawat, known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nyc*, the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [411] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [231] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The [222] wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can 261 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

742 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[See errata sheet, Category 116, p.57—A.—Analyst]

411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidaruz), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (casp), and the bow which is difficult to draw (tarõ) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (pangnie, or uup, tupi viba) but poisoned war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a uitotap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [389] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Diccionario geograph. II. 136 and Cerqueira e Silva Corograf. paraense 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (esgravatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 287 292 The Mundrucus are great artists in the manufacture of feather ornaments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most laborious products of Indian industry: scepters (buta) carried on festive occasions in the hand; stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (bombim manja); hats (akeri) often outfitted with long braids of arara feathers (akeri kaha); cords and tassels with arara feathers (paro-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for 231 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mutums or hoccos (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope), the king and the white vulture (Cathartes papa and Falco urubutinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

724 276 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them, the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [390] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaiodes, which is in 000 vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Maues. But they

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

304 Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [302] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, 285 and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [286] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of muritĭ palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a [172] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundu-* [324] *rucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajóz River *Mundurucú* have a 611 patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1831:1313) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness. 708 726 756

No warfare rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments abroad to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew ant-eater hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow shaft, were ignited and loosed at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support. 726 [825] [411] 727

The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in rigor mortis. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the waiting warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran [202]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Whereas it is possible for only one to three men to hunt other species of animals, the entire male population of one or two villages is needed for profitably hunting wild pig. This animal always travels in large bands of at least twenty and up to one hundred. Under these circumstances a single hunter can kill only one or, at best, two pigs before stampeding the herd, but a large group of men can surround the animals and obtain a food supply sufficient for two or three days. Tapir, wild pig, and deer are also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal; if there are two or three hunters, the possibility of successfully dispatching the animal is thereby improved. 224

The increased use of firearms is highly significant in this regard. Even a ball from a muzzle-loading shotgun has greater range and velocity than an arrow. The lower power of the arrow is especially noticeable at longer distances, for its large surface area causes it to be considerably slowed by air friction. Besides, the bullet has greater stopping power. This is important, for wild pig and tapir frequently run for hours with two or three arrows in their bodies. In the village of Cabruá, the men owning firearms frequently hunted deer and tapir alone, while those using bows and arrows depended on their companions for added firepower and the opportunity to mount ambushes from which the animals could be shot at close range. Since firearms are still scarce in the savannah villages, collective hunting patterns remain relatively undisturbed, and the hunt may be considered a cohesive factor in village life. 177 224 411

FISHING

Fishing is secondary in importance to hunting in the subsistence economy of the savannah villages, but the Mundurucú who have moved to the shores of the larger 226

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done
476 by the owner, usually aided by other members of his
462 household. His wife and the other women of the house plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid
252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beijú*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of farinha (flour).

Beijú manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from
[462] the gardens in burden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal farinha "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the manioc with steel knives, using quick chopping motions, and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The
[412] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *paxiuba* palm, halved and placed side by side to form
[177] a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against the sides of five-gallon gasoline cans which have been cut out and punctated with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipití*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger squeezer. The tipití is suspended at

/11 cont./

*241 462 [912] The man digs or opens a hole in the ground (ikudn). He does this with a "digging stick," which consists of a strong rod, about 2 meters long, pointed at the lower end. The man pushes this rod hard into the ground, at an angle of 30 to 45 degrees, and then straightens it to a vertical position. This opens a small pit into which the woman who accompanies him puts two or at most three shoots of bitter manioc (8) (masok taisabm or masok ip maum). Removing the tip

[137] [244]

8. Maniva /bitter manioc/ is the name of the plant and the generic name of this vegetable (Manihot utilissima), while the roots, in the form of large tubercles, are called " mandioca." The bitter-manioc stalks, after the harvest, are saved for the next planting, when they are cut into pieces of 20 centimeters at most. These pieces, or " manioc shoots," are planted in the manner indicated above, for manioc does not propagate itself through seeds.

of the stick from the pit, she steps on /the pit/ to close it up and to pack the soil, but in such a way that the upper ends of the manioc shoots stick out in order to grow branches and leaves. Under the in- [177] fluence of civilization, nowadays the Mundurukú are already using spades and even iron digging tools. The distance between the manioc pits is approximately 1 meter on the average.

*241 There is no doubt that the Mundurukú carry out their horticultural work within a certain system, not only as regards the steps involved in clearing the plot but also in the planting itself. There is a sequence to the planting steps. In the time that elapses between the final burning and the planting, as a rule they sow watermelon, which thrives amazingly in the recently burned ground. Only then

/17 cont./

*241 177 which they were already cultivating, the introduction of new plants /must have been/ all the more /uneven/. Here, the process may have been even slower.

262 137 177 799 Of even more recent acquisition, especially through the influence of the Franciscan mission founded in 1911 on the Cururu River, are products such as rice, beans, and various other plants which are cultivated chiefly by the religious sisters, but which have been adopted by the Indians on a very modest scale. During the last decades, the following fruit trees have reached them: the mango tree, the orange tree, the lemon tree, the coffee shrub, and a certain type of cacao tree. They were already familiar with other products such as maize, pumpkins, etc., but cultivated them on a very small scale.

*241 8. Weeding or cleaning. We have described the planting. A few facts remain to be given concerning the garden tasks after planting. It is obvious that, once the planting itself has been done, the plot still requires a certain amount of care. Not right away, but after several weeks or months. /sic/ This is the weeding. Between the planting and the harvest, two weedings of the garden are usually carried out, the entire plot being cleaned. They speak of the first and second cleaning, or of the first and second weeding. This is done almost exclusively with the machete. There is no specific time set aside for this, because it depends to a large extent on the weather (rains) and on the need. The first weeding is called tip ogn, the second karit ogn.

244 9. The harvest. The Indians generally use the regional term, "tearing up the plot," or "pulling up the bitter-manioc roots"—masok ta ogn. Within a year, the garden has matured and may be torn up. The manioc roots are pulled up by hand. The entire plot is not harvested at one time, but according to need. In order to pull up the manioc roots, a certain amount of strength and ability is required. Often, when the tubercles hold firm to overly hard ground, [412] the Indian digs with the machete around the roots in order to loosen the soil and pull out the manioc root /18/ with greater ease. This same technique of using the machete as an auxiliary tool in the extraction of manioc roots is also used in gathering other tubercles, such as yams, sweet potatoes, etc.

*241 /30 cont./
104

w — as in English.
ü — as in German, but shorter.
c — as the German umlauted "o," but shorter.
r — always dental.
s — always strong.
z — always weak.
Final consonants (as: k - p - t)
are not plosive.
The tonic accent, unless otherwise
noted, is always on the last syllable.

*241
192

a) Tools:

[412] spade	puruze
iron digging tool	chit
digging stick	ip mararairarab ip

b) Garden and garden tasks:

garden (while under the man's care); he says:	kat
garden (while under the woman's care); she says:	ko
to clear the undergrowth	tyup tatabm
to fell (the tree:)	yup chign; yup chichign
to burn	imapign
brush	taipa
to pile up the brush	taipa chign; taipa chichign
to burn the brush	taipa mapign
to plant (bitter manioc)	(mazok) taizabm; (mazok) ip mauum
to weed, first cleaning	tip ogn
to weed, second cleaning	karit ogn
to pull up the manioc roots	mazok ta ogn
to replant	warabm ypu mauum; yab; kuon

the other side of the Mission, across the stream, in the midst of the woods), seeing that the envoys he had dispatched at dawn did not return, said impatiently: 'These people are no good at killing people, I'll go myself!' But when he got there he found the victim already sacrificed. They returned satisfied, leaving the body to the vultures, without giving it burial."

This Capt. José da Gama, mentioned by the missionary father, had been the chief of a village which formerly stood on the banks of the Tapajoz and came with all his people to the Mission of Bacabal. His aboriginal name is Mari-Baxi; the missionary father always left him in charge of the Mission when he had to leave for any period of time. He is an energetic and bold Indian, and already before the Mission was founded he sacrificed several of his companions who had been accused of witchcraft, among them his own brother whom [109] he cast down the waterfalls with a stone tied to his neck.

If Mari-Baxi, alias José da Gama, still commits such acts in a mission which is under government supervision, we can imagine what the chiefs of the central villages may do. The above episode took place in 1875, while I was traveling beyond the Mission of Bacabal, visiting the plains villages. Upon my return I stayed two days at the Mission, where José da Gama was in charge during the absence of the missionary who had gone to the capital.

The chief greeted me with numerous tokens of regard and friendship, but said not a word about the crime he had just committed. He, as well as his accomplices, preserved the greatest secrecy on the subject. Even the missionary, who returned a few days after my stay at the Mission, only came to know the facts much later.

Around that time, the following episode also took place in one of the villages. Several Indian women went bathing in a brook near the village; upon returning, each carried on her head a gourd of water for her household. When they least expected it, four Mundurucu came out toward them, got hold of one of the poor girls who was about eighteen years old, and pierced her with their tremendous spears. Her companions tarried a moment and

439 Mundurucú traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Mundurucu of the upper Tapajós "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Mundurucú product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucú acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

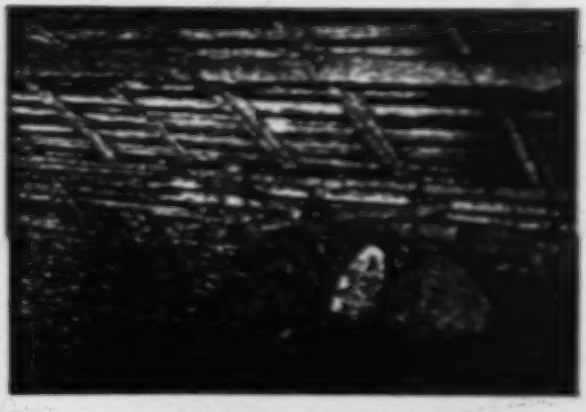
221 314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, [171] out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-26].

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucú, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individu- [224] al hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucú. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy [291] the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Mundurucu villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucu, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucú dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, fire- [415] arms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be 323 made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucú barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13



534
778
415
796
342

a. Instruments used in the ceremonies of the Game. The cylinders are horns played in these rites, and the earthenware pots are used as containers of the beverage offered to the "spirit mothers" of the game animals. Note the tapir skull between the vessels.

b. Mundurucú man playing one of the sacred trumpets, or *barikí*. Another of the set of three instruments is leaned against the wall at the right.

[end plate 5]

174 try of the Tapajós River. To the north, the terrain is covered by dense rain forest, but south of the Mundurucú country are great stretches of savannah that continue into the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Their distinct preference for unforested village locales could only have been acquired in their present home or further south. The previously mentioned cultural characteristics suggest the latter, although I can at present offer no further corroboration of this possibility.

181 Although the Mundurucú regard their traditional homeland as the area of mixed gallery forest and savannah between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, only about 360 of the 1,250 surviving Indians live there. Another 700 live along the banks of the Cururú itself, and approximately 200 on the Tapajós River and tributary streams. The person in 177 search of the exotic would be sorely disappointed at his [298] first contact with the Mundurucú. They dress in Western [301] style garments, albeit ill-fitting and ragged, and they adorn themselves with glass beads, brilliantine, plastic combs, and religious medallions. The five-gallon gasoline can is [415] a far more important artifact than the clay pot, and they cook in aluminum pans. Since the Indian strain is so strong 142 in the genetic make-up of the north Brazilian, the Mundurucú do not stand out sharply from their neighbors in physical characteristics. This is especially true of the [304] younger Mundurucú who are no longer tattooed from head to foot as their parents were.

The way of life of the Mundurucú residents of the 171 Tapajós shore is especially close to that of their Brazilian neighbors. That the fundamental methods of farming and fishing are similar among both populations is not surprising, as north Brazilian subsistence techniques are largely 361 Indian-derived. But beyond that, the Tapajós-River Mundurucú live in single-house isolation and not in villages

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ing, and bow-and-arrow fishing, but the major work in 462
hunting, fishing, and horticulture is done by numbers of 476
men working in coördination.

House-building is also a collective task; men do the heavy work of construction while women and children aid in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since house-building is almost always done only when the entire village moves, every household helps the others in the task of construction. All houses of the new village rise uniformly instead of being completed one at a time, thus giving considerable efficiency in the collection and preparation of material.

Women, also, rarely work alone. Farinha is manufactured in a true division of tasks corresponding to the number of distinct steps in the process. Thus, one group of women is occupied in digging up the tubers and transporting them to the village; two or three more women grate the manioc; two others work the tipití; another sieves the wet flour; and, finally, two women are busy toasting the product on the copper griddle. Chores are occasionally exchanged. Whatever the relative advantages or disadvantages in efficiency that may be obtained through coöperation, the sheer drudgery of farinha production is mitigated, for these are sociable gatherings. The females of one household form the minimal work unit, and all women of the village commonly join in. Coöperative manioc processing by all village women originated after contact with the 177 462 476
whites, and informants say that as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century the women of single households constituted the basic work groups. Depopulation has contributed to this change, for in former times the household-extended family included as many women as there are in some modern villages. Also, before the introduction of the large, copper pans, beijú and farinha were toasted on ce- [415]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the
462 copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one
476 toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because
[415] they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally consid-
[422] ered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the
462 women always seek company when they go to the stream
476 to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone
[776] person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young
[834] woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the econ-
477 omy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued
[555] person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with
[526] the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Caboclo* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipití for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly 252
items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are consid- 422
ered to be the property of the chief, since they were pur- 415
chased through his and his extended family's labor. The [622]
large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cu- 623
rurú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. 182
Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position pri- 622
marily to recognition by the mission, but who is also ac- 554
corded some deference because of his age and his status [797]
as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão [476]
Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

/22 cont./ this cooperative labor

*241 exists in fact up to a point in the villages, and must be understood
421 within the framework of the division of labor and its juridical bases,
[621] which apply first and foremost to the right to private or individual
[476] property. As regards garden matters, we are dealing with the joint task of two social elements, male and female, and their respective cycles of labor. Men and women, however, even after they marry and form a family, do not lose, through marriage, their individual property rights to their part of the garden, for the Indian is basically
[181] an individualist and does not recognize communal property rights. To compensate for this, they have recourse to a concept which we might call "right of indemnification" and which refers to the communal usufruct of the plot by the man, the wife, and, of course, the children for whom they are responsible.

*241 It is well to explain this matter of plot ownership in greater
423 detail.

I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between the owner of the plot, and the owner of the labors performed on this plot and of the results obtained.

The land, in the forest and even within the area occupied by the tribe, has no owner. Anyone may clear a plot wherever he wishes. But once the site has been chosen, it becomes a property for the entire period while it is producing; it is then the man's property. After it has been abandoned, however, it becomes once more anybody's and everybody's land, untenanted land. /23/ (12) There only

[171]

12. Among the Tenetehara, also a tribe of the Tupi group, a similar phenomenon is observed. "Garden lands, that is to say, lands on which people have expanded labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But as soon as he has

/23 cont./

*241
423
[171]

> harvested all his crops and abandoned the land to the secondary growth which begins to cover it, it may be used by anyone." /Cited in English/ (Wagley and Galvão, 1949: 50).

exists, therefore, a temporary property right, while /the plot/ is being used: a right that might more aptly be termed of usage or usufruct.

This concept is complemented by the other facet of the matter, involving the labors /expanded on/ and the products of the plot. Included here is the aggregate of the men's and women's tasks (in accordance with the cycles of labor); and the family, which in itself forms a small community, asserts its rights.

*241
●421
462
594

The concept of this right to seemingly communal property derives from the division of labor between men and women. By individual right, each is the master and owner of what he produces, makes, etc. The man prepares the field, the clearing (kat), and is the owner of it. Strictly speaking, therefore, the woman plants on alien property (i.e., the man's or husband's) and pays him for the usufruct of this right, later on, with the produce of her planting. In other words: as indemnification for his preparation of the plot, the man or husband may share in the produce of her planting. On the other hand, the woman is the owner of the planting, and the man or husband cannot, according to the right of private property, enjoy the fruits of someone else's planting, even if it be his own wife's. He does, however, acquire a certain right to the planting, not of property but of usufruct, because his clearing labor made its existence possible. The woman thus has the obligation to allow her husband the usufruct of her planting, within the framework of the division of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with reciprocal rights (or, inversely, duties) which are normalized and counterbalanced by the right of "indemnification." Indeed, in terms of the division of labor, this right of indemnification is absolutely necessary. What would the man do with the plot since he cannot plant, this being the woman's

/23 cont./

*241 right? She, /in turn/, without the man's previous labor, could only
●421 plant /24/ in small quantities, and furthermore, for lack of proper
462 soil preparation, the cultivated plants would not grow properly. In
594 both cases, the results would be meager and the family's subsistence, in this sphere, would be endangered. Hence the need for this right of mutual indemnification.

*241 Every man, or every family, sets up his own garden and owns
476 it by exclusive right. The owner, however, requests the assistance
[423] of his relatives or of the men of the group in which he lives, to help him in his tasks (clearing, felling, etc.), while the woman, in turn, later (but not always) requests the help of women for the typically feminine tasks within the above-mentioned system of the division of labor. (13) The community assists the individual, or rather, the

*241
476
421

13. Although we are dealing here with the agriculture of the present-day Mundurukú, let us note two pieces of information, gathered separately and in widely separated places, namely, one by myself among the acculturated Mundurukú of the Cururú River, and the other by the missionary Brother Angélico in a village of the interior, in Dekudyem. According to these data, the agricultural system of the ancient Mundurukú was slightly different as regards mutual assistance and ownership of the gardens. They say that, originally, the entire group prepared a large plot for all members of the community and that individual rights to the garden were based, precisely, on mutual

[178]

/24 cont./

*241
476
421

assistance, on compensation for the labor rendered to the community. Aside from this statement about a collective garden, the informants also mentioned private family gardens, where they chiefly (but not exclusively) cultivated supplementary, accessory foods, such as bananas, pepper, etc. The data gathered, however, give no clear evidence as to whether this collective garden served for the communal, daily use of the group, or whether it merely existed as a reserve in case of need, in the assistance of the old and incapacitated, in the sustenance of guests, or as a ceremonial garden to contribute to important festivities. Regarding a type of garden among the Tenetehara, used communally but owner privately, see Wagley-Galvão (1948: 139).

[171]

*241
476

members help each other; and each must assist the others, when their turn comes to prepare their plot. Thus there exists, with reference to this collective work, an elaborate system of revenue and compensation on an equalitarian basis. Days of labor are received, and later this assistance is repaid in kind with days of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with a broad system of mutual assistance. Naturally, the owner of the new plot finds his chief support among /25/ his own kin: adult children, brothers, brothers-in-law, sons-in-law, etc. This mutual assistance, however, is not obtained spontaneously, but through personal invitations proferred individually rather than collectively. The manner of doing this is

[602]

/25 cont./

*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard- [594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the [423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sys- [621] tem of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal [347] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, [423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties [476] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*241 177 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

*241 602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

/26 cont./

*241 602 421 are closely united, or when, owing to some reverse, one of the family members cannot prepare his own garden but can help in the preparation of that of his father, brother, son, etc. then, sometimes, a communal plot is prepared. This refers, however, to the concept of "garden" in its absolute sense: a garden of bitter manioc, of tubercles. For they always continue to plant their own bananas, pepper, etc., separately, for their own private use, each family for itself. This type of "communal garden" is found also (or exclusively?) /27/ outside the old community, among the acculturated Mundurukú. I observed such a case, between father and son, in the mission itself, where everyone has his own home. Both parties have equal right to the use of the garden. This type of "communal garden" is quite similar to that known among the peasants as a "company garden." The difference between the two types might perhaps be defined as follows: the "communal garden" serves directly for the use and sustenance of the families involved; the "company garden" exists on a contract basis, and its foundations and goals are usually commercial.

423 428 Once there is property, there arises the problem of inheritance. Each garden has its owner, with all ownership rights. In case of death, the plot passes into the hands of the eldest son, who is, however, nothing more than the "administrator" of this inheritance with a share in the usufruct. The heir is the family, represented by the eldest son in the sense that he must look after the plot, which the family shares along with him. When there is no family, the brothers inherit the plot. If there are no brothers, the other relatives do. In any case, the garden is not allowed to go to waste, and its produce is always utilized.

3. Garden and group: intraterritorial migrations

*241 361 At first sight, the Mundurukú gardens often seem to lie far from the house or village. And, in fact, this is frequently the case. But this is nearly always the result of long years of permanence in one and the same spot. As time goes by, the soil around the houses becomes weak and exhausted. (15)? It is for this reason that the Indian [134]

? [See category 116, p. 32 for explanation of this footnote--analyst]

264 the men's house. The women of each dwelling cooked equal
476 amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

422 Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse.
[576] It was not considered polite to demand something from another.
[437] Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively
[556] uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

462 Division of labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in 562
the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The 778
three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's 534
house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[4]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trum- 782
pets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the 778
chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the 534
trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual 614
which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor 422
from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Waru* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundur- 591
ucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" 174
to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis 991
of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be [21]
much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan owner- 614
ship of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the 622
structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:524–25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits [776]
which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruc- 174
tion of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following para- 621
graphs.

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally considered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the women always seek company when they go to the stream to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals, this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the economy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] Caboclo families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the caboclo is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider even to find out who collects the most rubber.

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be.

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible.

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel áxes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutilitarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mundurucú personal property. But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned by individual Mundurucú are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Mundurucú derive no profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

591 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineal-
611 ity, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591 Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the
178 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

Although the Mundurucú extended family is much
596 smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way
592 to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the
[422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to
[224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently coöp-
476 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of
244 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro-
252 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are
462 concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals or extended families.

422
574
476
That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1958) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated 422
by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. 476
Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and 574
the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that coöperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible. [183]

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a 461
strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete 571
among the women, however. The household unit of fe- 578
592

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more 177
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- [422]
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [323]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear
and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress.
The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men
of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these
articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and
a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the
overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [658]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected,
the people are not deeply affected by the missionary
teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and re-
spected without any commitment or great interest on the
part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who
have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipití for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly 252
items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are consid- 422
ered to be the property of the chief, since they were pur- 415
chased through his and his extended family's labor. The [622]
large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cu- 623
rurú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. 182
Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position pri- 622
marily to recognition by the mission, but who is also ac- 554
corded some deference because of his age and his status [797]
as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão [476]
Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

/18 cont./

*241
171

the peasant population of "Itá." Let us note here /19/ merely some key terms: choice of the site and use of fallow plots (:101), clearing and felling (:103), burning and planting (:104), chief cultivated plants (:102), secondary cultures (:104), replanting (:104). This comparison, in fact, corroborates the statement by the same author that in the lower Amazon "the basic agricultural methods have changed little since aboriginal times" (:101). The Tenetehara, a Tupi tribe of Maranhão (Wagley and Galvão), 1949), also use agricultural methods and processes which are in many respects actually identical to those observed among the Mundurukú.

III. Social factors

*241 Since agriculture is one of the bases of Mundurukú subsistence, it is not surprising that it should also be reflected in the social life of the tribe. Certain social factors /19/ are determined or influenced by the garden-agriculture complex. I shall allude chiefly to the threefold relationship of:

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor;
2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance;
3. Garden and tribal group: intraterritorial migrations.

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor between the sexes

• 422
462

Among the Indians, there is ordinarily a rule or agreement whereby each person is the owner of what he acquires, makes, or produces.

/19 cont./

422 462 Thus, certain rights of exclusivity are established beforehand for the individual. This is expressed in the principle of the sexual division of labor. For example, the raw materials and the products [285] of basket making are exclusively the property of the man; clay and [323] pottery articles, of the woman. Traditionally, basket weaving is done only by men, pottery making only by women. In all sectors of tribal life, the tasks devolving to each sex are determined by these traditional principles. Thence derives the concept of private property.

462 Throughout the material culture of the Mundurukú, as well, [182] the two work cycles—of men and of women—are clearly evident. This "muscle-bound" division only concerns us here as regards agriculture. The subject, however, is almost a borderline case, where these two work cycles meet. In agriculture there are tasks *241 performed exclusively by men, especially in the initial phase of 462 the preparation of the plot; and there are tasks performed exclusively by women, especially from the time /20/ of planting onward; but there are also joint tasks, in which both sexes participate, such as in the planting of bitter manioc. There the man opens up the pit with the digging stick and the woman places the branch or shoot of manioc in the open hole and closes it by stepping on it.

The tasks at each garden stage are thus determined by the system of "muscle-bound" cycles. An outline provides the following pictures:

TASKS

of the man	of the woman
1. Choosing the site and the soil	- -
2. Determining the size and shape	- -
3. Clearing the undergrowth	- -
4. Felling the trees	- -
5. Burning the felled vegetation	- -
6. Piling up the remaining brush	- -

241 "The jungle takes over by that time." Portunately, there was adequate virgin forest or old second growth forest available to meet the needs of the population and they simply cleared new gardens. The usual system was for each man to have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting.

● 423 The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of new garden sites explains the absence of concepts of property in land among the Mundrucú. When the best forest lands within a convenient distance were exhausted, the village moved a short distance to the proximity of fresh soil. This occurred every five to ten years among the aboriginal Mundurucú, although the present depleted populations may remain in one site for from 40 to 50 years. The same causes that operated to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village level also. In Mundurucú society there was no land holding unit. However, a definite feeling existed that the man who chose a garden site and initiated and directed the labor upon it was entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby became the "owner" of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this was a very loose concept as food was freely shared among relatives and a person who, for some reason, did not have a garden was given food or allowed to take it from the garden of another.

241 476 Mundurucú horticulture involved a high degree of cooperation. The heavy work of clearing the forest was done by an all-village male work group. Each man who planned a

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were aban-
428 doned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as
[423] such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The
[582] only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage
[586] with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

614 The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these
616 patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan
[835] and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasion-
[587] ally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices.
[582] Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endoganous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tubö*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[2] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tubö* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

614 The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú in-
[773] formants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibö, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *diwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

592 their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected [592] to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

476 The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

241 476 Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing [831] was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

476 [423] Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

476 621 Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be
252 occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

476 Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of
423 shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either
552 possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women
[551] went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

522 There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *awyokokukat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mun-
[578] durucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 customers of the patron remain in their isolated dwellings the year round.

439 648 Every rubber collector deals steadily with the same patron, because the latter controls the section of forest land in which his clients work. The trader usually has no legal title, but receives rights of exploitation by paying [651] the state tax on the gross cash return from the land. The right of exploitation, perpetuated by the state tax, usually rests on a nebulous title, and, according to Wagley, it is [423] "control over the land, and not legal documents" which establishes ownership in the Amazon.[5] The patron grants permission to the rubber tapper to extract rubber from his lands and, in return, exerts a trade monopoly in which his client sells rubber to him and buys goods from him. [651] The patron profits from both sale and purchase and, since he passes the state tax on to the rubber collector, the latter receives but small return in terms of the prices prevailing in the urban markets. The client has freedom of movement only when he is not in debt to the patron, which rarely happens. If he owes money, he can transfer to another patron only if the new one settles the debt and transfers it to his own books. The rubber collector sometimes deals with the *regatões*, or itinerant merchants who ply the rivers, but these transactions are infrequent and in small amounts because the patron does not tolerate a substantial loss of commerce. The rubber collector who deals too often with the *regatão* might be denied credit by his regular patron or, less frequently, evicted from his avenue.

911 439 648 The economic power of the trader is especially strong on the upper Tapajós River because of a combination of geographic and economic factors. The lower Tapajós, from its mouth at Santarém to the first rapids 150 miles upstream, is economically diversified, and its rubber pro-

[5] Wagley, 1953, p. 92.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 311 themselves and yield for several years in abandoned gardens. Other plants, such as timbó and some fruit trees are also productive long after the garden goes out of regular cultivation. The reason for planting a field only twice is obvious when one considers that bitter manioc matures in about eight months on the first planting and in more than a year on the second in the already "tired" soil. A third planting would yield little and, also, as the local Brazilians say, "the jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there is adequate virgin forest or old second-growth forest available to meet the needs of the population, and they simply clear new gardens. The usual system is for each man to clear land annually and thus have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting. But men often feel that they have adequate crops and let a year pass without clearing forest; this is especially common if a housemate has a new garden.

The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of [423] forest land explains the absence of concepts of private or corporate property in land among the Mundurucú. When the best forest soils within a convenient range are exhausted, the village moves a short distance to the prox- [361] imity of fresh soil. But the Mundurucú build new villages every ten years whether nearby garden land is scarce or [166] not, and the present depleted population may shift within a one-mile radius over a forty- to fifty-year period. When conveniently situated forest is exhausted, they merely move out of this orbit to a new locale a few miles away, near which they remain for another long period. Villages probably moved somewhat longer distances in time past, when their populations exceeded two hundred people and pressure on the land was correspondingly greater.

423 The same causes that operate to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

level also, and there is no land-holding unit in Mundurucú society. The man who chooses a garden site and initiates and directs the labor upon it, however, is entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby becomes the "owner" of the yield of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this is a very loose concept, for it will be seen that food is freely shared among relatives and fellow villagers. A person who, for some reason, does not have a garden is invariably given food or allowed to harvest from the garden of another.

The Mundurucú coöperate extensively in their horticultural work. Although almost all married men have their own gardens, the heavy work of clearing the forest is done by an all-village male work group. Each man who plans a garden invites all the other men of the village to help him. He supplies the food, usually beverages made of palm fruit and sweet manioc, consumed while actually doing the work. The work is done under the general supervision of the man whose garden is being cleared. His directing activities, however, consist of little more than deciding on the location and extent of the garden. These collective garden-clearing ventures are of doubtful efficiency. The participants generally dawdle on the way to their work, bathing, gathering fruits, and chatting. The actual labor is frequently interrupted by joking, conversation, eating, and little jaunts into the wood in search of parrots and pigeons. I have seen gardens being cleared by Brazilians and single families of Mundurucú in which far fewer man-hours produced equal results. Ethnographic literature presents many similar instances of collective labor for purposes of enjoyment and companionship. These same motivations obtain among the Mundurucú; but coöperation is also valued and demanded as a positive expression of social solidarity and has its roots in the social structure.

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider even to find out who collects the most rubber. 477 [526] [521]

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be. 423

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible. 422 [431] [183]

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

422 shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel axes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal [421] property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutil- [422] itarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

[423] Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mundurucú personal property. [424] But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned 423 by individual Mundurucú are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Mundurucú derive no [426] profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Coöperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[8] He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant cooperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[8] Murdock, 1949, pp. 218-219.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

structure of authority must have followed closely along lines of patrilineal kinship in patrilocal times. Under the new conditions, the man was not only assigned to permanent proximity to the father-in-law and his house, but was left with no unit in which he could exercise a political role. The Hopi man, for example, may move to his wife's household upon marriage, but he rarely moves out of the village; and he maintains an important position in his own lineage. But, on the other hand, the rule of matrilocality in a patrilineal society leaves a man without a lineage in which he may hold membership or play a political role. That the man had no important rights and duties in his natal household undoubtedly contributed to the persistence of intervillage marriages despite his consequent departure for a new locality. But this raised other problems, for life in a new village placed the man under different leadership and away from a solidary group of kinsmen. The situation was partly resolved by allowing the men to continue residence in the men's house beyond the normal period of bride service. Thus, young married men remained independent of the households of their wives during the early years of marriage and became more fully integrated into them after they had been married for several years. By this time, age and seniority allowed them to become significant figures in the extended family; they were no longer potentially at the mercy of the father-in-law. Matrilocality did not bring the man into another patrilineage under the new circumstances, because the father-in-law was also an outsider. The man's ultimate increased participation in the life of the household was correspondingly eased.

That Mundurucú society gave all members free access to natural resources and had a preëxistent men's-house organization are important to an understanding of the change in residence rules. The two factors were struc-

/22 cont./ This cooperative labor

*241 exists in fact up to a point in the villages, and must be understood
421 within the framework of the division of labor and its juridical bases,
[601] which apply first and foremost to the right to private or individual
[476] property. As regards garden matters, we are dealing with the joint task of two social elements, male and female, and their respective cycles of labor. Men and women, however, even after they marry and form a family, do not lose, through marriage, their individual property rights to their part of the garden, for the Indian is basically
[181] an individualist and does not recognize communal property rights. To compensate for this, they have recourse to a concept which we might call "right of indemnification" and which refers to the communal usufruct of the plot by the man, the wife, and, of course, the children for whom they are responsible.

*241 It is well to explain this matter of plot ownership in greater
423 detail.

I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between the owner of the plot, and the owner of the labors performed on this plot and of the results obtained.

The land, in the forest and even within the area occupied by the tribe, has no owner. Anyone may clear a plot wherever he wishes. But once the site has been chosen, it becomes a property for the entire period while it is producing; it is then the man's property. After it has been abandoned, however, it becomes once more anybody's and everybody's land, unenanted land. /23/ (12) There only

[171]

12. Among the Tenetehara, also a tribe of the Tupi group, a similar phenomenon is observed. "Garden lands, that is to say, lands on which people have expanded labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But as soon as he has

/23 cont./

*241
•423
[171]

harvested all his crops and abandoned the land to the secondary growth which begins to cover it, it may be used by anyone." /Cited in English/ (Wagley and Galvão, 1949: 50).

exists, therefore, a temporary property right, while /the plot/ is being used: a right that might more aptly be termed of usage or usufruct.

This concept is complemented by the other facet of the matter, involving the labors /expanded on/ and the products of the plot. Included here is the aggregate of the men's and women's tasks (in accordance with the cycles of labor); and the family, which in itself forms a small community, asserts its rights.

*241
421
462
594

The concept of this right to seemingly communal property derives from the division of labor between men and women. By individual right, each is the master and owner of what he produces, makes, etc. The man prepares the field, the clearing (kat), and is the owner of it. Strictly speaking, therefore, the woman plants on alien property (i.e., the man's or husband's) and pays him for the usufruct of this right, later on, with the produce of her planting. In other words: as indemnification for his preparation of the plot, the man or husband may share in the produce of her planting. On the other hand, the woman is the owner of the planting, and the man or husband cannot, according to the right of private property, enjoy the fruits of someone else's planting, even if it be his own wife's. He does, however, acquire a certain right to the planting, not of property but of usufruct, because his clearing labor made its existence possible. The woman thus has the obligation to allow her husband the usufruct of her planting, within the framework of the division of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with reciprocal rights (or, inversely, duties) which are normalized and counterbalanced by the right of "indemnification." Indeed, in terms of the division of labor, this right of indemnification is absolutely necessary. What would the man do with the plot since he cannot plant, this being the woman's

/23 cont./

*241 421 462 594 right? She, /in turn/, without the man's previous labor, could only plant /24/ in small quantities, and furthermore, for lack of proper soil preparation, the cultivated plants would not grow properly. In both cases, the results would be meager and the family's subsistence, in this sphere, would be endangered. Hence the need for this right of mutual indemnification.

*241 476 [423] Every man, or every family, sets up his own garden and owns it by exclusive right. The owner, however, requests the assistance of his relatives or of the men of the group in which he lives, to help him in his tasks (clearing, felling, etc.), while the woman, in turn, later (but not always) requests the help of women for the typically feminine tasks within the above-mentioned system of the division of labor. (13) The community assists the individual, or rather, the

*241 476 421

13. Although we are dealing here with the agriculture of the present-day Mundurukú, let us note two pieces of information, gathered separately and in widely separated places, namely, one by myself among the acculturated Mundurukú of the Cururú River, and the other by the missionary Brother Angélico in a village of the interior, in Dekudyem. According to these data, the agricultural system of the ancient Mundurukú was slightly different as regards mutual assistance and ownership of the gardens. They say that, originally, the entire group prepared a large plot for all members of the community and that individual rights to the garden were based, precisely, on mutual

[178]

/25 cont./

241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard- [594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the [423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sys- [521] tem of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal [342] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, [423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties [476] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

241 177 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

241 602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

/26 cont./

*241 602 421 are closely united, or when, owing to some reverse, one of the family members cannot prepare his own garden but can help in the preparation of that of his father, brother, son, etc. then, sometimes, a communal plot is prepared. This refers, however, to the concept of "garden" in its absolute sense: a garden of bitter manioc, of tubercles. For they always continue to plant their own bananas, pepper, etc., separately, for their own private use, each family for itself. This type of "communal garden" is found also (or exclusively?) /27/ outside the old community, among the acculturated Mundurukú. I observed such a case, between father and son, in the mission itself, where everyone has his own home. Both parties have equal right to the use of the garden. This type of "communal garden" is quite similar to that known among the peasants as a "company garden." The difference between the two types might perhaps be defined as follows: the "communal garden" serves directly for the use and sustenance of the families involved; the "company garden" exists on a contract basis, and its foundations and goals are usually commercial.

● 423 428 Once there is property, there arises the problem of inheritance. Each garden has its owner, with all ownership rights. In case of death, the plot passes into the hands of the eldest son, who is, however, nothing more than the "administrator" of this inheritance with a share in the usufruct. The heir is the family, represented by the eldest son in the sense that he must look after the plot, which the family shares along with him. When there is no family, the brothers inherit the plot. If there are no brothers, the other relatives do. In any case, the garden is not allowed to go to waste, and its produce is always utilized.

3. Garden and group: intraterritorial migrations

*241 361 At first sight, the Mundurukú gardens often seem to lie far from the house or village. And, in fact, this is frequently the case. But this is nearly always the result of long years of permanence in one and the same spot. As time goes by, the soil around the houses becomes weak and exhausted. (15) [139] It is for this reason that the Indian

[See category 116, p. 32 for explanation of this footnote--analyst]

314 makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transpor-
361 tation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined
[489] with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

314 The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up
511 to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to
[226] fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber.
[224] The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other im-
241 portant subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is
511 not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situa-
621 tion. Under these circumstances of great distance from his
511 neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete individualization of production, the bonds of economic coöperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no re-
[426] course because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

ECONOMIC LIFE

shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines i also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel axes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal poperty include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as bukshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes meal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brillintine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these giftsare generally in nonutilitarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are frely loaned.

Trade and the influx of manufatured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mundurucú personal property. But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned by individual Mundurucú are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannh Mundurucú derive no profit from the labor of others nr do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tabé*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[5] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tabé* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibé, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *diwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

756 lieve that it is incumbent upon them to help the sick and to perform their obligations to the supernatural world.

756 One does not seek to become a shaman among the Mundurucú, nor is shamanism
● 428 the result of a serious illness or an extraordinary experience, as is true in many
562 societies. The power is acquired only through inheritance from the father, and it is believed that all children of shamans are also shamans, although they may or practice the art in later life. For all practical purposes, however, only male children inherit shamanistic power. The female offspring of shamans are nominally classified as shamans also, and women evidently participated more fully in the practice until a relatively recent period, for Tocantins reports a number of women to have been accused of sorcery, knowledge of which is confined to shamans, in and about the year 1875.[1] Today, active status is limited to men, and the daughters of shamans are considered to be shamans in an academic sense only.

756 Mundurucú informants were unable to explain the shaman's power beyond saying that it is within him and that he is born with it. It is not thought of in concrete terms, as a supernatural object lodged within his body, nor is the power thought to reside in supernaturals whom the shaman controls. The absence of any concept of control or of cooperation with certain spirits is rather unusual in this section of South America. Métraux, for example, reports the trait for the Tupinamba,[2] and Wagley has written of the use of familiar spirits among both the Tapirapé[3] and the Tenetehara.[4] In the regions to the south of the Mundurucú, Oberg states that shamans are aided by spirits among the Kamayurá, Bacairí, and Nambicuara.[5] Investigation failed to indicate, however, that the Mundurucú shaman was aided in any way by supernatural beings. He is in contact with the supernatural world and is capable of cooperating with it or defeating its intents, but he accomplishes this through direct use of the unbridled power contained within him and not through the intermediary of spirits. Also, all shamans are some form of contact with all supernatural beings; none has special relations with any particular supernatural.

Some shamans are thought to be more powerful than others. The most effective
[988] practitioners are usually the older men, for they are considered to have acquired experience and skill. However, the crucial determinant of a shaman's strength is the strength of his father, for the sons are believed to inherit the degree of power of the parent. Some older Mundurucú men barely practiced, since their power was considered slight, whereas younger men were often highly regarded as shamans. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, two or three shamans are looked upon as being in possession of great strength, and their services are in heavy demand. On one occasion, a man became violently ill shortly after midnight and needed immediate care. The village shaman was away, so it was necessary for one of the sick man's relatives to set out through the forest, which is feared at night, on the path to the next village. He directed its shaman to the aid of his sick relative.

[1] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109–111.
[2] Métraux, 1948, p. 139.
[3] Wagley, 1943
[4] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 108 ff.
[5] Oberg, 1953, pp. 60, 73, 106.

Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karókó*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tubó) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karókó ejeuót*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tubó resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Wará* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Ihi* and *Bapuru* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nucleí of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Wará*, *Ihi*, or *Bapuru* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Mundurucú who might happen to be in

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Mundurucú is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of
[619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Mundurucú tribal integration in times past.

611 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary
622 significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the eldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also,
611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain
756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

● 428 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important in-
769 heritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Mundurucú. A young man in search of a mate

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

/26 cont./

*241 602 431 are closely united, or when, owing to some reverse, one of the family members cannot prepare his own garden but can help in the preparation of that of his father, brother, son, etc. then, sometimes, a communal plot is prepared. This refers, however, to the concept of "garden" in its absolute sense: a garden of bitter manioc, of tubercles. For they always continue to plant their own bananas, pepper, etc., separately, for their own private use, each family for itself. This type of "communal garden" is found also (or exclusively?) /27/ outside the old community, among the acculturated Mundurukú. I observed such a case, between father and son, in the mission itself, where everyone has his own home. Both parties have equal right to the use of the garden. This type of "communal garden" is quite similar to that known among the peasants as a "company garden." The difference between the two types might perhaps be defined as follows: the "communal garden" serves directly for the use and sustenance of the families involved; the "company garden" exists on a contract basis, and its foundations and goals are usually commercial.

423 428 Once there is property, there arises the problem of inheritance. Each garden has its owner, with all ownership rights. In case of death, the plot passes into the hands of the eldest son, who is, however, nothing more than the "administrator" of this inheritance with a share in the usufruct. The heir is the family, represented by the eldest son in the sense that he must look after the plot, which the family shares along with him. When there is no family, the brothers inherit the plot. If there are no brothers, the other relatives do. In any case, the garden is not allowed to go to waste, and its produce is always utilized.

3. Garden and group: intraterritorial migrations

*241 361 At first sight, the Mundurukú gardens often seem to lie far from the house or village. And, in fact, this is frequently the case. But this is nearly always the result of long years of permanence in one and the same spot. As time goes by, the soil around the houses be- [134] comes weak and exhausted. (15)[2/h] It is for this reason that the Indian

2/h [See category 116, p. 32 for explanation of this footnote--analyst]

IV

A Mundurucu makes me a present of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl, and tells me how and why he killed her.

One of these barbarians, who was twenty-five or thirty years old, outgoing and bold, and a voluble talker, make me a present on the following day of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl. This head, which is now to be found in the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], retains its abundant hair, which is partly shaved in front as though with a razor. The forehead thus appears to be prolonged nearly to the middle of the skull; in the center of this artificial forehead stands a circular cluster of black hair. This head, which was ornamented with [84] brilliantly colored feathers, must have belonged to a girl fashionable in her own tribe.

Here I must point out that the Mundurucu often make war on enemy heathens for the purpose of capturing women and children rather than killing them. They do kill the men, whose heads they preserve as trophies. When preparing for these forays, they frankly say: "I am going because I need a woman to marry, or a little one to be my wife's child."

A Mundurucu warrior would therefore be greatly concerned to capture rather than to kill a girl like the one whose head was offered me.

Indeed, the barbarian told me that he had killed her by mistake, failing in the heat of battle to discern her sex. She was running out of the hut which he and his companions had taken at dawn by surprise, and he had thrown himself upon her, piercing her through the back with his powerful spear. He felt sorry when he found that she was a woman, and a young one at that. But nevertheless he cut off her head, removing the brain, and smoked it over a green wood fire until it became mummified.

It was strange to witness the extreme tenderness the barbarian bestowed on this enemy head. A deadly hatred has ruled for many years between the Mundurucu and Parintintin tribes, and wars of extermination take place between them.

level also, and there is no land-holding unit in Mundurucú society. The man who chooses a garden site and initiates and directs the labor upon it, however, is entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby becomes the "owner" of the yield of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this is a very loose concept, for it will be seen that food is freely shared among relatives and fellow villagers. A person who, for some reason, does not have a garden is invariably given food or allowed to harvest from the garden of another.

The Mundurucú coöperate extensively in their horticultural work. Although almost all married men have their own gardens, the heavy work of clearing the forest is done by an all-village male work group. Each man who plans a garden invites all the other men of the village to help him. He supplies the food, usually beverages made of palm fruit and sweet manioc, consumed while actually doing the work. The work is done under the general supervision of the man whose garden is being cleared. His directing activities, however, consist of little more than deciding on the location and extent of the garden. These collective garden-clearing ventures are of doubtful efficiency. The participants generally dawdle on the way to their work, bathing, gathering fruits, and chatting. The actual labor is frequently interrupted by joking, conversation, eating, and little jaunts into the wood in search of parrots and pigeons. I have seen gardens being cleared by Brazilians and single families of Mundurucú in which far fewer man-hours produced equal results. Ethnographic literature presents many similar instances of collective labor for purposes of enjoyment and companionship. These same motivations obtain among the Mundurucú; but coöperation is also valued and demanded as a positive expression of social solidarity and has its roots in the social structure.

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider even to find out who collects the most rubber.

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be.

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible.

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel axes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutilitarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mundurucú personal property. But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned by individual Mundurucú are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Mundurucú derive no profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Coöperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently coöperate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of farinha, especially when large quantities are to be produced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals or extended families.

That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais N46

Ma 178 621 Ma [578]

to the disorganization of Cururu River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Cururu River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber swamps or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucu. Over one-third of the Cururu River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

Ma Mo 177 171 457 452

IV. Comparative Summary

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturation factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while incurring new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing time of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon become necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while cream lotus and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

Ma Mo 171 177 458 [434] Ma Mo [434] Mo Ma 171 177 458 622

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucu and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial efforts upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucu chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

[text continues on p. 349]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Bíboi returned to Cabitutú.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

6: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais 1956

to the disorganization of Cururu River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Cururu River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber camps or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucu. Over one-third of the Cururu River population make their rainy season home at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

IV. Comparative Summary

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to both. First, both became involved in a commercial, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while incurring new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The rubber-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentlemen's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing ties of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. Thus, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon become necessities—a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of fur-bearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucu and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Among the Mundurucu chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

[text continues on p. 349]

the men's houses. The women of each dwelling cooked equal amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse. It was not considered polite to demand something from another. Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

Division of Labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Mundurucú clients are a source of continual aggravation to the traders, although they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the Indians. Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Mundurucú society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were divulged simply through the insistence of the questioner. Since few Mundurucú have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in encouraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and therefore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives upstream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the Indians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

/8 cont./

*241 or if other relatives have come to live in the house, then the plot is made larger. The calculation is thus basically intuitive, even [504] though it is based on practical experience gathered through generations.

*241 Nowadays, the Indian usually plants a little more than he needs 197 for his own use, to obtain a surplus (along with the surplus of rubber [43] he has gathered) and improve his lot by using it in the purchase of clothes, nets, machetes, etc. The garden, therefore, helps him to maintain his economic balance at his present stage of acculturation.

[245] Another factor which also depends in part on the terrain is the shape of the plot. Here, however, other elements are already in evidence, especially the influence of neo-Brazilian acculturation. Whenever possible, the Mundurukú prefer the traditional shape, which is rounded or elliptic-oval. Thus did the ancestors make their plots, and thus they are made to this day in the villages of the interior. Still in 1957, this garden shape could easily be distinguished when flying over the villages of the Kabitutu and Paranaíta. But this is no longer an iron rule. "It depends on the terrain," they told me. But I believe that the influence of the peasants is stronger than that of the terrain. Thus we find gardens of various shapes, elongated, rectangular, and even square. The latter predominate especially in [361] the Curiri and Tapajós region, and thus in areas where the Mundurukú no longer live in village communities but in isolated dwellings. The [112] dismembering of the community and the emancipation of the Mundurukú family from the village system are reflected here as they are in many other aspects of the culture.

*241 3. Clearing—tyut tatahm. To clear is to cut down the undergrowth with the machete, removing from the site of the future garden shrubs, young trees, and brush. This is done to prepare for the next task, which is the felling of the trees. In this way, the woodcutters have greater freedom of action. After the trees are felled, it would be impossible to clear the ground of undergrowth. As a rule, the clearing is done in three days' work, and some time is allowed to elapse for the brushwood to dry.

[78] turned on the previously mentioned Parintintin, Parintin
[44] (Parfrauftes or Uauvivait), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajoz with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. *

* Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas
Diccionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca
do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 206.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajôz, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several [79] of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on [44] the Tapajôz 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Maubé 1,600, in that of Juruy 1,000. **

● 431

** This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajoz produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1.05 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Maubé 1,500 and those of Canumã 800. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canumã gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

[79] A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucûs originally

648 The Minister of Agriculture, in an order dated December 22,
797 1876, excused Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva from his duties as head of the Mission of Bacabal; at the same time, immediate and equitable measures were taken to maintain the Mission and to serve as vigorously as heretofore the cause of christianization in those remote parts.

XXV

Trade between the hucksters and the Indians of the Upper Tapajoz.

643 The bitter fight waged between the leading citizens of the
797 Itaituba District and the missionary of Bacabal had no other cause
439 than the Indian trade.

I refer here to those Indians who live at the Mission of Bacabal and at other points of the Upper Tapajoz riverbanks, and
[184] not to the Mundurucu of the central villages, such as Necodemos and others, which are called villages of the plains.

The latter, who are truly savage, carry out no trade whatever, and indeed appear to avoid contact with both missionaries and petty tradesmen.

The missionary of Bacabal held the combined functions of director of the settlement, head steward, schoolmaster to both male and female pupils, and parson. He was not eager to obtain assistants from the government to help him in his various tasks, and kept the Mission totally isolated from any contact with the inhabitants of the district and especially with the hucksters. [146]

All the Indian trade in Bacabal was carried out through him directly with the Pará market, and he gave no account whatever of these transactions to the government.

We shall now endeavor to provide a general idea of the manner in which trade is carried out on the Upper Tapajoz.

The district of Itaituba, which stretches beyond the Mission of Bacabal to the borders of Mato Grosso, is one of the richest in natural resources in the valley of the Amazon.

Ma

648 It produces excellent rubber in large quantities, and the
797 provinces of Pará and Amazonas owe the rapid development of
439 their export and import trade to this commodity.

Rubber sells on the Pará market for $1.50 to $2.00 a kilogram; the Tapajoz alone yearly exports some 150,000 kilograms of it, and this amount would be larger if there were sufficient manpower to gather all the natural resources of the soil. The
Ma 249 district also produces guaraná, a highly precious commodity of
278 acknowledged medicinal worth.
439

The Maué Indians alone cultivate this plant and prepare the product, which they usually make into cylindrical loaves, sometimes, however, they mold it into the shape of animals native
Ma [532] to the region, such as tapir, snakes, turtles and others, lending to this task considerable intelligence and artistic taste.

Ma Guaraná sells on the Pará market for $4 to $5 a kilogram;
[435] and in Mato Grosso, where it is in great demand, the price is four times higher.

Each crew member of the canoes that sail in those parts takes a guaraná decoction every morning and even several times a day as a fever preventive. The results are positive.

Ma The district also furnishes copaiba oil, sarsaparilla, [147]
439 and other natural products which are priced high and esteemed greatly on all markets.

On this very day I find the following notice in a reputable newspaper of the capital of Pará [Belém]:

"Indians -- Sixteen Mundurucu Indians from the Mission of Bacabal, accompanied by their chief, have arrived in this capital to appear before the Presidency and to promote the sale of 292 arrobas (over 4,000 kilograms) of rubber.

"The chief's attire and the face paintings of these Indians have attracted public curiosity."

Commerce on the Upper Tapajoz is carried out by tradesmen known as regatões [hucksters or traders], who appear in those parts in small canoes loaded with goods during the summer months and the rubber harvest. Navigation through the falls is difficult
Ma [505] and risky; it is often necessary to unload the canoe and carry the burden on land for several kilometers; then the canoe in turn has to be carried and reloaded; and farther on the whole procedure

is repeated, with the additional danger of foundering on one of the innumerable rocks which obstruct the course of the stream. To this must be added privations, fevers, and possible attack by fierce Indians such as the Parintintin. Some of these peddlers, setting out from Itaituba, course upriver through the region for a month and sometimes two.

They find no one to trade with but the Mundurucu and a few Maué savages, who go naked or nearly naked, who have not the slightest notion of our language, of our alphabet, of our system of weights and measures, or of the current price of the goods they sell and the commodities they purchase.

Incredible as it may seem, the traders sell on credit [148] to savages who own no capital other than a hatchet to bleed the rubber trees, commodities which add up on running accounts to such enormous figures as 5, 6 or 7,000,000 reis or even more! Possibly every Indian in those parts is indebted to a considerable extent. When asked how much they owe, these Indians always reply: "Who knows! Only the patron can tell!" They always call their creditor "patron" [patrão].

The trader, himself a creditor [sic], regards his Indian debtors as serfs: as best suits his needs, he sends them into the forest to gather rubber, forbidding them expressly to sell it to other traders; or makes them paddle his canoe; or takes them to his home when the harvest is over and puts them to work under his very eyes. He carries this odious exploitation practically to the point of slavery; denies them the right to go where they wish; and if by chance they secretly run away, he sets out after them and captures them by sheer force.

Many cultivators also have a certain number of Indians at their service and under their rule. I have seen many of these savages -- men, women and children -- forcibly retained in the homes of cultivators. When one of these creditors passes away, the Indian moves to the home of whoever happens to inherit his share of the debt. Once on the Upper Tapajoz I asked to whom an Indian "belonged" who interested me, and got the following reply: "We don't know yet, because the household of his former master, who died a short time ago, has not yet been parcelled out."

Fa. Pelino de Cauxovalva, who called those wretched Indians to the Mission in large numbers, used to tell them: "My sons, you owe nothing to these illicit tradesmen; from [149] now on, work only for yourselves, for your wives and for your children."

XXVI

Trade between the Indians and the traders -- Strange and fabulous running accounts.

The missionary of Bacabal showed me several running accounts made out to the Indians by the peddlers, in which the former always owed the latter very large sums of money.

We will reproduce below the running account between the petty tradesman Manoel Quirino Paes and the Indian chief Joaquim Correia Piampé. Then we will outline the same running account, figured out in terms of cash and listing the respective prices.

This will demonstrate that even if we assume an honest and exact listing of the commodities sold as to quantity and quality, and of the rubber purchased as to weight, the goods were dealt out to the Indian at 400 per cent of their cost value.

There follows another running account, indicating that the chief José Francisco owes the trader Jose Domingos de Oliveira the tremendous sum of 6,876,282 reis!

It looks like a transaction between two wealthy parties; yet José Domingos de Oliveira is but a poor trader living in a simple hut on the banks of the Upper Tapajos, and the chief José Francisco is a half-naked and illiterate savage. [150]

RUNNING ACCOUNT

"The chief Joaquim Corrêa Piampé owes Manoel Quirino Paes to March 28th:

2 cuts thick americano, 80 yards	5 arrobas rubber
2 cuts strong gingham [riscado], 80 yards	5 "

1 cut plaid gingham, 35 yards	1 arrobas and a half	
4 cum fine broad gingham, 80 yards	4 arrobas	
2 cum handkerchiefs	1	"
10 alqueires salt	6	"
2 barrels gunpowder, 50 lb.; 3 arrobas lead	10	"
8 flasks [frasquiras] cachaça, with large bottle	10	"
6 thousand percussion caps [espoletas]	2	"
1 box soap, 42 lb.	1	"
1 lb. balls of thread	1/2	"
5 firearms	5	"
1 fine black hat	3	"
2 doz. American hatchets [terçados]	7	"
1 doz. American axes [terçados grandes]	3	"
9 strike-a-lights [isqueiros] with flintlock [fusil]	1	" & 4 lb.
100 gunflints [pedernieras de fogo]	11	" & 8 lb.
4 cutlasses [facas Paraga]	2 arrobas	
Balance on 1870 account	11	"
Total	76 1/2 arrobas	

"On February 16, 1872, I received twenty-five arrobas of rubber, two arrobas of sernamby and five arrobas of pitch. This leaves [?] fifty arrobas."

To provide a clearer idea of this transaction, we will now outline the same running account, but in terms of our currency and of the prices current on the Para market in the year when the transaction was carried out.

This shows that the goods were sold to the Indian at more than 400 per cent of their cost value. [151]

(151)

COMMODITIES SOLD IN EXCHANGE FOR RUBBER	RUBBER TO BE RECEIVED								
	Cost*	Total	Plus 100%	Against	@	lb.	Price	Total
2 cuts genuine thick americano, 80 yards	$ 440	$35,200	$70,400	Against	5	"	$25,000	$125,000
2 cuts genuine strong gingham [rincado], 80 yards	660	52,800	105,600	"	5	"	"	125,000
1 cut genuine strong gingham, 80 yards	280	9,100	18,200	"	1	10	"	22,814
4 cuts broad gingham, 65 yards	400	34,000	68,000	"	4	"	"	100,000
2 cuts handkerchiefs	5,000	10,000	20,000	"	1	"	"	25,000
10 alquieres salt	1,600	16,000	32,000	"	6	"	"	150,000
2 barrels with 50 lb. gunpowder	1,000	50,000	100,000	"	10	"	"	250,000
3 arrobas lead	4,400	13,200	26,400					
6 flasks [frasquiras] cachaça, with large bottle	6,000	48,000	96,000	"	10	"	"	250,000
6 thousand percussion caps [espoletas]	1,000	6,000	12,000	"	2	"	"	50,000
1 box soap (42 lb.)	400	16,800	33,600	"	1	"	"	25,000
1 lb. balls of thread	1,500	1,500	3,000	"		16	"	12,500
5 second-rate guns	15,000	75,000	150,000	"	5	"	"	125,000

(continued)

RUBBER TO BE RECEIVED

COMMODITIES SOLD IN EXCHANGE FOR RUBBER	Cost*	Total	Plus 100%	Against	@	lb.	Price	Total
6 [sic] fine black hens	$ 4,000	$24,000	$ 48,000	"	3	"	$25,000	$ 75,000
2 dz. genuine American hatchets [tercados]	25,000	50,000	100,000	"	7	"	"	175,000
1 dz. genuine large axes		32,000	64,000	"	3	"	"	75,000
9 strike-a-lights [inquietos] with flintlocks [fusil]		4,000	8,000	"	1	4	"	28,124
100 gun-locks [pedernales]		2,000	4,000	"		8	"	6,250
4 cutlasses [facas Pampa]	500	2,000	4,000	"		20	"	15,624
		$481,600	$963,200		65	26		$1,645,312

*in vain

He balanced the old account, and credited the current account as follows:

9 arrobas rubber at $25,000	$225,000	
2 arrobas urucumby at $16,000	32,000	
5 arrobas pinch at 82,000	10,000	267,000
		1,378,312

[152]

ANOTHER RUNNING ACCOUNT

437 Chief José Francisco da Boa-Vista has bought from José Domingos de Oliveira Bahia the following goods and

		OWES
Amount owed from August 11, 1870 to June 8, 1871		$3,996,815
June 9, 1871		
1 gun used		5,520
3 dz. lead spoons	$ 1,600	4,300
24 copper graters	1,325	31,800
16 fine small scissors	550	8,800
1 25-lb. barrel gunpowder	1,980	49,500
1/2 arroba lead	10,830	16,245
2 gallons kerosene	6,500	13,000
12 bunches [masos] coral	1,000	12,000
12 bunches [masos] fine white glass beads	520	6,700
6 flasks [frasqueiras] cachaça	13,320	73,920
12 American hatchets [terçados]		56,207
2 three-span trunks	12,000	24,000
2 boxes soap with 90 lb.	360	32,400
1/2 arrobas sugar	12,000	18,000
1/2 arrobas aged coffee [? café velho]		9,525
2 containers Philantropico ointment	19,000	3,800
2 containers Bristol sarsaparilla	400	2,800
2 containers Opodeldocc	1,200	2,400
1 bottle sweet almond oil	5,480	10,960
8 1/3 covados scarlet baize	800	1,600
1 box Altona ginger		13,500
6 fine felt hats	5,000	30,000
6 stone cups [copos de pedra]		3,000
120 gunflints [pederneiras]	1,600	2,400
5 alqueires salt in bags	5,000	25,000
2 arrobas rice	7,680	15,360

		ONES
434 June 9, 1871 (continued)		
20 touchholes for firearms	$ 200	$ 4,000
2 bundles tobacco, or rather one 4-lb. bundle	7,000	14,000
100 nails [pregos meio forros]		1,540
4 cans small soda biscuits	1,500	6,000
2 American axes	3,700	7,400
March 23, 1871		
12 lb. soap	400	4,800
1/2 gross buttons		600
2 alqueires salt	5,000	10,000
June 9, 1871 [sic]		
10 fine firearms	28,000	280,000
2 cuts americano, recque make, 83 yards	656	54,448
[153] 2 cuts inglez, 68 yards	560	38,080
1 cut white dril, 42 1/2 yards	600	33,600
2 cuts broad dyed dril, with 80 yards	650	52,000
2 cuts narrow dyed dril, 80 yards	385	30,800
1 cut blue dril, 42 yards	127	50,694
1 cut thick gingham [riscadão Francisco], 34 yards	1,100	37,400
1 cut strong, superior gingham, 39 yards	1,225	47,770
1 cut blue chintz [rapão], 41 yards	332	35,212
2 cuts thick plaid gingham, 70 yards	450	31,500
1 cut thick blue and white gingham, 34 yards	450	13,525
3 cuts superior quality [sic], 72 yards	500	3,600
2 cuts fine color print calico [chitas], 7 1/2 covados	480	35,680

		OWES
June 9, 1871 [sic] (cont'd)		
2 cuts of same, purple 74 covados & 2/3	$ 400	$29,783
2 cuts of same, blue, 74 covados & 2/3	400	29,783
2 cuts of same, scarlet, 74 covados & 2/3	4,900	35,690
6 cut-out drill trousers	3,620	21,720
3 pairs fine color handkerchiefs	6,000	17,000
1 large saw		6,000
3 dz. large cutlasses [facas Pampa]	9,530	28,590
2 dz. high rubber [-tapping?] combs, no. 32 [pentes de seringa]	2,950	41,900
2 lb. small balls of thread	2,900	5,800
1 dz. small spools of thread	600	1,800
2000 anias	2,100	4,200
24 cuts color clastros	1,920	3,840
3 gross shirt buttons	400	1,200
6 gross marking tags [marca]	400	2,400
1 lb. fishing line	2,800	19,600
July 16, 1871		
5 thousand percussion caps [espoletas]	2,400	12,000
4 dz. itasumbas	1,600	6,400
2 cuts fine color print calico [chitas], 74? 2/3 covados	400	29,600
2 cuts americano, recent make, 83 yards	750	62,250
3 cuts of same, wide, dyed, 6 yards	580	34,800
16 containers ointments	450	7,200
2 flasks vinegar	1,800	3,600
6 flasks red wine	3,600	19,200
4 dz. bowls	3,500	14,000
6 pair drinking cups	920	7,920

1: Tocantins--72 C-5 (1870) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

		OWES
July 16, 1871 (continued)		
1 flask [frasqueira] cachaça		$13,200
1 dz. fine white dishes		2,300
4 bottles Florida water	$ 1,700	6,800
October 2, 1871		
300 nails [pregos de forro]		12,000
2 flasks [frasqueiras] cachaça	13,200	26,400
1 cut genuine americano trançado 42 yards	990	41,500
2 bottles liquor	7,200	2,400
[154] 1 dz. large cutlasses [facas Pampa]	11,040	11,760
Money you asked me		4,000
1 skein guitar string		500
24 copper grazers	13,200	26,400
1 bundle tobacco		12,000
16 lb. sugar	220	5,760
December 2, 1871		
1 thousand percussion caps [copoletas]		1,500
March 2, 1872		
1/2 flask [frasqueira] cachaça		6,600
1 bundle tobacco		10,000
Sum I paid to Paulo Christo		41,040
Plus 10% of said [?] amount		84,144
Total		$6,876,282

CREDIT

3 arrobas uernamby	$ 800	$ 24,000
45 arrobas fine rubber, shipped to the capital at your own risk and expense [?]		

Acu-coara, March 9, 1872

José Domingos de Oliveira Bahia

[77] S.T. They
[91] do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Mawes. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

294 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[94] in so much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of maniac. The flour ground from maniac is packed in
[98] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Wirmchilie] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajos now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
364 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[127] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from moturum moteryc and ico, means: "the thaler, the thief [Mitnehmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-hyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III, 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 363) who are also found on the Madeira river.

746 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Poll II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecram.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

304 Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [301] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 285 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [286] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of mauritì palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a [172] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone [324] objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 616 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajóz River *Mundurucú* have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[74 tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of
621 single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

[344 If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and prematrilocal stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1954) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring cluiives groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

[74 During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift
591 from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which
[177 increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the
439] female, household work-group.[6] This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxi and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestizo colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Uxitubá had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the continuing action formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was incidental.

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers.

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own.

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajeboili was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means.

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 593

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [586] [462]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by warm and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224 226]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family households, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [434]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [622]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce: 439

> "They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

439 also gather large quantities of salsaparilla, india-rubber and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily-wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucus beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares--cheap cotton cloths, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cachaça--amongst the minor chiefs, and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce". [1863, pp. 243-244]

439 622 624 [314] When rubber became the major product of Amazonia the same pattern of trade was perpetuated among the Mundurucu. All of the rubber collected was turned over to the chief, who alone negotiated directly with the trader. The merchandise given for the rubber was, insofar as could be ascertained through contemporary informants, equitably distributed to each man in proportion to the rubber he had produced. But since chiefs were commonly more prosperous than other men, it can be assumed that they did not suffer in their role of middleman. The share taken by the chief, however, was never so great as to result in truly significant wealth differences. In fact, the traders usually managed to keep the Indians in debt, and this debt was charged against the chief as the representative of the village. Tocantins, who visited the Mundurucú in 1875, published a bill presented to one chief [Tocantins, p. 154]. If this bill is typical, the Indians' indebtedness was frequently very heavy. These debts were used to force the chief to extract greater production from his followers.

As the Mundurucu depended increasingly upon trade, the chief became more subordinate economically to the trader, who manipulated him accordingly. The trader eventually was able to appoint "chiefs" to carry on the trade. An appointed chief was usually known as the capitao, or "captain", as distinguished from the hereditary village chief, who was called aipoxocucat or ichongop. By using the "captains" as local trade representatives, the traders were able to increase their control over the villages. At the same time, by robbing the hereditary chiefs of their trade function, they weakened the entire structure of leadership. In time, the capitao displaced the hereditary chief almost entirely. To increase the prestige of the trader-appointed chief, the trader often took his protegé on his annual trip to buy supplies in Belem, where the chief's position was confirmed by the governor or some other official.

The Mundurucú dependency upon trade at first evidently increased the peacetime authority of the hereditary chief, for the villagers relied upon him to promote and secure their best interests in trading activities. The appointment of capitaes undermined the native chief, and initially increased the trader's control over the village. The people became confused, however, as to whether the capitao or the aipoxocucat should be regarded as "chief". Ill feeling towards and suspicion of the appointed chiefs began to develop, for the Indians were always aware of, although powerless to cope with, the sharp practices of the traders, and they usually assigned the capitao a share of the blame. Upon the latter fell the onerous task of goading the people to harder work in the rubber avenues. Since most Mundurucú do not even today consider rubber collecting a convenial occupation, the role of the capitao must have done little to increase his popularity. During the field research among the Mundurucú, the young, bilingual trader-appointed "chief" of the village of Cabituú was in danger of losing his life. Distrust of the trader, whom the "chief" represented, was centered upon this young man and threatened his position so greatly that he was on the verge of flight.

In later years, as will be described subsequently, individual Mundurucú Indians have tended increasingly to deal with the trader directly rather than through the "chief". For this reason, village political organization has been effectively shattered.

439 624 178 The white-appointed Mundurucú "chief", unlike his Northeastern Algonkian counterpart, mediated trade relations between a group of followers and the

624
439
178

whites. After individual trading had become strongly established among one section of the Mundurucu, however, "chiefs" were chosen by the Indian Agent and by missionaries in order to control the general behavior of the Indians, and not specifically for commercial purposes. This more nearly approximates the modern Montagnais situation, although it was reached through a different sequence of functional roles and from a different aboriginal base. In both cases, the Indians themselves were very conscious that these men were not genuine chiefs in terms of aboriginal leadership patterns, and both groups apparently suspected that the white-recognized chief was promoting the interests of the white men rather than those of his own people. The new leadership patterns never became fully established. While these patterns were functional in terms of white-Indian relations, they were dysfunctional in terms of the native socio-cultural structure.

Among the Mundurucu, therefore, the integrity of the local socio-political groups was, in part, temporarily maintained by a change in the functional role of the chieftain. That the changed pattern of leadership eventually became dysfunctional resulted in part from the ecological adaptations necessary to rubber collection. These adaptations, however, did far more than contribute to the disintegration of political controls. They undercut the very economic basis of village life.

314

Hevea brasiliensis, the native and most common specie of rubber tree, grows wild throughout the upper waters of the Amazon. It can be exploited only during the dry season, and, in the upper Tapajós River valley, the maximum length of the gathering season is from May to early December, approximately seven months. Since these trees are scattered throughout the low lands near the watercourses, they are reached by circuitous paths cut through the undergrowth. The spacing of the trees and the work involved in rubber collection generally limit the number of trees tapped daily by one man to one hundred and fifty or less. Some collectors improve their yield per tree by maintaining two or three separate avenues which they visit only every second or third day. The distribution of rubber trees is such that each avenue gives access to trees within an area of about three to five square miles. The actual size of this territory depends, of course, upon the density of the rubber trees. In some sections of the Amazon drainage wild rubber is more abundant than are others. One may travel ten to twenty miles on reaches of river where rubber is sparse without passing a single habitation, but, where rubber is more plentiful, one encounters houses at intervals of a mile or even a half-mile.

The rubber tapper must work in his avenue or avenues almost daily, and therefore must live near them. Since each tapper exploits a considerable tract of land, his physical remoteness from neighboring tappers is a matter of necessity. Thus, on the Tapajós River, which has a population of about 3,000 excluding the Mundurucu, there are only two Brazilian villages of any consequence. One of these has a population of about 700, and the other has only 150 people. The other settlements are merely hamlets consisting of a trading post and from two to seven houses. The majority of the population live in isolated houses on the river banks. [36]

The exploitation of wild rubber is a solitary, individual occupation in that the tapping of the tree, the subsequent collection of the latex, and the final coagulation process are one-man jobs. The last phase, carried out at the end of the day, consists of solidifying the latex over a smoky fire. The simplicity and the daily time-schedule of the entire rubber process in Amazonia is such that no one can profitably leave off collection to specialize only in tapping or collection or coagulation. For similar reasons, two men do not work in the same avenue. However companionable, it would not be a practicable means of increasing production.

This brief account of how wild rubber is exploited is necessary to an understanding of changes in Mundurucu society. In the earlier contact period, the 439

439 Mundurucú traded chiefly in manioc flour and wild products, and rubber was of secondary importance. Chandless' observation [1862, p. 277] that in 1860 the Mundurucu of the upper Tapajós "trade in salsa and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers" indicates that important trade in articles other than rubber continued at least until 1860. Shortly after this date, however, the tempo of rubber extraction in the Amazon quickened, and in 1875, as Tocantins' account shows [1877, pp. 151-154], rubber was the most important Mundurucú product.

177 439 With the advent of the rubber trade, Mundurucú acculturation entered its second stage. During the first, when trade in manioc flour and certain wild products predominated, the hereditary chief mediated between the traders and his people, aboriginal social patterns were largely unchanged, and warfare was still vigorously prosecuted, frequently under the sponsorship of traders and colonial authorities. During the second stage, which lasted until 1914, warfare abated, the size of villages decreased owing to migration and European-introduced diseases, and the position of the hereditary chief was weakened by the imposition of appointed "chiefs". The period was characterized by a "loosening" of integration rather than by a change in mode of integration, or structure.

221 314 Work in the rubber avenues in the latter half of the nineteenth century did not upset the annual subsistence cycle as much as might be expected. Whereas many people had formerly left their villages during the dry season to hunt and fish along the streams, they now left to collect rubber. As in times past, they cleared their garden sites before leaving and returned to the village in time to burn them over and plant. The necessity to provide all their own subsistence limited the rubber producing season to three months, mid-June to mid-September, [171] out of a possible seven. This parallels closely the earlier phases of Northeastern Algonkian fur production, when the Indian's need to obtain their own meat supply by aboriginal cooperative techniques limited fur production and conflicted with their increasing desire for Western manufactures [Leacock 1954, pp. 25-26].

439 177 During the nineteenth century (and to the present day) the Mundurucú, like the Algonkians and in fact most aborigines, had been acquiring a seemingly insatiable appetite for the utilitarian wares and trinkets of civilization. Firearms increased their efficiency in warfare and hunting, especially the individual hunting carried on during the rubber season when one or two families lived in [224] isolation adjacent to their rubber trees. In communal hunts, the game could be surrounded and the range and velocity of the weapons were not so crucial to success. Other items, too, became necessities to the Mundurucú. Contrary to popular belief that nudity is beneficial to tropical peoples, there are various reasons why clothing is desirable in the Amazon. Insect stings greatly annoy [291] the Indians, and at night the temperature drops to from 55° to 65° F. Clothing, however, is expensive, and only in recent years has it been used consistently in some Mundurucú villages. The movement toward covering the body entailed the development within two generations of a sense of shame comparable to that of Europeans. The Mundurucú, especially the women, have also acquired a desire for finery for the sake of display. They have also developed a taste for many strictly non-utilitarian goods, such as the Brazilian raw cane rum and the beads and ornaments purveyed by the trader.

A full and adequate description of the growth of Mundurucú dependence upon trade would require a separate treatise, for reliance upon manufactured goods entailed further dependence upon many adjuncts of these goods. For example, fire-[415] arms required powder and lead, while garments of factory-woven cloth had to be made and repaired with scissors, thread, and needles. The substitution of metal pots for native ones of clay and of manufactured hammocks for the native product [323] has reached the point where many young women now do not know how to make these articles. The Mundurucú barely remember that their forebears used stone axes and bamboo knives, and they would be helpless without the copper toasting pan used to make manioc flour.

Despite the flourishing trade in gewgaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucu economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous. 439 177

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucú and the Montagnais are porbably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucú, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inexorably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucú families, like those of the Algonkians, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucú. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucú were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucú country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucú villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucú was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucú to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucú warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective. [222] 177 177 139 [197]

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucú acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucú society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucú who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy. 177 621

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucú villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large [221] 319 361 177

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

to the disorganization of Cururú River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Cururú River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber avenues or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucú. Over one-third of the Cururú River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

IV. Comparative Summary

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing ties of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon became necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

[text continues on p. 349]

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mo Mu 171 177 105

Mundurucú (cont.)	Montagnais (cont.)
village held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability. Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B, below.	Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries. Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year. Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.
B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A) Leadership no longer integrative. Individual trade undercuts kin obligations. Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenue--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.	

Mo Mu 171 177 [434 622]

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

Mo Mu [605]

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

Mu 177 434

The Brazilian rubber tapper--the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucu who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

Mo Mu 171 177 593

The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Mo Mu 177 621 622

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

439 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[441] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

186 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[721] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[754] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

191 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only once in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers of the scattered collector population.

[438] Several days and barely 400 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Mundurucú population. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and das Tropas. A number of Mundurucú villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and an occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually ragged or ill-fitting clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading [144] posts. Racially, the Mundurucú does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes among the local Brazilians.

If one wishes to reach the village of Cabruá, a typical Mundurucú community of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabitutú River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of dawn-to-dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 100 yards away. The house is usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabruá go there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village, one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from the valley of the Cabitutú and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a sun-scorched savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one to the village.

36 The majority of the Mundurucú now live on the banks of the larger streams of the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there. Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 reside on the Cururú River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated part of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River. But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River [173] is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the historic period and, according to Mundurucú tradition, since the creation of man.

178 The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Mundurucú
621 architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each
341 has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance precincts and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbush. And the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 and was followed by others at Boim and Pinhel.[6] Spix and Martius visited the
797 Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River, another affluent of the Paraná Mirím, in 1819, and reported 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[7] Baptism and catechization of the Indians proceeded apace with their increasing involvement with the whites, and by 1817 Ayres de Casal stated, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians."[8]

175 The missionaries were by no means the only whites having contact with the
439 Indians, nor was religious instruction the only way in which they were exposed to European culture. The Indians manufactured manioc flour and collected the wild products of the region and sold these articles to the missionaries and traders, who probably were in active competition for the labor and production of the Mundurucú. The influence of the missions weakened with the deterioration of their economic hold over the Indians, and the Mundurucú tended to drift into a single-family settlement pattern along the banks of the streams. Today the Mundurucú of the Madeira River region are nearly assimilated, and those of the lower Tapajós are wholly so.

The bulk of the population, which remained in the area of the upper Tapajós River, experienced no such intensive contact. No missions were established above the great obstacle of the Cachoeira de Maranhão until 1872, and the area became settled by significant numbers of whites only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Before that period, the Mundurucú obtained the manufactured articles which they so avidly desired through mercenary warfare[9] and through the sale of surplus manioc flour and other products to traders who seasonally ascended the Tapajós River.[10] After about 1850, the upper Tapajós country was also penetrated by rubber collectors, to whom the Mundurucú frequently sold foodstuffs. The collectors traded with merchants in the growing town of Itaituba, below the head of navigation of the Tapajós, and returned each rainy season to the less isolated existence there. The contact of the Mundurucú with the Brazilians thus remained seasonal and sporadic.

By the 1870's, the commercial importance of rubber was growing rapidly; greater numbers of whites sought the product each year, and the Mundurucú were drawn increasingly into the extraction industry. The importance of the Indian population in the chronically labor-short Amazon region resulted in renewed efforts to attract or press greater numbers of them into commercial production. This problem and one solution of it were expressed in rather delicate and diplomatic terms by the Brazilian engineer, Antonio Tocantins: "The
175 imperial government has not spared efforts to call into the arms of civilization
797 the hordes that wander in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was with this
439 purpose that in 1872 the establishment of the Mission of Bacabal was ordered."[10]

The superior of the new mission of Bacabal, Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva, under-

[6] Martius, 1867, p. 395.
[7] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.
[8] Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[9] See Murphy (1957) for a discussion of this pattern.
[10] Cf. Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[10] Tocantins, 1877, p. 134.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his task with some energy. But his methods were somewhat unexpected by the Itaituba merchants, who had strongly favored the establishment of a mission. The priest established himself at a point on the east bank of the upper Tapajós River and proceeded to gather into his "reduction" some 500 Mundurucú who had been dwelling on the banks of the stream. According to a later report by the French explorer, Henri Coudreau, the missionary had little or no contact with the main population in the savannah villages.[10] The mission Indians continued to collect forest products, principally rubber, and to sell them, but they traded only with the priests, who in turn, traded directly with Belém. Thus by-passed, the businessmen of Itaituba immediately protested to the governor of the province of Pará, claiming that the mission monopolized the Indian trade but made little effort toward catechization. The priest inveighed with equal vigor against the corrupting influence of the traders, whom he also accused of gross exploitation of the Indian population. Fr. Pelino lost the fight, and the mission was abandoned in 1876.

It would be extremely difficult to assay the effect of the Mission of Bacabal upon Mundurucú beliefs, for other avenues of communication with the white Christian population were opening rapidly during this period. As the rubber-extraction industry went into its boom period, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós and as far south as the waters of the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. And the rubber collectors correspondingly became more sedentary. Whole families settled in the rubber regions and remained there throughout the year. The new Brazilian population settled among and married with the Mundurucú of the Tapajós shores and had occasional contact with the more isolated dwellers of the interior. The latter fell increasingly into the skein of debt relations upon which the rubber economy was and is based, and the structure of their relations with the traders provided the means by which Christianity and other aspects of Western culture were communicated to them.

Recent Missionization

Active catechization of the Mundurucú Indians effectively lapsed with the abandonment of the Mission of Bacabal. Efforts were renewed by the Diocese of Santarém in 1911, however, and in 1912 German priests of the Franciscan order established a mission on the Cururú River, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing through the southern part of Mundurucú territory. The first task undertaken by the priests was to end Mundurucú warfare. Decline in numbers and involvement in the rubber trade made the Indians receptive to exhortations against war. Their prowess had been on the wane for some time, and wars were infrequent and of small scale by 1912. The next problem, that of bringing the Indians under the complete influence of the mission, met with very limited success until the classical pattern of trading with them was adopted. The priests bought rubber at a higher price than did the traders, and they sold merchandise more cheaply. So great was their success in attracting the Mundurucú that a

[10] Coudreau, 1897, p. 28.

a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home. 756 776

The manifestation of the mother of the game in coatá monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *putcha ii*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *putcha ii*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *putcha ii* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which envira cherosa has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *putcha ii*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area. 224

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *putcha ii* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *putcha ii*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *putcha ii* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *putcha ii* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of those ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *putcha ii* on ceremonial occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *putcha ii* would become extremely angry. [439] [825] [782] [784]

The *putcha ii* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are looked upon as the vengeance of the *putcha ii*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *putcha ii* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *putcha ii* sends another. [752]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians SL4

M 177 182 durucú society are the subject of this study. But fundamentally what has taken place is the attraction of a simple people by the new, glittering, and eminently useful objects proffered by Western civilization, and their ultimate reliance upon these items. These things, in themselves, have had limited effect on aspects of culture other than the material inventory. Rather, it has been the means of obtaining them and the social relationships in which they are exchanged that have altered the nature of Mundurucú society. These means have been the production first of M [439] manioc flour and later of wild rubber as cash commodities, and the establishment of a client relationship to white patrons in a mercantile economy.

B M 182 563 177 The experience of the Mundurucú is not unique. It has parallels throughout the world, especially in Amazonia. There remnants of similarly fragmented tribes have merged into the racially mixed population, and others are on the threshold of assimilation. Incorporation into the neo-Brazilian, or *caboclo*, population of the Amazon valley is not as long a step for the Indian as the corresponding process in the United States. The term caboclo is used in Brazil to designate the lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior. In the Amazon it refers to the rubber collectors and farmers, whose racial composition is generally a cross of Indian and Caucasoid with a minor admixture of Negroid genes. No strictly defined racial demarcations prevent the transition of Indian to Brazilian. The barriers are social, linguistic, and cultural. That is, the Indian remains such as long as he identifies himself with a tribal society and plays social roles within it; and the extent to which he preserves the cultural and linguistic symbols of his own society makes possible life within it and inhibits communication beyond it.

Most Indian groups of Brazil are today transitional to

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101 648 which, ironically, is what the townsman calls the backwoodsman. The Brazilian residents in the upper Tapajós are scattered along its banks and the lower sections of its larger tributaries as far south as 9° S lat. on the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. Beyond this point the country is inhabited by the Nambikuára, Tapayuna, and Tupí-Cawahíb Indians, who are all hostile to the whites and effectively prevent further penetration. The Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó Indians, who live to the east of the Mundurucú, have raided the upper Tapajós in recent years, and at the time of our visit fear had induced all inhabitants of the east bank of the river between the Tropas and Jamaxím rivers to move to safer areas.

511 249 The local Brazilians have an enormous fear of hostile Indians. This is especially true of recent immigrants to the Amazon, and it is reinforced by a general feeling of insecurity in the jungle environment. The natives of the States of Ceará and Piauí who have been attracted to the area through aspirations of wealth in rubber, are frequently heard to remark that "life here is a sacrifice"; or "it is better to starve in town where there is movement and people than in this desolation." Inhabitants born in the area are, of course, accustomed to it, but they recognize their own poverty and the despair of their condition. Life in the jungle is difficult; the people are poor and often hungry and deprived of the barest necessities of life. Rubber, the basic export of the area, once offered rich returns to collectors, and especially to traders, but the latex of [439] the wild *Hevea* is now submarginal on the world market; the population engaged in its extraction has correspondingly experienced a forty-year period of depression.

648 The governments of Brazil and of the State of Pará are remote from the region. On rare occasions, one or two policemen from the town of Itaituba, the seat of the mu-

361 customers of the patron remain in their isolated dwellings the year round.

439 648 Every rubber collector deals steadily with the same patron, because the latter controls the section of forest land in which his clients work. The trader usually has no legal title, but receives rights of exploitation by paying [651] the state tax on the gross cash return from the land. The right of exploitation, perpetuated by the state tax, usually rests on a nebulous title, and, according to Wagley, it is [423] "control over the land, and not legal documents" which establishes ownership in the Amazon.[8] The patron grants permission to the rubber tapper to extract rubber from his lands and, in return, exerts a trade monopoly in which his client sells rubber to him and buys goods from him. [651] The patron profits from both sale and purchase and, since he passes the state tax on to the rubber collector, the latter receives but small return in terms of the prices prevailing in the urban markets. The client has freedom of movement only when he is not in debt to the patron, which rarely happens. If he owes money, he can transfer to another patron only if the new one settles the debt and transfers it to his own books. The rubber collector sometimes deals with the *regatões*, or itinerant merchants who ply the rivers, but these transactions are infrequent and in small amounts because the patron does not tolerate a substantial loss of commerce. The rubber collector who deals too often with the *regatão* might be denied credit by his regular patron or, less frequently, evicted from his avenue.

911 439 648 The economic power of the trader is especially strong on the upper Tapajós River because of a combination of geographic and economic factors. The lower Tapajós, from its mouth at Santarém to the first rapids 150 miles upstream, is economically diversified, and its rubber pro-

[8] Wagley, 1953, p. 92.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

duction is overshadowed in value by agricultural products, 311
cattle, and hardwoods. Some rubber is still produced at 439
the old Ford plantations, now government-owned, at Bel- 648
terra and Fordlandia, but both installations are currently mainly used for experimental cattle breeding. Commerce is correspondingly brisker on the lower Tapajós. The inhabitants are not only visited regularly by several traders, but they have access to the market facilities of small towns and the city of Santarém.

The upper Tapajós and its two main tributaries, the São 133
Manoel and Juruena rivers, are broken by a series of heavy rapids, some of which are impassable in the dry season. The first set of rapids, the Cachoeira de Maranhão, can be passed during the flood stage of the river only with considerable danger. For this reason, a five-mile-long road 439
was built around them early in the century with the result that the trading company that controlled the road could force the local patrons to deal only with it, and thus effectively monopolize trade on the river. This is done by allowing only freight bought from the company and destined for freightage on the company launches to be transported on the road. Several attempts at competition by passing cargo through the dangerous rapids have ended in failure. Whatever company has controlled the two-way trade of rubber export and consumer-goods import has been able to fix consumer prices at whatever the market would bear. These prices have usually been too high to keep a stable, permanent working force, and there has been a chronic labor shortage on the Tapajós, even after the great rubber boom ended. The prices charged by the company for freight and goods are based on a cost index already made high by lack of the deep-water transportation available on the lower Tapajós. On the upper river, the rapids force the use of shallow-draft diesel launches

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 that carry only ten tons of cargo. This limitation prohibits the diversified economy of the lower Tapajós from developing further upstream, for the only worthwhile product in terms of transportation costs is natural rubber, which sold in 1952 for the artificially supported price of Cr. $25 (approximately U.S. $0.75 at the open-market rate of exchange then prevailing) per kilogram at the government-operated Rubber Bank of Brazil in Belém.

439 The economic hierarchy of the Tapajós River consists of the company, with headquarters in Belém; the patrons,
452 who are by necessity customers of the company; and the rubber collectors, who are the clients of particular patrons. Transactions between all parties are made on credit. The company advances commodities to the traders and the latter to the rubber collectors against expected deliveries of rubber. Very little cash passes hands.

The river valley can be conceived of as a socioeconomic
439 unit for it is bound together by economic ties from the
621 company through the patron down to the rubber collector;
648 and to the man born on the river, it is the only world he knows. Most ties of kinship, marriage, and friendship are confined to the river banks from the rapids to the limits of Brazilian penetration on the São Manoel and Juruena rivers. Most of the approximately 2,000 inhabitants of this large region are either personally acquainted or have knowledge of each other.

Within the broad social framework imposed by the river
621 system, the local community consists of the patron and his
648 dispersed rubber-collecting clients. The patron serves as the focal point of community life: he is usually the *padrinho*, or godfather, of the customer's children; it is at his house that devotions to the saints are usually held; it is there that secular festivals such as dances occur; and his store serves as the gathering place on Sundays or alternate

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

2

the contact period

The Mundurucú explain in the form of legendary history how and why relations were established with the white man: 173 648

> In the old days our grandfathers were still wild and fought against the white men. The whites used to come up our rivers in their canoes, and we always battled. One day a group of them came up, and there was a fight and our men were driven off. Two of our young men were wounded and were left behind. They were captured and taken away.
>
> The next time the white men came we were about to attack when the two men who were captured stood up in the canoe and told us not to do anything as these people were our friends. They then came forward and showed us clothes, knives, axes, and many other good things that the whites gave them. They said that if we gave rubber and *farinha* to the whites, we too would receive these things. The elders decided to do this and ever since we have been friends of the white men. [439]

[p. 27]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

439 648 This account is hardly the complete story of the Mundurucú's contact with Western society, and, since more than one hundred fifty years have passed, it cannot be taken literally. But it explains summarily how the Indians became engaged in the Amazonian barter economy and were induced to accept the whites. Trade with the white men had much to offer. Steel tools are so far superior to stone axes and bamboo knives that they have been sought after eagerly by almost all aborigines. The efficacy of firearms, also, was early and forcibly demonstrated to them by the whites. The traders had many other things that attracted the primitive population of the Amazon. Among them were trinkets and glass beads, the raw Brazilian rum, *cachaça*, clothes to protect them from insects and the cool nights of interior Brazil, and all the gewgaws and gadgets of the civilized world.

177 648 439 Once exposed to these mixed benefits of Western culture, it is as difficult for the aborigine to turn away as it is for the American; he is caught in the trap of his own newly induced needs. So strong is the Indian's desire for manufactured goods and so great is his dependence upon them that the Brazilian Indian Protection Serivce commonly uses the lure of Western commodities to establish communication with hostile tribes preliminary to their pacification. Traders in the Amazon region have classically used this technique to attract and hold native labor, which they have always desperately needed in their efforts to extract wild products. The Mundurucú have not suffered from the worst excesses committed by the commercial interests, but other means, including torture and degeneration by rum, have been used to recruit them and other Indians throughout the Amazon Valley. The net effect has been to draw the native population into a client status under white patrons and to integrate it into the mercantile econ-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural change in this part of South America. 177 648 439

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong attacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2] 175 648

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Tapajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the 131 175 [797]

[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[2] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.
[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 648 [797] [439] sion and were also scattered throughout the surrounding forest. They were already conducting trade with the whites in manioc flour, sarsaparilla, and *guaraná* and apparently did not have the men's house and the other accoutrements of the traditional men's organization. According to these explorers, the Indians were found mainly on the Canomá and its tributary, the Secundurý. About forty [131] years later, Mundurucú inhabitants lived also on the Abacaxís and Maué-Assú rivers, two other tributaries of the Paraná-Mirim, a channel that connects the Amazon with the lower Madeira.

The Mundurucú of that area are of interest, because the earliest assimilation of large numbers of the tribe took place in the Madeira River region. It was there too that a long tradition of friendly relations with the whites was established; this friendship was to a large extent sealed by the coöperation of the Mundurucú in the quelling of tribes of the region still hostile to the colonists. In the late eighteenth century, two tribes of the lower Madeira, the Mura and the Arara, especially the former, waged incessant warfare against the white settlements and did much to impede the colonization of the central Amazon Valley. Unable to cope with the Mura, the whites enlisted the aid of the Mundurucú and from this date, according to Charles F. Hartt, the whites and the Mundurucú were allies.[13] By 1819, Ayres de Casal reported the lower Madeira River town of Borba to have a nearby settlement of Mura who had sought refuge from the Mundurucú,[14] and in 1852, Henry Walter Bates, the noted English naturalist, found fugitive remnants of the tribe scattered along the Amazon as far as the town of Catuá, a short distance below the mouth of the Rio Teffé.[15] At the time Bates wrote, the at-

[13] Hartt, 1885, pp. 116–117.
[14] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 238.
[15] Bates, 1863, p. 168.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 social cohesion also, because it provided a rallying point
182 for tribal coöperation and a common goal in the pursuit
648 of which factional differences were forgotten. And it af-
721 forded an escape valve for aggressions that could not be safely unleashed within the society.

These factors helped to preserve the integrity and autonomy of Mundurucú society during a period of stress and encroachment. Their coöperation with the whites set a pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship. Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade
[439] goods, and restricted their military activities (which were not by any means always or even usually at the immediate behest of the whites) to tribes that were not yet pacified. And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucú were gradually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in contrast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the transition is no doubt partly attributable to the ties of economic dependency and friendship which had become established.

Trade and exploitation of natural resources came late
175 to the upper Tapajós because of the impediments to nav-
439 igation imposed by its many rapids, and also because of
648 the specific commodities available there. The rich Tapajós rubber did not begin to assume great economic importance until well into the second half of the century, while the Madeira waters had abundant resources of *guaraná* and sarsaparilla, both of which were intensively sought in the early nineteenth century; and agricultural products were traded in the latter area on a large scale at an earlier date, also, because Brazilian markets were not far.

Shortly before the mid-century the Mundurucú of the

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early commerce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.[26] The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The regatões served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

> They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of mandioca and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaca—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.[27]

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs. The regatão gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

[26] Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 243–244.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 the Brazilian traders cheated the Indians mercilessly. Ac-
439 counts were and are to this day arranged so as to keep the
648 Indian almost continually in debt. The trader thereby attaches the labor of his Indian clients and induces the creditor chiefs to exact as much work from their people as possible. As a case in point, in 1875 Antonio Tocantins found one Mundurucú chief to owe the then phenomenal sum of 6,876 milreis.[28]

The Indian trade reported by Bates was mainly in manioc flour, which was also a major product of the Mundurucú of the Madeira waters visited in 1819 by Spix and Martius. Only small amounts of rubber were collected on the upper Tapajós in 1852, but the importance of this commodity soared rapidly in the next quarter century. Tocantins reported it to be the principal item of commerce in 1875.[29] By 1860, Brazilian rubber tappers had begun to penetrate the Tapajós valley during the dry season. They were found in greatest concentration below the Cachoeira de Chacarão, although some drifted further upstream. Chandless, in 1860, encountered a group of clothed Mundurucú working for two runaway Negro slaves on the Juruena River, a tributary of the Tapajós.[30] More Mundurucú were noted in small settlements on the banks of the Tapajós far downstream.[31] During the period of which Chandless wrote, only a small percentage of the Mundurucú of the savannah country were working in rubber. He commented that "the people here [the Mundurucú] trade in salsa [sarsaparilla] and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers."[32] During the next twenty years, they became more completely committed to the

[28] Tocantins, 1877, p. 154.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 149–154.
[30] Chandless, 1862, p. 275.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the establishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Tapajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to protect the Indians from the traders and is said by Tocantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for yourselves, your women, and your children." [33] The priest's technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were powerful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon complaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Bacabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of commerce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was extended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little, although the violence of the boom days has subsided and the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant, poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client system and they also came into closer proximity to the whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian population remained in the savannah villages and collected rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

[33] Tocantins, 1877, p. 149.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

Tocantins states that many
175 Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servi-
466 tude by the whites,[34] a practice common to all of Amazonia
648 at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons
[166] to work in different regions, and others remained all year
at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illus-
trative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Ta-
pajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mun-
[162] durucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in
1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the
São Manoel River, 49.[35] All these scattered Mundurucú
[177] were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average pop-
[592] ulation of ten in each house. This process was obviously a
continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the
Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tribu-
taries.

175 The population of the savannah villages decreased dur-
621 ing this period because of death from disease and loss of
622 people to the river banks. However, the villages them-
648 selves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are
439 mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of
losing function, actually became more important, and for
some time the villages became politically more tightly in-
tegrated. The chief now had the additional position as
intermediary with the white man and as such was the
source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak
of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought every-
thing for the people." After the patrons became firmly es-
tablished and gained influence among the Indians, they
began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without
regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as
will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became
900 a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[35] Coudreau, 1897, p. 166.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Second, warfare, for both mercenary pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because of the acquisition of firearms.[36] The continuance of warfare helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type villages no longer existed on the waters of the Creporý River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[36] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

131 175 pajós,[37] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited the headwaters of that river in 1860.[38] Thus, by 1895 at the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining [177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization. They had acquired steel tools and clothes from the whites, and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 182 648 177 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads. It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men, who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically at the past.

175 439 648 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom collapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased in importance and yielded decidedly less return. The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

[37] Coudreau, 1897, p. 30.
[38] Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

on manufactured goods and continued to tap rubber, although on a reduced scale. 175 439 648

In 1911, a German priest, Fr. Hugo Mense of the newly established Franciscan diocese of Santarém, ascended the Tapajós and chose a site on the Cururú River where he established a mission. The location decided upon was about two miles north of the Cururú on the boundary between the savannahs and the gallery forest that borders the stream. In 1912, the mission personnel numbered two priests and three nuns. The priests attempted to catechize the Indians while the nuns were in charge of the mission school, which, according to William C. Farabee, had twenty-six Indian and Brazilian children in 1916.[39] At that time, the Cururú region was populated only during the dry season, when the Indians moved from the savannahs to the Cururú to collect rubber. During this period, they were visited regularly by merchants who plied the river. Many people of the savannah villages, within a range of from three hours to two days by foot from the Cururú, did not, however, tap rubber. 175 797

In 1918, a new priest arrived at the mission who urged the relocation of the mission because of the distance from the river bank and the shortage of agricultural land in its immediate vicinity. Plans were made for a larger, permanent, self-sustaining establishment and to that end, the mission moved to its present site on the banks of the Cururú, began to raise its own crops, and instituted a policy of trading with the Indians. That policy gave the mission an income and simultaneously removed the Indian from his dependence on the traders. The priests had recognized the great influence held by the patrons over their Indian clients and saw that it would be to the advantage of the mission if it assumed this role. But in the beginning [439]

[39] Farabee, 1917, p. 138.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 797 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose somewhat as a result of export restrictions imposed on the planters of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a greater return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to grow up on the river banks. This population shift proceeded so rapidly that by 1950 there were only about 360 Mundurucú left on the savannahs, whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

175 439 797 [361] [166] [162]

Of less importance in attracting a permanent population to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadiriri rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

175 439 657

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro,* the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

durucú subsistence. Trade is for Western manufactured 22
goods only; all food is obtained from the immediate en- [439]
vironment.

The village is the basic unit of social interaction and co- 619
operation among the Mundurucú. Strong ties exist be- 621
tween the residents of each community, and all feel them-
selves to be members of the tribe as a whole; there are no linguistic or cultural differences between any of the savannah villages, and feelings of localism are but weakly developed. But despite the fundamentally pan-tribal identification made by the people, the local community is the essential framework in which their daily existence is passed, and it is the largest social unit with a continuing political organization. Each village is autonomous within terms of the subsistence economy, and its membership constitutes the significant group engaged in production and distribution.

HUNTING

Of the four principal subsistence-seeking activities, hunt- 224
ing and horticulture contribute more to the food supply than fishing and gathering, except during the dry season when residence shifts to the river banks. To the Mundurucú man of the savannahs, the proper daily activity is the hunt. The men are tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prize game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. Many, but by no means most, men now have firearms, usually muzzle-loading shotguns. The principal animals hunted are tapir (*Tapirus americanus*), wild pig (*Tayassu albirostris*), catitú (*Tayassu tajassu*), several species of deer, *paca* (*Cuniculus paca Acs.*), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. Although the men enjoy

ECONOMIC LIFE

422 shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel axes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal [431] property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutil- [426] itarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

[439] Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mundurucú personal property. [556] But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned 423 by individual Mundurucú are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Mundurucú derive no [466] profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

174 tain, but it probably took place during the mid-nineteenth
591 century. Matrilocality was the only mode of residence that
614 even the oldest Mundurucú could remember, and they had no traditional memory of previous patrilocality. Also, Tocantins reported that, in 1875, quarrels between men were resolved by the departure of one of the parties from the village,[13] suggesting the absence of a local lineage and the high male mobility characteristic of Mundurucú matrilocality.

174 The reasons for the shift in post-marital residence rule
439 are far less certain, and no final conclusions can be ar-
178 rived at on the basis of available data. Certain known
591 changes in productive relations, however, yield inference
614 to the possible processes at work. It will be remembered that before their deep involvement in rubber production, the Mundurucú traded extensively in farinha, or manioc flour. This must have caused a substantial increase in the amount of land under cultivation and a great expansion of production of bitter manioc.[14] The roles of the male and female did not undergo any important shift. Men cleared the forest land for gardens, as they do today, and the women cared for the crops, harvested them, and manufactured the farinha. Women thus became of greater economic importance, because of the increase in gross amount

[13] Tocantins, 1877, p. 111.

[14] The extent of this early trade in manioc flour may be inferred from Martius's account (1867, p. 395 n.): "This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the settlements on the Tapajôz prepare 6000 pecks [3.12 litres each] of manioc flour annually, those of the Mauhé 1500 and those of the Canomá 800, which for the most part is exported to Santarem and neighboring locales. They readily give abundantly therefrom to the priests as a gift. In the year 1819 the Mundrucûs of the Canomá collected and brought to market 900 *arrobas* [32 pounds each] of cinnamon clove and an equal amount of sarsaparilla. Through such a disposition to homely diligence, the speedy settlement of all the Mundrucûs among the whites is to be expected."

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of work performed and the added importance of the co- 174
operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This 178
process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks 591
and a degree of organization among the women of a house- 439
hold. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of 614
the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[18]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú 105
clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of 174
the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized 614
that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Val- 105
ley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the 174
whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured 562
articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female 614

[18] Eggan (1950, p. 131) states that the Hopi remained matrilocal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently coöp-
476 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of
244 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro-
252 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are
462 concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals
422 or extended families.
574 That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production
476

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 554 578 622 of the chieftaincy and the persistence and aggravation of certain disruptive features.

First, the Mundurucú chief no longer holds the all-important position of war leader. Second, he now trades on behalf of his village in theory only. In the nineteenth century the trading function of the chief tended to bolster his traditional powers and some became well-known figures in the Tapajós valley. As the rubber trade grew in importance, the control of the chiefs became increasingly important to those traders who monopolized the Indian commerce. Since this period corresponded with the declining days of warfare, some traders were able to install their own appointees as village chiefs where the rightful holder of the office was unsuitable to them. Besides, traders occasionally took Mundurucú to Belém, where they were introduced to government functionaries and awarded the title of *capitão*. These new luminaries were sent back to their villages and assigned the task of representing the trader. Thus, legitimate lines of succession were broken, and the new chiefs owed their positions to the trader. The villagers were well aware of this.

The general patrilocality of the chief's family, no matter by what means he was selected, continued; his extended family remained the largest such unit in the village and, more important, was the only significant group of close male, patrilineal relatives. The rest of the village men were of diverse affiliations and found organization within the context of men's-house activities. But they were faced with a powerful kin group in which political authority was vested. If points of difference arose, the men of the chief's group rallied to his support, but antagonisms were aroused among the other men. In former times, the important functions served by the chieftainship undoubtedly overrode the potential factionalism inherent in this situation, but, in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Biboi returned to Cabitutú.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to
638 the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a
796 far more isolated existence than they did in former times, and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

314 The economic and social adjustments made by the Mun-
439 durucú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be
648 described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration. The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly mentioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rubber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader in the hamlet of Sae Cinza, but occasionally make transactions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá maintains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of his sons and another man maintain a separate residence not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the Tropas, but some do business with the trader of São Martinho, on the Tapajós. The people of Cabruá live in three separate hamlets on the Tropas. At one, the most powerful shaman of the village lives with two younger men of his household, and another is occupied by another man of the same house and his son-in-law. These two men trade on behalf of their rubber-avenue co-residents, and the chief of Cabruá is not considered to be their representative in trade. The Cabitutú River has only one or two all-year residents, and these are Brazilian. A number of families of Brazilians and eight Mundurucú families maintain regular homes on the Tropas, however. The latter Mundurucú associate to a varying extent with the villagers during the rubber season and occasionally come to Cabruá to seek the services of a shaman or simply to visit, but they remain marginal to village life.

The Mundurucú of the savannah communities collect less rubber than those of the Cururú and far less than the the Brazilian tappers. The latter generally commence production as soon as the flood recedes in May or early June and collect until the rains and rising waters make their rubber avenues inaccessible in November or December. The efforts of the campineiros, however, are limited by their alternating residence between village and rubber-avenue dwelling. The residents of Cabruá have to clear land for gardens before they may depart, and this generally holds them until May. But only the more industrious Mundurucú leave at this time; many linger in the village until June or July, and in 1952 one man stayed until August. Rubber is collected until August, at which time the trees lose their leaves, and the yield drops off sharply for two to three weeks. Some Indians use this occasion to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in their garden sites and then return to the rubber avenue until

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who
466 gives valued objects and who must be given something in
648 return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rationalized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 The client-patron relationship applies also to that be-
609 tween the Mundurucú and all white men of similar prestige position. The trader is called *katiuat;* or also *compá*, a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre*, or co-father. The latter title was evidently learned from the white rubber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as godparent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mun-
123 durucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role. Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission, and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of smoked latex, in return for which they wished merchandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were willing to integrate us into the collective village economy and to designate us by kinship terms.

439 Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savan-
648 nahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed
484 intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader generally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals during the rubber-collection season and sporadically during the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Mundurucú clients are a source of continual aggravation to the traders, although they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the Indians. Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Mundurucú society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were divulged simply through the insistence of the questioner. Since few Mundurucú have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

439 484 574 648 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their excursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main business is with their own patron, they often make side trips to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

171 648 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent, and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 648 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 648 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives. 182 591 596

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to coöperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure. 182 602 614 [594] [596]

The most important force in the process of stripping the 182 439

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The
439 quest of the Mundurucú for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi-
[166] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens
[244] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

182 Individual nuclear families sometimes move immedi-
166 ately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of
361 course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the
621 desire for sociability and economic coöperation commonly motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Mundurucú who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together.
182 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gar-
476 dening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their
621 resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

167 and they too abandoned the annual return to the savan-
361 nahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured
178 more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the
182 people of Cabruá today, to choose avenues near their close
361 kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with
621 their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails; other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farinha-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry summer. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and
501 were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water
● 439 transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard. 439 501

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river. 177 342 361

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old coöperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group. 182 476 571 178

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 786

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

439 648 The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more 177
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- [422]
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [323]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear
and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress.
The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men
of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these
articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and
a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the
overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [658]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected,
the people are not deeply affected by the missionary
teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and re-
spected without any commitment or great interest on the
part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who
have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 797 the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in en-
177 couraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and
461 in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than
[562] the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and there-
[556] fore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and
[581] especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the
● 434 mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the
797 Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives up-
648 stream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater
[177] Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the In-
[437] dians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up 439
and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are 797
more frequent in September, October, and November 648
when rubber is still being collected and the river has be- [484]
gun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets [527]
provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands, [594]
and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

lages and easy transportation is lacking. But on the Cu- 439
rurú, even the man who has a separate dry-season resi- 461
dence has direct access to his village by canoe.

THE CURURÚ VILLAGE

The Mundurucú population of the Cururú River has for 162
several years maintained an average figure of 700. This in- 361
cludes 200 Indians with permanent residences at the mis-
sion and 70 to 80 who live at the Indian post. Part of these
latter two groups spread out every summer to collect rub- [221]
ber while the others work for the two agencies as garden-
ers, general workmen, fishermen, and crew members on
the launches. The post and mission Mundurucú settle-
ments are in no way autonomous villages, and all general
economic and political direction is provided by the Indian
agent and the priests.

The rest of the population is principally distributed in eleven settlements ranging in size from hamlets of two or three houses with populations of 20 to 25 people to the largest settlement, Missão Velha,[1] with eleven houses and 90 inhabitants. In addition there are many scattered dwellings along the banks which are the all-year residences of one or two nuclear families. In 1942 there were only about seven villages on the Cururú and practically no isolated dwellings, although the population then was substantially the same. The increase in number of villages and of families living in isolation is the result of a fission process in which segments of villages split away to form new communities. The Cururú River settlements are in this sense more unstable than the contemporary savannah communities. Thus, the average population of the five traditional savannah villages, excluding Parawaröktiká, which has no

[1] Old Mission. So named because it is near the site of the first mission, abandoned in 1921.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion in their short histories. The main reasons for their creation were the perpetuation of kinship ties and the desire for companionship and coöperation; all these bases of solidarity are now deteriorating. Finally, the Mundurucú social system is incompatible with heavy preoccupation with the rubber industry. The nature of this trade and the ecological conditions of rubber exploitation tend to produce an atomized and scattered society. The economic and, to a lesser extent, social integration of such a trade-oriented economy is provided by the market. The Mundurucú of the Cururú River are being drawn increasingly within the orbit of the Amazonian credit system. The traditional bases of integration are now gone, and social change can have no other direction.

182
621
177
182
439

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CHANGING SOCIAL SYSTEM

177
182
648
439

The problems of leadership and sorcery are not the only causes of contemporary breaking up of traditional Mundurucú society. Forces external to the society merit consideration. It was stated that the rubber industry caused no immediate ecological disruption, but this is true only as long as the Indian remains a marginal producer. His absorption into Amazonian economy and his obligations to the patron eventually increase to such an extent that the Indian cannot participate effectively in the native social system. His role as a member of a village and of an extended family becomes incompatible with the obligations of clientship because the latter demands a period of rubber production that overlaps the village horticultural cycle. When access to and dependence on trade goods grow, dependence on the individualized labor and personal holdings of the rubber avenue grow also. This, too, is incongruent with the coöperative labor and collective economy of the native social system. As the participation in the two social systems becomes increasingly incompatible, the fears and factionalism of village life cause the Mundurucú to move more completely into the patron-client relationship. The dilemma of role conflict and group tensions is resolved by withdrawal from village life and by the restructuring of their interpersonal relations in the looser framework of Amazonian society.

The Mundurucú are forced into their new mode of existence by several factors. Some of these are elements of the native heritage, such as the conflicting modes of residence and descent, chieftaincy, and sorcery. Others, as for example, trade relations and rubber production, originate from the outside. Social systems are not self-contained structures that respond only to their own needs; they are related to other social systems through networks of structured relationships. For this reason Mundurucú society can

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

be understood only with reference to the well-defined social roles of the enemy and the trader, to name the two most important. The relations of the Mundurucú with their enemies were sudden and violent. Communication and, therefore, diffusion of the forms of culture were minimal due to the mode of interaction, but this by no means vitiates the importance of the hostile outer social world for an understanding of inner social processes.

The trader, on the other hand, is met under peaceful and mutually desired circumstances, and relations with him have different effects. In contrast to the enemy, he communicates knowledge of a different culture to the Mundurucú; his role in this regard was formerly mediated through the chiefs with whom he dealt but is now more potent, for he has face-to-face relations with a much broader segment of the population. This, however, has not been the most important concomitant of the trader role. It is rather to the trader as the purchaser of commodities and the purveyor of goods that attention must be turned, for it is through these activities that Mundurucú society has been most deeply changed and the populace become dependent upon outer sources for felt necessities. Economic autonomy, once lost, is rarely regained. As Mundurucú wants grow, their bond to the trader tightens at the expense of similar ties to kinsmen and co-residents. When the economic life of the individual Indian is confined to the traditional relation of patronage-clientship, he is effectively a caboclo. The trader, like the enemy, is regarded by the Mundurucú as given in the nature of things and beyond the control of the members of the society. Thus, while individual traders are often mistrusted and despised, the institutionalized obligations to the patron and the role itself are never questioned. But, in the final analysis, the patron is the surrogate of the Western economy, and his

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study, for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock * is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

* *Ibid.*, pp. 201-202.

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the coinage of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Bibel's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. He thus violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows. 554 577 177

Bibel not only disconstrued the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Bibel's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Bibel had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role constituents. Hostilities and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully repressed—a requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in disguising aggression and in presenting the bland face of neutrality, but Bibel's own socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any cuckold, he had some cause to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian cuckold but not for a Mundurucú victim. 563 578

IV

Bibel's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabitutu. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftainty must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader wants increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely counter the patrilineal rule of inheritance of 622 157 554 439 622

439 the chieftaincy, it is common practice to select one or two possible heirs and
622 rear them in his household; this is what happened to Dibui. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favor of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, as he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his wishes, even at the expense of the Mundurucu villagers.)

The contemporary Mundurucu chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both ends have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by maximal adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and minimal acquiescence to the demands of the traders. Dibui's father, Caetano, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Caetano would communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubber; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He also sincerely sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

622 Caetano embodied many characteristics of the traditional chief. An older man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and cajoled, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Caetano knew Mundurucu traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

622 Dibui's position was very different from that of his father, for he was
117 the prototype of the Indian boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he would recognize only Dibui in dealings with Cabituba. The residents grudgingly assented, but they regarded him as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was,
[554] in reality, a renowned shaman who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office.

622 Dibui's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under
554 thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To complicate matters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Cabituba. Matrilocality, I have
[541] said, is the normal mode of residence among the Mundurucu, but the sons of chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of conscious motivation, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters to them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilocality of the chief's family is twofold. By keeping his sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the discontinuity that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilineally related kin, a small and solidary patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Much as this may reinforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise unilateral authority, for the rest of the

/2 cont./

*241 resettled on the Maué-assu River /Maués-Guassú ?/ and in the former mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he [195] says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantita- [649] tive development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens [161] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de- [248] pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton [251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and [434] large palm leaves ..., they have been selling to the boatmen of the Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen

/3 cont./

*241 etwas Baumwolle und viel Mandioca-Wurzel, deren Mehl, in Koerbe und breite Blaetter von Palmen ... verpackt, sie an die Schiffer im Tapajós zu verhandeln pflegen, seitdem sie in friedlichen Verkehr getreten sind...."

114 174 (I should like to insert here the following question: Did Martius have knowledge of traditions regarding a preagricultural era of the Mundurukú? It would seem so, for he writes in the above-quoted passage: "... the somewhat dense population can no longer depend exclusively on hunting and fishing"; this might indicate knowledge of a previous stage of the Mundurukú as hunters and gatherers but not as agriculturalists.)

*241 Still more or less in the same period, we have the testimony of Bates who speaks of the Mundurukú as agriculturalists and good workmen in various parts of his book, though he does so rather offhandedly; he notes the fertility of the land and the relatively small effort required of the Indian to bring forth the necessities /4/ of life; he tells of the large gardens of the Mundurukú which he saw on the Cuparí River and of how the women make flour; he says that the [439] Mundurukú carry out a certain amount of flour trading with the traders [244] of the Tapajós, and finally he states that aside from bitter-manioc [249] roots they raise sweet manioc, sweet potatoes, and sugar cane. (5)

5. Bates, 1944, passim.

114 There are practically no twentieth-century sources on the Mundurukú. The Franciscan mission has not yet published its materials on these Indians, and the work of Robert Murphy, who also studied this tribe in 1952-53, aside from a few articles, has not reached us. Thus, our knowledge is based almost exclusively on the meager data of the above-mentioned authors. Only Gonçalves

/16 cont./

*241 177 [171] of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Mundurukú.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the [36] Mundurukú, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Through this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Mundurukú and were, for the most part, adopted [177] by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquistions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grass-262 177 lands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour exemplifies this process. In the old days, the Mundurukú were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not [253] know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which sometimes they even roasted on stone (slabs)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Mundurukú of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Mundurukú of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial pur- [139] poses. Martius, Bates, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Mundurukú of the Tapajós carried on with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems 24 177 obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the more usage of a plant

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

459 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[741] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

186 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[721] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[754] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

191 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

to the disorganization of Cururú River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Cururú River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber avenues or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucu. Over one-third of the Cururú River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

Mu 178 621 Mu [578]

IV. Comparative Summary

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing ties of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon became necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

Mu Mo 177 171 439 452 Mu Mo 171 177 439 [434] Mu Mo [433]

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

Mo Mu 171 177 439 622

[text continues on p. 349]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 that carry only ten tons of cargo. This limitation prohibits the diversified economy of the lower Tapajós from developing further upstream, for the only worthwhile product in terms of transportation costs is natural rubber, which sold in 1952 for the artificially supported price of Cr. $25 (approximately U.S. $0.75 at the open-market rate of exchange then prevailing) per kilogram at the government-operated Rubber Bank of Brazil in Belém.

The economic hierarchy of the Tapajós River consists
439 of the company, with headquarters in Belém; the patrons,
452 who are by necessity customers of the company; and the rubber collectors, who are the clients of particular patrons. Transactions between all parties are made on credit. The company advances commodities to the traders and the latter to the rubber collectors against expected deliveries of rubber. Very little cash passes hands.

The river valley can be conceived of as a socioeconomic
439 unit for it is bound together by economic ties from the
621 company through the patron down to the rubber collector;
648 and to the man born on the river, it is the only world he knows. Most ties of kinship, marriage, and friendship are confined to the river banks from the rapids to the limits of Brazilian penetration on the São Manoel and Juruena rivers. Most of the approximately 2,000 inhabitants of this huge region are either personally acquainted or have knowledge of each other.

Within the broad social framework imposed by the river
621 system, the local community consists of the patron and his
648 dispersed rubber-collecting clients. The patron serves as the focal point of community life: he is usually the *padrinho*, or godfather, of the customer's children; it is at his house that devotions to the saints are usually held; it is there that secular festivals such as dances occur; and his store serves as the gathering place on Sundays or alternate

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Biboi returned to Cabitutú.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

461 Whenever I had the opportunity to enter one of those
252 houses, I always found the women working; some wove hammocks, some made flour, others smoked meat, some cooked, some prepared banana mush, etc.

262 They never failed to offer me something to eat: now
574 cooked sweet potatoes, now banana mush. [104]

[386] A cheerful and merry Indian woman, her face all painted up with urucu dye in addition to the usual designs offered me a tremendous caterpillar which she held on her finger. It was a repulsive thing which contracted and stretched convulsively; and the woman insisted upon transferring it to my own hand, telling me that it was something to eat: "Cobi-cobi."

XIV

Symbolic characters drawn on the cliff of Cantagalo, on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and on the hills of Areu-crê between Acupari and Necodemos.

172 On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the place known
532 as Cantagalo, fifteen figures are to be seen, drawn on the face of a cliff which is about one hundred meters high and which was carved perpendicularly by the stream.

These figures have been there for ages untold. the oldest frontiersmen who explored the Upper Tapajoz, and the oldest Mundurucu, found them just as they are but do not understand their meaning.

They are dark red, like ocher, and stand about eight meters above the highest level of the water at the time of its maximum winter swelling.

At the present time it would be impossible for a man to draw them at this height, even with the help of scaffolding, for the current is fierce where the river curves in at the base of the cliff, expecially at the time of year when the water level reaches its maximum height.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

level also, and there is no land-holding unit in Mundurucú 423
society. The man who chooses a garden site and initiates and directs the labor upon it, however, is entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby becomes the "owner" of the yield of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this is a very loose concept, for it will be seen that food is freely shared among relatives and fellow villagers. [476] A person who, for some reason, does not have a garden is [431] invariably given food or allowed to harvest from the gar- [736] den of another.

The Mundurucú coöperate extensively in their horticul- 241
tural work. Although almost all married men have their 476
own gardens, the heavy work of clearing the forest is done by an all-village male work group. Each man who plans a garden invites all the other men of the village to help him. He supplies the food, usually beverages made of palm fruit and sweet manioc, consumed while actually doing the work. The work is done under the general supervision of the man whose garden is being cleared. His directing activities, however, consist of little more than deciding on
the location and extent of the garden. These collective 241
garden-clearing ventures are of doubtful efficiency. The 461
participants generally dawdle on the way to their work, 476
bathing, gathering fruits, and chatting. The actual labor is frequently interrupted by joking, conversation, eating, and little jaunts into the wood in search of parrots and pigeons. I have seen gardens being cleared by Brazilians and single families of Mundurucú in which far fewer man-hours produced equal results. Ethnographic literature presents many similar instances of collective labor for purposes of enjoyment and companionship. These same motivations obtain among the Mundurucú; but coöperation is also valued and demanded as a positive expression of social solidarity and has its roots in the social structure.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated 422
by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. 476
Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and 574
the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú prin- [183]
ciple that coöperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible.

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a 461
strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete 571
among the women, however. The household unit of fe- 578
592

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

221 planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in
314 the village. The average collecting season of the savannah
[241] Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed
342 frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm
[343] leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often
[592] house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

361 There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the
592 membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days
314 a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely
● 461 works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may
512 have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home. He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit his rubber avenue, the Mundurucú hunts or fishes. He is joined by the other men of the house if there are any; otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting techniques cannot be employed. This and the general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely do so because they do not have enough workers to clear forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting them. The resident families have a local supply of farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the village and transported to the rubber avenue; a difficult chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Cabruá. These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 especially the old, cling tenaciously to residence there. In
185 times long past, the alternatives to village life were priva-
621 tion and death at the hands of enemy war parties; the village was the basic unit in economy and defense and was fundamental to the workings of the social organization.

182 The pacification of the Tapajós River region, and the
621 rubber trade, have presented the opportunity for an alternate mode of residence along the banks of larger streams.
[361] That it offers certain attractions is manifest from the fact that almost three-quarters of the surviving Mundurucú of the area have elected it. But the 360 people who still reside in the savannahs pursue a way of life which is distinctively Mundurucú. It is a changed culture, a changed social structure, but it is genetically rooted in the Mundurucú past. Life in these savannah villages obviously exerts a considerable hold over its members, for the communities have been persisting despite more than a century and a half of contact with Brazilian society and a constant population drain through emigration and epidemic disease. Some of the principal bases of this cohesion lie in the social means by which Mundurucú technology is implemented, for these provide fundamental ties of personal and familial interdependence.

182 The keynote of this organization lies in coöperation in
476 production, and collectivism in consumption. Men depend
621 on coöperation in hunting to bring game to bay within short range of their bows and to concentrate their fire power. Women share the arduous chore of farinha making
[461] and increase their efficiency by a division of tasks. The efficiency gained is perhaps sacrificed to conviviality, but a dull and arduous job is nonetheless made more pleasant. The implements used in manioc processing are expensive and beyond the means of individuals, but the village buys

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 797 the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in en-
177 couraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and
461 in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than
[562] the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and there-
[556] fore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and
[581] especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the
439 mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the
797 Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives up-
648 stream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater
[177] Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the In-
[437] dians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

lages and easy transportation is lacking. But on the Cu- 439
rurú, even the man who has a separate dry-season resi- 461
dence has direct access to his village by canoe.

THE CURURÚ VILLAGE

The Mundurucú population of the Cururú River has for 162
several years maintained an average figure of 700. This in- 361
cludes 200 Indians with permanent residences at the mis-
sion and 70 to 80 who live at the Indian post. Part of these
latter two groups spread out every summer to collect rub- [221]
ber while the others work for the two agencies as gardeners, general workmen, fishermen, and crew members on the launches. The post and mission Mundurucú settlements are in no way autonomous villages, and all general economic and political direction is provided by the Indian agent and the priests.

The rest of the population is principally distributed in eleven settlements ranging in size from hamlets of two or three houses with populations of 20 to 25 people to the largest settlement, Missão Velha,[1] with eleven houses and 90 inhabitants. In addition there are many scattered dwellings along the banks which are the all-year residences of one or two nuclear families. In 1942 there were only about seven villages on the Cururú and practically no isolated dwellings, although the population then was substantially the same. The increase in number of villages and of families living in isolation is the result of a fission process in which segments of villages split away to form new communities. The Cururú River settlements are in this sense more unstable than the contemporary savannah communities. Thus, the average population of the five traditional savannah villages, excluding Parawaröktiká, which has no

[1] Old Mission. So named because it is near the site of the first mission, abandoned in 1921.

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The elicá is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.

513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors sling their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the elicá above his hammock -- bows, arrows, waraclub, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

342 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
249 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the elicá, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the elicá stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemos these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the elicá], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
[513] never set foot in the elicá. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

[Martius (Source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

726 though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent
● 462 of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were
727 taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but became of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also
[301] be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and
[734] her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

266 Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

846 **Birth and naming.**—According to Martius, the father keeps to his
563 hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children
852 reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

881 **Puberty and marriage.**—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

584 A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

24/476 garden invited all the other men of the village to help him. He supplied the food, usually palm fruit and sweet manioc beverages, consumed while actually doing the work. The work was done under the general supervision of the man whose garden was being cleared. However, his directing activities consisted of little more than deciding the location and extent of the garden. The burning and final clearing of the garden were done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. He and his wife planted all of the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc was done for each garden by all of the people in the village as this was a more extensive operation and was well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dug the holes for the planting of the manioc stalks while the women gathered and cut the stalks and dropped the sections into the holes.

24/476 Other crops were harvested as they ripened, but manioc, which can be left in the ground for a year, was harvested as needed. Almost all vegetables were gathered in from the gardens by the wife of the owner of the garden assisted by one or two women of her household, but the manioc was brought in by all the women of the household. The tubers were dug up from any one of the gardens belonging to the members of the household, processed by all the women of the house jointly and shared by all the members of the extended 252 family dwelling within it. Each house had one large flat stone that was used as a griddle to bake the flat cakes of manioc flour, or beiju, as it is called in the lingua geral.

the men's house. The women of each dwelling cooked equal amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse. It was not considered polite to demand something from another. Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

Division of labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

in any way. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú was especially deep. The men hunted, fished, and did only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also made baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women did all of the other gardening work, processed manioc, cooked, tended children, wove hammocks, made pottery, and fetched water and firewood. The burden of the more onerous work fell on the women. The men had far more leisure time.

Within the sexes, and on occasion cross-sexually, cooperation was the keynote of the Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which were almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts involved people working as a group. This is not to discount the non-cooperative pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trailing, bow and arrow fishing, and the planting of minor crops, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture was done by numbers of men working in coordination.

Housebuilding was also a collective task in which men did the heavy work of construction while women and children aided in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since housebuilding was almost always done only when the villages moved, every household helped the others in the task of construction. All the houses of the new village rose uniformly instead of being completed one at a time.

Among the women the same held true. The women made beiju together, harvested crops together and even went

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive
439 sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú
175 had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifica-
648 tions had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained
[178] intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigor-
ously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard
core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other
[177] Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it
was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by
them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains
to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published
sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn
now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during
this period.

22 The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savan-
361 nahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essen-
tially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was impor-
tant throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity.
291 Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits,
439 and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in
Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their
most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

621 The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic
[162] aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried
out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the
[591] horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and
the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen;
each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each
Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house;
the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate,
worked, and relaxed within its confines.

611 The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent.
591 The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by
loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between
patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the
resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages
continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

578 Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village,
976 and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and
778 cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the
minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggres-
sion between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the or-
ganizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 180 years of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1956].

The Mundurucú were inhabitants the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajos River in the state of Para, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured smaller hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consists of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there was no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden work and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clan and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the extreme perimeter of the circle of houses comprising the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 543

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The women and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the ex's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [584] [942]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by wave and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224 225]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [431]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [623]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other products: 439

"They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

222 articles collected are several species of palm fruit, the Brazil nut, the fruit of the *cajú* tree (*Anacardium corymbosum*), wild cocoa, mangabe, and several varieties of berries.

222 462 Wild foods found only at long distances from the village are always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they have been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees are near the village, one man or an older boy usually goes out with a party of women, the male to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it [481] home. Climbing is done with the climbing ring, a loop of vine passed around the feet, which gives sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps—similar to the principle employed by our lumbermen using a belt. For fruits far out on limbs, hooked sticks are used to drag the limbs down, or the climber chops the limb off. [262] Fruits are not a staple food, but they are valuable adjuncts to the diet and greatly appreciated delicacies.

HORTICULTURE

241 Mundurucú gardening is done by the slash-and-burn method used throughout the tropical areas of the New World. The garden is cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation is allowed to dry during the dry season, and the plot is burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks are dragged off to one side and the ground is then ready for planting after the first rains, which usually occur in the beginning of September in this region.

241 262 Among the crops of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú are several varieties of bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which form the dietary staple, sweet manioc (*Manihot aypi*), yam (*Dioscorea sp.*), sweet po-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done
47% by the owner, usually aided by other members of his
462 household. His wife and the other women of the house plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid
252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beijú*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of farinha (flour).

Beijú manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from
[412] the gardens in burden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal farinha "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the manioc with steel knives, using quick chopping motions, and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The
[412] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *paxiuba* palm, halved and placed side by side to form
[111] a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against the sides of five-gallon gasoline cans which have been cut out and punctated with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipití*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger squeezer. The tipití is suspended at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

.252 in cool streams. The tubers are then split open and the pulp is scooped out into baskets and brought back to the village. Much of the starch washes away during the soaking process, but the necessity of grating is eliminated. The pulpy mass is placed directly into the tipití, squeezed, and then sifted and toasted.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an over-all picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with all tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor is by sex. There are no specialized [463] occupations among the women, and the only ones among the men—shamanism and chieftaincy—are hereditary, done without reimbursement and without releasing the individual from production. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú is especially deep. The men hunt, fish, and do only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also make baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women do all the other gardening work, process manioc, cook, tend children, fetch water and firewood, weave hammocks, and make [177] pottery. The two latter arts, especially pottery making, are now being displaced by manufactured articles.

Among persons of the same sex, and only occasionally 462 between the sexes, coöperation is the keynote of the 476 Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which are almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts are made in groups. This does not discount the individual pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trail-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ing, and bow-and-arrow fishing, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture is done by numbers of men working in coördination. 462 476

House-building is also a collective task; men do the heavy work of construction while women and children aid in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since house-building is almost always done only when the entire village moves, every household helps the others in the task of construction. All houses of the new village rise uniformly instead of being completed one at a time, thus giving considerable efficiency in the collection and preparation of material.

Women, also, rarely work alone. Farinha is manufactured in a true division of tasks corresponding to the number of distinct steps in the process. Thus, one group of women is occupied in digging up the tubers and transporting them to the village; two or three more women grate the manioc; two others work the tipití; another sieves the wet flour; and, finally, two women are busy toasting the product on the copper griddle. Chores are occasionally exchanged. Whatever the relative advantages or disadvantages in efficiency that may be obtained through coöperation, the sheer drudgery of farinha production is mitigated, for these are sociable gatherings. The females of one household form the minimal work unit, and all women of the village commonly join in. Coöperative manioc processing by all village women originated after contact with the whites, and informants say that as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century the women of single households constituted the basic work groups. Depopulation has contributed to this change, for in former times the household-extended family included as many women as there are in some modern villages. Also, before the introduction of the large, copper pans, beijú and farinha were toasted on ce- 177 462 476 [415]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the
462 copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one
476 toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because
[415] they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally consid-
[422] ered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the
462 women always seek company when they go to the stream
476 to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone
[776] person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young
[834] woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the econ-
477 omy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued
[555] person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with
[526] the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Caboclo* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may 596
be seen in the fact that each household has but one fire- 592
place, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire ex- [354]
tended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women [312]
and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in 476
distribution and consumption applies also to the organiza- 462
tion of production. Although gardens are nominally con- 596
sidered to be the property of the man who chose the site [423]
and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Coöperation and collectivism extend to relationships be- 224
tween households also. When a hunter kills a large game 431
animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and 476
equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious
breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in 431

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently coöp-
476 erate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of
244 farinha, especially when large quantities are to be pro-
252 duced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are
462 concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals
422 or extended families.
574
476 That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. These events provide the grist for conversation for weeks. 521 578

Relations between the women of the savannah communities are subjected to an extra, situational strain because of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages, marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern. But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured by the support given by the matrilocal extended family. 162 578 [837] [166]

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber season, when village and extended family break up to exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy and from being even a co-resident group. And the thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers the nuclear family from any primary responsibility in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa- 597 [462]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the men's house, have very loose ties with their households. Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as compared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented about any household economy, and the boys take little part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social structural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result 462 of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, 314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and [592] their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

314 571 476 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation [594] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabituti; the only other mode [497] of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the 423 economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

As the migration continued and the villages grew in size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased use of firearms, bought through the new larger proceeds of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was, comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campineiros.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the savannahs were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of gardening work were

done by the men, women, and children, working in common. 178 182

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family. [592]

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reestablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change. [562] [177]

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun- 178 182 345

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [?97] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the missions.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipiti for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

/10 cont./

*241 372 them to work too quickly, or else they would merely burn the small branches and foliage and leave the trunks intact. The trees would be charred rather than burned.

To set the brush on fire, the Mundurukú use torches made of dry straw or of certain resinous woods. With them, they set fire to various parts of the clearing. If there are other gardens or even houses nearby, and danger that the fire may reach them, they often [816] burn first a narrow strip of brush lying below the wind, so that later on the great fire in the clearing will meet a firebreak and will not go on to the neighboring forest or house. As a rule, they also prefer to burn the clearings before they set fire to the grasslands, as is their [821] custom. According to them, the burning of huge expanses of grasslands would attract rainfalls that would interfere with the burning of the clearings.

6. The remaining brush. Taipa is "the brush"; "to pile up the brush"/ — taipa chign or taipa chichign; "to burn the brush" — taipa mapign or simply imapign, "to burn."

While the thin branches and trunks burn within hours or within a day, the larger trunks take longer, burning down slowly. Then comes the turn of the remaining brush. Foliage, branches, and pieces of timber which have not burned up completely are gathered together and piled up on top of the thicker, still smoldering trunks, the better to destroy them. Then fire is set once more to this pyre, in order to reduce the remaining timber to ashes and clear the ground for planting.

Like all garden tasks, the burning, the piling up of the brush, and the burning of the pyre require practice and ability. Otherwise the Indian will get a poorly burned field.

*241 [921] 7. Digging and planting. Next comes the time of planting, in the month of September or October, depending on the first rains. Men and women go to the new plot to plant together. Planting is a dual task consisting of two distinct acts: digging or opening up the ground, and planting, /11/ that is to say, slipping the bitter-manioc [462] shoots into the ground. The first task is the man's, the second the woman's.

/11 cont./

*241 The man digs or opens a hole in the ground (ikudn). He does
●442 this with a "digging stick," which consists of a strong rod, about 2
[312] meters long, pointed at the lower end. The man pushes this rod hard into the ground, at an angle of 30 to 45 degrees, and then straightens it to a vertical position. This opens a small pit into which the woman who accompanies him puts two or at most three shoots of bitter manioc (8) (mawk taiuabm or mawk ip mawm). Removing the tip

[131] [244]

8. Maniva /bitter manioc/ is the name of the plant and the generic name of this vegetable (Manihot utilissima), while the roots, in the form of large tubercles, are called "mandioca." The bitter-manioc stalks, after the harvest, are saved for the next planting, when they are cut into pieces of 20 centimeters at most. These pieces, or "manioc shoots," are planted in the manner indicated above, for manioc does not propagate itself through seeds.

of the stick from the pit, she steps on /the pit/ to close it up and to pack the soil, but in such a way that the upper ends of the manioc shoots stick out in order to grow branches and leaves. Under the in-
[177] fluence of civilization, nowadays the Mundurukú are already using spades and even iron digging tools. The distance between the manioc pits is approximately 1 meter on the average.

*241 There is no doubt that the Mundurukú carry out their horticultural work within a certain system, not only as regards the steps involved in clearing the plot but also in the planting itself. There is a sequence to the planting steps. In the time that elapses between the final burning and the planting, as a rule they sow watermelon, which thrives amazingly in the recently burned ground. Only then

/18 cont./

*241
171

the peasant population of "Itá." Let us note here /19/ merely some key terms: choice of the site and use of fallow plots (:101), clearing and felling (:103), burning and planting (:104), chief cultivated plants (:102), secondary cultures (:104), replanting (:104). This comparison, in fact, corroborates the statement by the same author that in the lower Amazon "the basic agricultural methods have changed little since aboriginal times" (:101). The Tenetehara, a Tupi tribe of Maranhão (Wagley and Galvão), 1949), also use agricultural methods and processes which are in many respects actually identical to those observed among the Mundurukú.

III. Social factors

*241 Since agriculture is one of the bases of Mundurukú subsistence, it is not surprising that it should also be reflected in the social life of the tribe. Certain social factors /19/ are determined or influenced by the garden-agriculture complex. I shall allude chiefly to the threefold relationship of:

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor;
2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance;
3. Garden and tribal group: intraterritorial migrations.

1. Garden and individual: the division of labor between the sexes:

422
*462 Among the Indians, there is ordinarily a rule or agreement whereby each person is the owner of what he acquires, makes, or produces.

/19 cont./

422 Thus, certain rights of exclusivity are established beforehand for
462 the individual. This is expressed in the principle of the sexual division of labor. For example, the raw materials and the products
[205] of basket making are exclusively the property of the man; clay and
[123] pottery articles, of the woman. Traditionally, basket weaving is done only by men, pottery making only by women. In all sectors of tribal life, the tasks devolving to each sex are determined by these traditional principles. Thence derives the concept of private property.

462 Throughout the material culture of the Mundurukú, as well,
[169] the two work cycles—of men and of women—are clearly evident. This "muscle-bound" division only concerns us here as regards agriculture. The subject, however, is almost a borderline case, where these two work cycles meet. In agriculture there are tasks
241 performed exclusively by men, especially in the initial phase of
462 the preparation of the plot; and there are tasks performed exclusively by women, especially from the time /20/ of planting onward; but there are also joint tasks, in which both sexes participate, such as in the planting of bitter manioc. There the man opens up the pit with the digging stick and the woman places the branch or shoot of manioc in the open hole and closes it by stepping on it.

The tasks at each garden stage are thus determined by the system of "muscle-bound" cycles. An outline provides the following pictures:

TASKS

of the man	of the woman
1. Choosing the site and the soil	--
2. Determining the size and shape	--
3. Clearing the undergrowth	--
4. Felling the trees	--
5. Burning the felled vegetation	--
6. Piling up the remaining brush	--

/20 cont./

*241
462

of the man	of the woman
7. Burning the remaining brush	- -
8. Planting: opening the pit	Planting: burying the manioc shoots
9. - -	Weeding the garden
10. - -	Doing the second weeding of the garden
11. - -	Harvesting: pulling up the manioc roots, tearing up the plot.

This basic outline applies to normal cases. If there is pressing need or urgency, the man may help, at times, in weeding, cleaning, and even harvesting tasks. But in themselves, these are tasks peculiar to the woman, and they devolve by right to the woman in accordance with the working cycle.

This division of labor presents yet another facet. It does not exist merely as regards the preparation and usage of the garden, but also as regards the very species of cultivated plants. There, too, there is a certain exclusivity, to wit: the man alone plants and cultivates watermelon, pumpkins, peanuts, papaya, and beans.

In the case of most cultivated plants or seeds, however, there is a joint task involved in the manner already mentioned: the /21/ man opens up the pit and the woman puts in the shoots or seeds of bitter manioc, yam, sugar cane, maize, rice, pineapple, banana tree, etc., etc.

*241
192
462

The terminology applying to the concept "garden" is also dependent upon this division of labor into two cycles according to sex. There are two words for "garden": the man says kat, the woman ko. These two terms are not, properly speaking, a dual designation of the garden, but they refer to the garden while it is under the care of one of the sexes. These are relative terms. Thus, kat, the term used by the men, covers the preparation of the plot until planting time—the clearing job performed by the men. Ko, the women's word for "garden," covers the woman's labors in the plot from the

/21 cont./

*241 192 462 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko as "planting." Ithus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does ~~everything~~ /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

*241 621 It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Mundurukú who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those [178] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate [591] nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Mundurukú Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Mundurukú who are already more or less acculturated/and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc., rivers.

/22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or *241 476 621 less the primitive or traditional form of the Mundurukú agricultural system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance. Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he say: "Every adult /Mundurukú/ of the plains of the male sex has his on plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in a village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

/13 cont./

*241
423
[171]

harvested all his crops and abandoned the land to the secondary growth which begins to cover it. 'It may be used by anyone.' /Cited in English/ (Wagley and Galvão, 1949: 50).

exists, therefore, a temporary property right, while /the plot/ is being used: a right that might more aptly be termed of usage or usufruct.

This concept is complemented by the other facet of the matter, involving the labors /expanded on/ and the products of the plot. Included here is the aggregate of the men's and women's tasks (in accordance with the cycles of labor); and the family, which in itself forms a small community, asserts its rights.

*241
421
442
594

The concept of this right to seemingly communal property derives from the division of labor between men and women. By individual right, each is the master and owner of what he produces, makes, etc. The man prepares the field, the clearing (kar), and is the owner of it. Strictly speaking, therefore, the woman plants on alien property (i.e., the man's or husband's) and pays him for the usufruct of this right, later on, with the produce of her planting. In other words: as indemnification for his preparation of the plot, the man or husband may share in the produce of her planting. On the other hand, the woman is the owner of the planting, and the man or husband cannot, according to the rights of private property, enjoy the fruits of someone else's planting, even if it be his own wife's. He does, however, acquire a certain right to the planting, not of property but of usufruct, because his clearing labor made its existence possible. The woman thus has the obligation to allow her husband the usufruct of her planting, within the framework of the division of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with reciprocal rights (or, inversely, duties) which are normalized and counterbalanced by the right of "indemnification." Indeed, in terms of the division of labor, this right of indemnification is absolutely necessary. What would the man do with the plot since he cannot plant, this being the woman's

/23 cont./

*241 right? She, /in turn/, without the man's previous labor, could only
421 plant /24/ in small quantities, and furthermore, for lack of proper
•462 soil preparation, the cultivated plants would not grow properly. In
594 both cases, the results would be meager and the family's subsistence, in this sphere, would be endangered. Hence the need for this right of mutual indemnification.

*241 Every man, or every family, sets up his own garden and owns
476 it by exclusive right. The owner, however, requests the assistance
[428] of his relatives or of the men of the group in which he lives, to help him in his tasks (clearing, felling, etc.), while the woman, in turn, later (but not always) requests the help of women for the typically feminine tasks within the above-mentioned system of the division of labor. (13) The community assists the individual, or rather, the

*241
476
491

13. Although we are dealing here with the agriculture of the present-day Mundurukú, let us note two pieces of information, gathered separately and in widely separated places, namely, one by myself among the acculturated Mundurukú of the Cururú River, and the other by the missionary Brother Angelico in a village of the interior, in [illegible] According to these data, the agricultural system of the ancient Mundurukú was slightly different as regards mutual assistance and ownership of the gardens. They say that, originally, the entire group prepared a large plot for all members of the community and that individual rights to the garden were based, precisely, on mutual

[198]

/25 cont./

*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the manure garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard-
[594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the
[423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sys-
[231] tem of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal
[342] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result,
[423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties
[474] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*26, 177 182 ●442 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

*241 602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

252 in cool streams. The tubers are then split open and the pulp is scooped out into basket and brought back to the village. Much of the starch washes away during the soaking process, but the necessity of grating is eliminated. The pulpy mass is placed directly into the tipití, squeezed, and then sifted and toasted.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an over-all picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with all tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor is by sex. There are no specialized [463] occupations among the women, and the only ones among the men—shamanism and chieftaincy—are hereditary, done without reimbursement and without releasing the individual from production. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú is especially deep. The men hunt, fish, and do only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also make baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women do all the other gardening work, process manioc, cook, tend children, [477] [illegible] wood, weave hammocks, and make pottery. The two latter arts, especially pottery making, are now being displaced by manufactured [illegible].

Among persons of the same sex, and only occasionally 462 between the sexes, coöperation is the keynote of the 476 Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which are almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts are made in groups. This does not discount the individual pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trail-

Second, warfare, for both mercenary, pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because of the acquisition of firearms.[24] The continuance of warfare helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population returned to their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type villages no longer existed on the waters of the Crepory River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[24] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

III. SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

THE PROBLEMS of illness, accident, and death are customarily conceived in supernatural terms by primitive peoples, and the techniques for their resolution are accordingly the province of religious practitioners. The supernatural dangers threatening the Mundurucú currently preoccupy the society more than any other aspect of the supernatural realm, for they constitute the cause of all sickness and death; and epidemic disease has beset the Mundurucú since their first contact with Europeans. But the Mundurucú do not feel broken and powerless before the onslaughts of ailments to which they have little natural immunity. Mystical in nature though the evil may be, it is not mysterious, for it can be explained and controlled. The threat is no less concrete for existing on a level of reality beyond the sensory powers of ordinary mortals, but the protection of the society must, therefore, rest in the hands of persons who are able to see and act in this sphere. These individuals are viewed by the Mundurucú as the possessors of great and manifestly beneficial power, although they recognize the corollary principle that this power is potentially dangerous and corrupting. 753

THE SHAMAN

The Mundurucú shaman, or *pajé*, has the ability to deal with supernatural threats through possession of a mystical power latent within him from the time of his birth. His functions within the society are manifold. The shaman performs cures; he is essential to nearly all ceremonies; he propitiates the spirit mothers of the animal world, he rids the community of evil forces, and he can detect lost people and objects. But through essential to the well-being of society, the power of the shaman can be used for evil ends. His status is ambivalent; he maintains a balanced and favorable relation between the human and supernatural worlds, and he is capable of profoundly disturbing this balance. 756

Most Mundurucú villages have at least one shaman in residence, although some have none. The shaman has high prestige, although the respect accorded an individual practitioner is at times mixed with fear when it is suspected that he indulges in black magic. In spite of the high regard in which he is held, he receives no material benefits for his services. Among the more acculturated Mundurucú, a [illegible] to be of recent origin and obtains in only a minority of cases. The shaman does not devote full time to his specialty. All practitioners hunt, fish, and clear gardens with the other men and manufacture baskets, bows, and other objects. [356] [illegible]

The shaman frequently makes great personal sacrifices in the performance of his duties. Some travel great distances to treat those who are too ill to come to them, and they often make these trips to the detriment of other activities and tasks. The practice is considered dangerous, for the shaman must face the dual menace of contact with hostile spirits and the suspicion of his fellowmen. But most Mundurucú shamans are motivated by a true sense of public service. They feel that they possess a great power that can be used both for good and bad ends and be-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the establishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Tapajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to protect the Indians from the traders and is said by Tocantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for yourselves, your women, and your children." * The priest's technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were powerful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon complaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Bacabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of commerce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was extended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little, although the violence of the boom days has subsided and the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant, poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client system and they also came into closer proximity to the whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian population [illegible] in the [illegible] villages and collected rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

* Tocantins, 1877, p. 149.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[64] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Arinos rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[65] All these scattered Mundurucú were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[64] Ibid., p. 149.
[65] Coudreau, 1897, p. 188.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel axes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutilitarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mundurucú personal property. But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned by individual Mundurucú are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Mundurucú derive no profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, how-

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who
466 gives valued objects and who must be given something in
648 return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rationalized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 The client-patron relationship applies also to that be-
609 tween the Mundurucú and all white men of similar prestige position. The trader is called *katiwat;* or also *compá,* a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre,* or co-father. The latter title was evidently learned from the white rubber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as godparent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mun-
123 durucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role. Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission, and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of smoked latex, in return for which they wished merchandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were willing to integrate us into the collective village economy and to designate us by kinship terms.

Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savan-
439 nahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed
649 intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader gen-
484 erally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals during the rubber-collection season and sporadically during the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruú, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

"The jungle takes over by that time." Fortunately, there was adequate virgin forest or old second growth forest available to meet the needs of the population and they simply cleared new gardens. The usual system was for each man to have one garden in first planting and another in the second planting.

The rapid exhaustion of the soil and the plentifulness of new garden sites explains the absence of concepts of property in land among the Mundurucú. When the best forest lands within a convenient distance were exhausted, the village moved a short distance to the proximity of fresh soil. This occurred every five to ten years among the aboriginal Mundurucú, although the present depleted populations may remain in one site for from 40 to 80 years. The same causes that operated to make individual property in land meaningless apply on the family and village level also. In Munduruku society there was no land holding unit. However, a definite feeling existed that the man who chose a garden site and initiated and directed the labor upon it was entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby became the "owner" of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this was a very loose concept as food was freely shared among relatives and a person who, for some reason, did not have a garden was given food or allowed to take it from the garden of another.

Mundurucú horticulture involved a high degree of cooperation. The heavy work of clearing the forest was done by an all-village male work group. Each man who planned a

24/476 garden invited all the other men of the village to help him. He supplied the food, usually palm fruit and sweet manioc beverages, consumed while actually doing the work. The work was done under the general supervision of the man whose garden was being cleared. However, his directing activities consisted of little more than deciding the location and extent of the garden. The burning and final clearing of the garden were done by the owner, usually aided by other members of his household. He and his wife planted all of the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc was done for each garden by all of the people in the village as this was a more extensive operation and was well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dug the holes for the planting of the manioc stalks while the women gathered and cut the stalks and dropped the sections into the holes.

24/476 Other crops were harvested as they ripened, but manioc, which can be left in the ground for a year, was harvested as needed. Almost all vegetables were gathered in from the gardens by the wife of the owner of the garden assisted by one or two women of her household, but the manioc was brought in by all the women of the household. The tubers were dug up from any one of the gardens belonging to the members of the household, processed by all the women of the house jointly and shared by all the members of the extended family dwelling within it. Each house had one large flat stone that was used as a griddle to bake the flat cakes of manioc flour, or beiju, as it is called in the lingua geral.

252 Processin of manioc is a lengthy procedure and involves many stages. The women worked well together under the loose supervision of the oldest woman in the household-extended family. Cooperative labor allowed different women to be working i all stages of the process at the same time, thus expeditin greatly the work in this, the most important female duty. Inaddition to the greater efficiency obtained, an onerous tok was made pleasant, as the making of hulij was an occasin for chatter, joking, and gossip. The principal technique of slash and burn agriculture are still used by the modern Mundurucu, but the above division of labor has been altered.

Distribution of food and manufactures.

264 476 As has been indicated, the distribution of foodstuffs within thMundurucu village was very fluid. Hulij was produced ad shared jointly by the members of the extended family amoae further distributed to other houses according to kinshitites. There was only one cooking fire within each house, andfish and game were shared by all the members of the resident extended family. If there was an ample supply, the food w divided equally among the houses of the village regardless of kinshin. However, when the day's kill was very small: a bird, a few fish, or a small animal, the nuclear family of he hunter ate the food themselves. This was an exceptional.

Collectivity in food sharing is further highlighted by the fac that all the men of the village ate together in

the men's houses. The women of each dwelling cooked equal amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, bracelets, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person give a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse. It was not considered polite to demand something from another. Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

Division of Labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Mundurucu productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

in any way. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú was especially deep. The men hunted, fished, and did only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also made baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women did all of the other gardening work, processed manioc, cooked, tended children, wove hammocks, made pottery, and fetched water and firewood. The burden of the more onerous work fell on the women. The men had far more leisure time.

Within the sexes, and on occasion cross-sexually, cooperation was the keynote of the Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which were almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts involved people working as a group. This is not to discount the non-cooperative pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trailing, bow and arrow fishing, and the planting of minor crops, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture was done by numbers of men working in coordination.

Housebuilding was also a collective task in which men did the heavy work of construction while women and children aided in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since housebuilding was almost always done only when the villages moved, every household helped the others in the task of construction. All the houses of the new village rose uniformly instead of being completed one at a time.

Among the women the same held true. The women made beer together, harvested crops together and even went

[illegible] to the and fetch water and firewood as a group. The latter three activities hardly demanded cooperation, but are illustrative of the fundamental division of the society on the basis of sex and of the love for sociability of the Mundurucú. The Mundurucú liked to do things together and it was a grave breach of etiquette to refuse to help in any work.

It will be noted that the village was the basic unit within which cooperation was carried out, while the extended family was of almost equal importance. Seldom did economic activities involve two or more villages. A man and wife occasionally left the village together for a few hours to plant or harvest vegetables or to gather fruits, but these occasions were of minor importance in the economy.*

Accompanying this emphasis on cooperation in the economy was a corresponding complete lack of stress on competition. Competitive economic activity was absolutely nonexistent. A lazy person lacked prestige but in this instance it was because a lazy person was a drain on the society. Prestige was sought through accomplishments in warfare and knowledge of Mundurucú lore and not by economic means. Indeed, the Mundurucú did not openly seek to better anybody even in play with the exception of one strength test game, consisting of an attempt by each of two opponents to force back the forearm of the other, indulged in by the young people. In their speech the Mundurucú did not compare people

* It should be pointed out here that these conjugal excursions are generally viewed by the Mundurucú as guises to leave the village for the true purpose of daytime sexual intercourse. Their suspicions are well founded.

623 and house leaders and other older men of the village had the greatest influence in these matters for it would have been highly impertinent of the "children" (as anybody under the age of about 35 or 40 was called by the older men) to contest the wisdom of those who were collectively referred to as "the old men."

624 The house leader was simply the oldest man of the house and generally the husband of the oldest female, who occupied the respected position of older sister, mother, and maternal aunt to the other women of the house. He was a man who married into the village, or at least the house, from outside and his position was the result of circumstances rather than selection or heredity. In our discussion of the household organization and economy, it became clear that the house leader did little to direct the activity of the women. His sons-in-law treated him with the respect due an older man and a father-in-law, but, since most of their activity was carried out in the larger unit of the village, he exerted little authority over them.

576 571 The leadership of collective enterprises was generally invested in the person who initiated the activity and not in the chief. If a man wanted to organize a tiahé fishing trip, he notified the other men in the village of his desire and a date and place was set. The men then went out to the garden of the man who initiated the party and helped him to pull up the tiahé roots. Direction was nominally in his hands and if many people took part, he would carry com-

476 considerable weight in deciding where to distribute the parti-
571 cipants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the *ximbé*.

[236] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the capacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

[714] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Mundurucú
157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extrovert and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain
584 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

186 Authority was an unimportant concept in Mundurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old men would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their counsil. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were sufficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was no elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important functions of the village chief were to lead war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

175 Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The rubber trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

56.1 [64] At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

65 The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outsiders." "Outsiders," with the exception of the whites and the Apinaié Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outsiders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

67 While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the village, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

726 Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participation. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[i.e. The middle of the [illegible] country — Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made pos-
sible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to
recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were
reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season
and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged
as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next
rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in
war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from
several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away
only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people re-
mained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú
territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to
lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsist-
ence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal res-
idence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to
have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony
to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively
participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most
important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This
rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village
to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the
Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the
Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilocality and permanent matrilocality,
place of residence and legal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other.
This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed,
but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people
of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of
kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The
village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence.
The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts
just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in
Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

INHERITANCE INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan
membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were in-
herited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to cooperate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was inherentially

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the same as in his native community, and he also did not come under the direct supervision of his father-in-law. Any difficulties that might arise due to lack of familiarity with his new territory were mitigated by the fact that nearly all of his activities outside the village were carried out in the company of men who had been in residence for a longer period of time.

Whereas the men's house was the locus of male activity, the life of the female revolved around the dwelling. The result of matrilocal residence was that each dwelling housed an extended family of related females, a rather unusual arrangement in a strongly patrilineal society. This can hardly be called a matrilineage for lineal descent among the Mundurucú was reckoned in the father's line, whereas the members of the household were related through their mothers. In terms of lineal institutions, each generation of females was of the opposite moiety from the women of the generation preceding and following it. The husbands of the women also belonged to the moiety opposite to that of their wives. They could come from any clan within the moiety, with the result that the men of any one household represented a number of clans. Under this system, there was no residential basis even for lineages, and the clans were scattered throughout the Mundurucú villages. Local nuclei, such as are found in most patrilineal clan systems, could consist of no more than a man, his daughters and his unmarried sons, except in the case of the chief's family as described further in this paper.

The internal order of the household is indicative of its organization. Each woman hung her hammock in close proximity to her children and her closest female relatives. The personal possessions of the women were stored near their own hammocks. There was, however, but one food larder and one fireplace. Garden produce, regardless of its origin, was shared by the extended family, and although the husband formally presented his kill of game to his wife, it was butchered, cooked and eaten by the women of the household, and a portion was sent to the men's house and the other dwellings. Only in the case of very small game such as the *cutia* and the parrot was the food cooked and eaten by the nuclear family. Otherwise, the nuclear family had no household economy whatsoever.

It has already been stated that gardens were considered to be owned by individual men but that the labor performed on them was predominantly collective. Except for manioc planting, the unit of female collective labor was the household. This pattern extended to the hard and time-consuming work of manioc processing, in which a true division of tasks was practiced. The manioc had to be dug out of the ground, carried back to the village, grated, the prussic acid extracted and, finally, toasted into the flat cakes known throughout the Amazon as *farinha* or made into manioc flour for the trader. Since all of these steps in the process could be done concurrently, the oldest woman of the household delegated certain tasks to the others. While some women were tending the fire and taking the completed product from the griddle, others were loading, unloading, and operating the *tipiti*, or manioc press. The latter women, in turn, were given a constant supply of unpressed manioc pulp by the

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

women who were grating the new tubers. Another party of women would be occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring considence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exercise of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the son of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *aepokobakat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mundurucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and equalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive series formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1952, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and paralled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the expulsion shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karaiba*. Each village maintained a set of these of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supervillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as ". . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazonia" (Almeida Serra 1869:4). Wallace, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres, there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pawnat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiaká Indians and the white men, all pawnat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Surinam and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés." Tocantins (1877:90) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manuel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 543

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the man's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [586] [462]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by wave and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224 22]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [431]

Farinha was than a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village; and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [622]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the scale in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce: 439

> "They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioc, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

181 Internal harmony within the house-
577 hold and within the village were
476 thought to be a necessary part of social
and economic life. The men of the vil-
[562] lage as a whole hunted and cleared
forest for gardens in cooperation, and
the women of the large, extended
family-household carried out their
tasks in unity. Foods were shared
among house members and by all the
people of the village. The individual
[156] and the biological family of man, wife,
and children had no independent ex-
istence external to their roles within
the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in rec-
[554] ognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

534 Although prestige was attainable
156 through the above accomplishments,
577 it was not considered good for a man

181 ganization of the men's house, which
577 also formed a focus for male social participation. Cooperation in the econ-
[476] omy was elaborated far beyond the minimum necessary for effective exploitation of the environment; warfare
[721] was pursued beyond the requirements of security and its overt magico-religious purposes.

War and fraternity were ritualistic in nature. The relationship between them was causal in the sense that they were interdependent: intense militarism was made possible by male cohesiveness and male cohesiveness was fostered by warfare. Mundurucú society was welded by kinship and the ethic of harmony and cooperation. No
[184] commitments were owed to those outside the system; the humanity of others was recognized, but it entailed no duties. To have extended the intense moral obligations between Mundurucú to persons outside the system would have effectively vitiated and devitalized it.

Robert F. Murphy
University of California

[p. 374 (A)]

[pp. 374 (B) – end not processed for the files. – Analyst]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

level also, and there is no land-holding unit in Mundurucú society. The man who chooses a garden site and initiates and directs the labor upon it, however, is entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby becomes the "owner" of the yield of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this is a very loose concept, for it will be seen that food is freely shared among relatives and fellow villagers. A person who, for some reason, does not have a garden is invariably given food or allowed to harvest from the garden of another.

The Mundurucú coöperate extensively in their horticultural work. Although almost all married men have their own gardens, the heavy work of clearing the forest is done by an all-village male work group. Each man who plans a garden invites all the other men of the village to help him. He supplies the food, usually beverages made of palm fruit and sweet manioc, consumed while actually doing the work. The work is done under the general supervision of the man whose garden is being cleared. His directing activities, however, consist of little more than deciding on the location and extent of the garden. These collective garden-clearing ventures are of doubtful efficiency. The participants generally dawdle on the way to their work, bathing, gathering fruits, and chatting. The actual labor is frequently interrupted by joking, conversation, eating, and little jaunts into the wood in search of parrots and pigeons. I have seen gardens being cleared by Brazilians and single families of Mundurucú in which far fewer man-hours produced equal results. Ethnographic literature presents many similar instances of collective labor for purposes of enjoyment and companionship. These same motivations obtain among the Mundurucú; but coöperation is also valued and demanded as a positive expression of social solidarity and has its roots in the social structure.

ECONOMIC LIFE

241 The burning and final clearing of the garden are done
• 96 by the owner, usually aided by other members of his
962 household. His wife and the other women of the house plant all the lesser crops, but the planting of manioc is done for each garden by all the people in the village, because this more extensive operation is well adapted to the labor of a large group. The men dig the holes for the planting of the manioc cuttings while the women gather and cut the stalks and drop the sections into the holes.

The harvesting of bitter manioc and its later processing is woman's work and constitutes their most arduous and time-consuming chore. Bitter manioc contains prussic acid
252 and is inedible until the poisonous substance is extracted through a complex series of operations. The final product takes the form of the *beijú*, a flat cake which is the traditional "bread" of the Mundurucú and other Amazonian Indians, and is also made into two varieties of farinha (flour).

Beijú manufacture is a slow process, and the cakes are made today as delicacies only. The tubers are carried from
[412] the gardens in burden baskets by the women and unloaded on the floor of an open-sided shed in the middle of the village. This shed serves as the communal farinha "factory" of the entire community. The women peel the manioc with steel knives, using quick chopping motions, and then grate them into a large wooden trough. The
[412] grater formerly consisted of a number of thorny roots of the *paxiúba* palm, halved and placed side by side to form
[177] a sort of scrub board. Today, the tubers are grated against the sides of five-gallon gasoline cans which have been cut out and punctated with a nail. The wet, grated mass is then placed in the *tipití*, an ingenious basketry press native to South America, which operates on the principle of the Chinese finger squeezer. The tipití is suspended at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in cool streams. The tubers are then split open and the pulp is scooped out into baskets and brought back to the village. Much of the starch washes away during the soaking process, but the necessity of grating is eliminated. The pulpy mass is placed directly into the tipiti, squeezed, and then sifted and toasted.

DIVISION OF LABOR

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an over-all picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with all tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor is by sex. There are no specialized occupations among the women, and the only ones among the men—shamanism and chieftaincy—are hereditary, done without reimbursement and without releasing the individual from production. The cleavage between male and female labor among the Mundurucú is especially deep. The men hunt, fish, and do only the heavy work of clearing and manioc planting in the garden. They also make baskets, cord, musical instruments, tools, ceremonial objects, and weapons. The women do all the other gardening work, process manioc, cook, tend children, fetch water and firewood, weave hammocks, and make pottery. The two latter arts, especially pottery making, are now being displaced by manufactured articles.

Among persons of the same sex, and only occasionally between the sexes, coöperation is the keynote of the Mundurucú economy. Except for crafts, which are almost of necessity individual jobs, most of the male productive efforts are made in groups. This does not discount the individual pursuits such as hunting by stalking and trail-

ing, and bow-and-arrow fishing, but the major work in hunting, fishing, and horticulture is done by numbers of men working in coördination. 462 476

House-building is also a collective task; men do the heavy work of construction while women and children aid in procuring and carrying thatch, light poles, vines, and clay for floors. Since house-building is almost always done only when the entire village moves, every household helps the others in the task of construction. All houses of the new village rise uniformly instead of being completed one at a time, thus giving considerable efficiency in the collection and preparation of material.

Women, also, rarely work alone. Farinha is manufactured in a true division of tasks corresponding to the number of distinct steps in the process. Thus, one group of women is occupied in digging up the tubers and transporting them to the village; two or three more women grate the manioc; two others work the tipití; another sieves the wet flour; and, finally, two women are busy toasting the product on the copper griddle. Chores are occasionally exchanged. Whatever the relative advantages or disadvantages in efficiency that may be obtained through coöperation, the sheer drudgery of farinha production is mitigated, for these are sociable gatherings. The females of one household form the minimal work unit, and all women of the village commonly join in. Coöperative manioc processing by all village women originated after contact with the whites, and informants say that as late as the latter part of the nineteenth century the women of single households constituted the basic work groups. Depopulation has contributed to this change, for in former times the household-extended family included as many women as there are in some modern villages. Also, before the introduction of the large, copper pans, beijú and farinha were toasted on ce- [415]

177 462 476

ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally considered to be the property of the community in the seventeen villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the women always seek company when they go to the stream to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and cooperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on cooperation in the economy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Cabocla* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the *poverty* of the *cabocla* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion of clan and lineage has made the social adjustment of the Mundurucú most delicate, as will be seen presently, but the problem of the integration of the male into a household group far from his native village would have imposed a formidable obstacle to the change to matrilocality. It is possibly for this reason that a combination of patrilocality and matrilocality is most rare. The Mundurucú men's house provided a means to accommodate such a change and to make matrilocality more acceptable to a people who reckon their closest kinsmen patrilocally. The man who marries a woman of another village becomes integrated into the men's house, where he finds a large group of men of the same society and perhaps some fellow clansmen and natives of his own village. His relations with his new household are, in the beginning, tenuous.

The means by which the men accommodate themselves to matrilocality may be seen in operation today. The earlier discussion on marriage indicated that the male has great mobility; if his affinal relatives trouble him, he may gather up his belongings and leave. But the organization of village life relieves him of many such pressures. He is expected to bring game and fish to his wife, and this constitutes his main responsibility in the household economy. After he turns over the food, the wife keeps a share for the general household larder and, if there is enough, distributes the rest to the women of the other houses in the village; the food is cooked, and the women of each house bring a portion to the men's house, whereupon the males partake of a communal meal. The provision of his wife with the day's kill is thus primarily a symbolic act, except when there is only enough to feed his wife's household or his nuclear family. Each family head has a garden, but the man clears the garden with the aid of all other village men, and his wife is joined in weeding and the harvest by

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, although this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, deference, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently relax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And, as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

In the ekwá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleeping arrangements. On each side of the men's house and down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the eksá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society. 345 513 61 [561]

The men's house is the single most important institution in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening meal, the occupants of the eksá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls. 345 512 [264] [521]

The emphasis on coöperation between the men transcends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself 476 183

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men. Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But these are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the eksá only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in which the sacred trumpets (karókö), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Munduruku SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Cooperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently cooperate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of farinha, especially when large quantities are to be produced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for cooperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals or extended families.

That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that coöperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible. [83]

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete among the women, however. The household unit of fe-

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and coöperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha ayem*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result 462 of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, 314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and [592] their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

314 571 476 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation [594] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode [497] of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the 423 economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

especially the old, cling tenaciously to residence there. In times long past, the alternatives to village life were privation and death at the hands of enemy war parties; the village was the basic unit in economy and defense and was fundamental to the workings of the social organization.

The pacification of the Tapajós River region, and the rubber trade, have presented the opportunity for an alternate mode of residence along the banks of larger streams. That it offers certain attractions is manifest from the fact that almost three-quarters of the surviving Mundurucú of the area have elected it. But the 300 people who still reside in the savannahs pursue a way of life which is distinctively Mundurucú. It is a changed culture, a changed social structure, but it is genetically rooted in the Mundurucú past. Life in these savannah villages obviously exerts a considerable hold over its members, for the communities have been persisting despite more than a century and a half of contact with Brazilian society and a constant population drain through emigration and epidemic disease. Some of the principal bases of this cohesion lie in the social means by which Mundurucú technology is implemented, for these provide fundamental ties of personal and familial interdependence.

The keynote of this organization lies in cooperation in production, and collectivism in consumption. Men depend on cooperation in hunting to bring game to bay within short range of their bows and to concentrate their fire power. Women share the arduous chore of farinha making and increase their efficiency by a division of tasks. The efficiency gained is perhaps sacrificed to conviviality, but a dull and arduous job is nonetheless made more pleasant. The implements used in manioc processing are expensive and beyond the means of individuals, but the village buys

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182
576

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

182
592
562

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

(602)

182
578
(621)

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

182
574
754
685

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The
439 quest of the Mundurucú for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi-
[144] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens
[241] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

Individual nuclear families sometimes move immedi-
182 ately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of
146 course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the
361 desire for sociability and economic coöperation commonly
621 motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Mundurucú who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together.
182 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gar-
• 476 dening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their
621 resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

canoe and firearms. Fishing is easier with watercraft and solitary hunting more effective by firearms. Both may be bought by the individualized labor of rubber production, and both further free the individual of his dependence on a larger group.

The net effect of the social processes currently affecting the Mundurucú is to scatter the population into semi-isolated and economically independent units. When the now middle-aged and old people die, the process will probably accelerate and the savannah villages will pass out of existence. The families will presumably settle, as all now do in the dry season and several throughout the year, on the waters of the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. Those on the former two rivers will no doubt be customers of the post of Sae Cinza and the residents of the latter will be clients of the patrons of Caroçal and São Martinho. Trips to the trader's store and increased use of canoes will allow the residents of each river to maintain frequent relations with each other, but the long distances between the streams will propably inhibit similar communication between their inhabitants. Beyond the membership of the hamlets in which small groups of nuclear families congregate, the only more inclusive form of economic interdependences will be that between patron and client. This relationship will probably grow in importance, and the Indians will become more firmly integrated into the loose communities, typical of the Amazon, composed of the trader and his customers.

These predictions are not entirely conjectural, for the projected way of life is essentially that of the Mundurucú who have already migrated to the Tapajós River and its tributaries. The nature of the migration and the following life by the river prohibits the reconstitution of savannah-type villages.

of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard. 439 501

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river. 177 342 361

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old coöperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group. 182 476 571 178

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

crease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

As the migration continued and the villages grew in size, these conditions were perpetuated, for the increased use of firearms, bought through the now larger proceeds of rubber collection, made the collective hunt less necessary. Also, hunting was not as profitable on the Cururú, for the growing concentration of population along the river made game correspondingly scarcer, and fishing was, comparatively, a much more fruitful and stable source of subsistence. A further deterrent to hunting on the Cururú is that during the rainy season, the only period when the Indians have sufficient time to hunt, the low forest lands adjoining the river and its small tributaries are flooded, making the chase most difficult.

A shift of emphasis from male labor in hunting, which requires an expenditure in time of eight to ten hours a day, to fishing, necessitating only two to five hours for a good catch, left the men with considerable extra time. This time had to be used either for rubber collection or for helping their wives in the manufacture of farinha, because the early river-bank groups did not include sufficient women to carry on the old household or the village female work group. Even the boys were pressed into service, a sharp change from the free-roaming life of the sons of the campineiros.

The same circumstances enforced a complete breakdown of the organization of labor in gardening. The large male work groups of the savannahs were no longer possible, and the heavy work of garden clearing was done by the men of each household. If only one nuclear family represented the embryonic settlement, the man had to do all the work himself, aided to whatever extent possible by his wife and sons. All other phases of gardening work were

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well- 361
weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use [343] the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the [487] port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a 592
shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear [594] family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse [602] does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined [476] forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average [476] household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little coöperation between the houses.

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [797] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipití for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly 252
items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are consid- 422
ered to be the property of the chief, since they were pur- 415
chased through his and his extended family's labor. The [622]
large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cu- 623
rurú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. 182
Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position pri- 622
marily to recognition by the mission, but who is also ac- 554
corded some deference because of his age and his status [797]
as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão [476]
Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

*241 192 462 /21 cont./ time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does this, but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

*241 621 [178] [591] It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Mundurukú who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Mundurukú Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Mundurukú who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc. rivers.

*241 ●476 621 /22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or less the primitive or traditional form of the Mundurukú agricultural system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance. Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Mundurukú/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

/22 cont./ this cooperative labor

*241 exists in fact up to a point in the villages, and must be understood
421 within the framework of the division of labor and its juridical bases,
[621] which apply first and foremost to the right to private or individual
[496] property. As regards garden matters, we are dealing with the joint task of two social elements, male and female, and their respective cycles of labor. Men and women, however, even after they marry and form a family, do not lose, through marriage, their individual property rights to their part of the garden, for the Indian is basically
[181] an individualist and does not recognize communal property rights. To compensate for this, they have recourse to a concept which we might call "right of indemnification" and which refers to the communal usufruct of the plot by the man, the wife, and, of course, the children for whom they are responsible.

*241 It is well to explain this matter of plot ownership in greater
423 detail.

I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between the owner of the plot, and the owner of the labors performed on this plot and of the results obtained.

The land, in the forest and even within the area occupied by the tribe, has no owner. Anyone may clear a plot wherever he wishes. But once the site has been chosen, it becomes a property for the entire period while it is producing; it is then the man's property. After it has been abandoned, however, it becomes once more anybody's and everybody's land, untenanted land. /23/ (12) There only

[171]

12. Among the Tenetehara, also a tribe of the Tupi group, a similar phenomenon is observed. "Garden lands, that is to say, lands on which people have expanded labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But as soon as he has

/23 cont./

*241 right? She, /in turn/, without the man's previous labor, could only
421 plant /24/ in small quantities, and furthermore, for lack of proper
462 soil preparation, the cultivated plants would not grow properly. In
594 both cases, the results would be meager and the family's subsistence, in this sphere, would be endangered. Hence the need for this right of mutual indemnification.

Every man, or every family, sets up his own garden and owns
*241 it by exclusive right. The owner, however, requests the assistance
●476 of his relatives or of the men of the group in which he lives, to help
[423] him in his tasks (clearing, felling, etc.), while the woman, in turn, later (but not always) requests the help of women for the typically feminine tasks within the above-mentioned system of the division of labor. (13) The community assists the individual, or rather, the

*241
476
421

13. Although we are dealing here with the agriculture of the present-day Mundurukú, let us note two pieces of information, gathered separately and in widely separated places, namely, one by myself among the acculturated Mundurukú of the Cururú River, and the other by the missionary Brother Angélico in a village of the interior, in Dekudyem. According to these data, the agricultural system of the ancient Mundurukú was slightly different as regards mutual assistance and ownership of the gardens. They say that, originally, the entire group prepared a large plot for all members of the community and that individual rights to the garden were based, precisely, on mutual

[178]

/24 cont./

*241
•476
421

assistance, on compensation for the labor rendered to the community. Aside from this statement about a collective garden, the informants also mentioned private family gardens, where they chiefly (but not exclusively) cultivate [illegible]lementary, accessory food[illegible] such as bananas, pepper, etc. The data gathered, however, give no clear evidence as to whether this collective garden served for the communal, daily use of the group, or whether it merely existed as a reserve in case of need, in the assistance of the old and incapacitated, in the sustenance of guests, or as a ceremonial garden to contribute to important festivities. Regarding a type of garden among the Tenetehara, used communally but owner privately, see Wagley-Galvão (1948: 139).

[171]

*241
476

members help each other; and each must assist the others, when their turn comes to prepare their plot. Thus there exists, with reference to this collective work, an elaborate system of revenue and compensation on an equalitarian basis. Days of labor are received, and later this assistance is repaid in kind with days of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with a broad system of mutual assistance. Naturally, the owner of the new plot finds his chief support among /25/ his own kin: adult children, brothers, brothers-in-law, sons-in-law, etc. This mutual assistance, however, is not obtained spontaneously, but through personal invitations proferred individually rather than collectively. The manner of doing this is

[602]

/25 cont./

*241 476 very simple: the assistance is requested and the day and other circumstances are set. There are no invitation dances or things of that sort. It is important for the owner of the plot to set the days of assistance, because he has to provide the mess for that day: meat, fish, tapioca cakes, drink. The continuity or interruption of garden labor depends on the acquisition of this food. When the men are many and the owner of the plot cannot get sufficient food, the work is done in shifts. The site is cleared for a day or two, and then the work is interrupted to hunt or to fish. The felling is done later in the same manner, "as the food comes," as they say. The breaks, or, inversely, the days of work, thus depend on the existing victuals or supplies. (14)

476 171

14. The custom of inviting neighbors and relatives to communal tasks and of setting the respective days also exists, in this same sense of mutual assistance, among the peasants of the lower Amazon. In the area of Santarém, Alenquer, Óbidos, etc., this is called puxirum, "to set a puxirum," "to go to a puxirum," etc. Undoubtedly, this custom has deep roots and originated in ancient times, when the lower Amazon still belonged to the Indians and their villages. In other areas, the puxirum is called ajurí (Negro River) or else mutirão (in the south of the country). Wagley (1949: 106) also reports this cooperative venture as putirão or "invitation." See also Caldeira, 1956.

*241 476 This explains also why men and women, in turn, prefer to work in groups: because they work at the invitation of the owner of the

/25 cont./

*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard- [594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the [423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? 178 Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sys- [291] tem of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal [347] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, [423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot indi- .idually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties [476] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*241 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among 177 the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according 182 to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual 462 cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They 476 have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

*241 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could 602 be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only 421 among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the
462 copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one
476 toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because
[415] they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally consid-
[422] ered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the
462 women always seek company when they go to the stream
476 to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone
[776] person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young
[834] woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the econ-
• 477 omy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued
[555] person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with
[526] the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Caboclo* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider even to find out who collects the most rubber. 477 [526] [521]

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be. 423

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible. 422 [431] [183]

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

501 edge it to have been learned from their Tupian neighbors, the Apiaca. In early times, this bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when on a war expedition. Small [481 491] streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among those Wundurucú of the savannahs.

226 132 An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks allowing the fish to disperse through the forest in search of fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is very difficult throughout the entire rain forest region, even for those people having canoes. For the Wundurucú, who had to fish from the river banks, it was a sheer impossibility. The Indians of the present village of Cabruá complain that they have no canoes and that to fish during the rainy season would involve wading through the igapó, or flooded forest, impractical due to poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

226 Dry season fishing was done by two means. The first of these was to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms were often built on the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Wundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it [177] is still preferred to the hook and line, which was introduced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth.

222 Climbing was done with climbing rings, a
[48] loop of vide passed around the feet causing sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps. For fruits located far out on limbs, hooked sticks were used to drag the limbs down or the climber chopped the limb off. These fruits were not a staple, but they were a valuable adjunct to the diet and a greatly appreciated delicacy.

241 Horticulture

Mundurucú gardening was done by the slash and burn method used all over the tropical areas of the New World. The garden was cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation was allowed to dry throughout the dry season, and the plot was burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks were dragged off to one side and the ground was then ready for planting after the first rains, usually in the beginning of September in this region.

Among the plants of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú were several varieties of bitter manioc (Manihot utilissima) and sweet manioc (Manihot aypi), yam (Dioscorea sp.), sweet potato (Ipomoea batatas), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, and pepper. At some time after the advent of the
[77] whites in the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, potato, and sugarcane were introduced. Cotton, although native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the Mundurucú until the 19th century. The staple garden product and chief starch source of the Mundurucú was bitter manioc.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

222 articles collected are several species of palm fruit, the Brazil nut, the fruit of the *cajú* tree (*Anacardium corymbosum*), wild cocoa, *manguba*, and several varieties of berries.

222 462 Wild foods found only at long distances from the village are always gathered by the men on the way home from hunting, especially if they have been unsuccessful. When the fruit trees are near the village, one man or an older boy usually goes out with a party of women, the male to climb the tree and get the fruit, the women to carry it home. Climbing is done with the climbing ring, a loop of [481] vine passed around the feet, which gives sufficient pressure of the feet against the sides of the trunk to enable the climber to ascend the tree lightly by a series of jumps—similar to the principle employed by our lumbermen using a belt. For fruits far out on limbs, hooked sticks are used to drag the limbs down, or the climber chops the limb off. [262] Fruits are not a staple food, but they are valuable adjuncts to the diet and greatly appreciated delicacies.

HORTICULTURE

241 Mundurucú gardening is done by the slash-and-burn method used throughout the tropical areas of the New World. The garden is cleared of trees and underbrush at the end of the rainy season, the felled vegetation is allowed to dry during the dry season, and the plot is burned over before the first rains. Burned branches and the smaller trunks are dragged off to one side and the ground is then ready for planting after the first rains, which usually occur in the beginning of September in this region.

241 262 Among the crops of New World origin planted by the Mundurucú are several varieties of bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*), which form the dietary staple, sweet manioc (*Manihot aypi*), yam (*Dioscorea sp.*), sweet po-

683 the other side of the Mission, across the stream, in the midst of
797 the woods), seeing that the envoys he had dispatched at dawn did not return, said impatiently: 'These people are no good at killing people, I'll go myself!' But when he got there he found the victim already sacrificed. They returned satisfied, leaving the body to the vultures, without giving it burial."

[622] This Capt. José da Gama, mentioned by the missionary father, had been the chief of a village which formerly stood on the banks of the Tapajoz and came with all his people to the Mission of Bacabal. His aboriginal name is Mari-Baxi; the missionary father always left him in charge of the Mission when he had to leave for any period of time. He is an energetic and bold Indian, and already before the Mission was founded he sacrificed several of his companions who had been accused of witchcraft, among them his own brother whom [109] he cast down the waterfalls with a stone tied to his neck.

If Mari-Baxi, alias José da Gama, still commits such acts in a mission which is under government supervision, we can imagine what the chiefs of the central villages may do. The above episode took place in 1875, while I was traveling beyond the Mission of Bacabal, visiting the plains villages. Upon my return I stayed two days at the Mission, where José da Gama was in charge during the absence of the missionary who had gone to the capital.

The chief greeted me with numerous tokens of regard and friendship, but said not a word about the crime he had just committed. He, as well as his accomplices, preserved the greatest secrecy on the subject. Even the missionary, who returned a few days after my stay at the Mission, only came to know the facts much later.

683 Around that time, the following episode also took place in one of the villages. Several Indian women went bathing in a
[482] brook near the village; upon returning, each carried on her head
[415] a gourd of water for her household. When they least expected it, four Mundurucu came out toward them, got hold of one of the poor girls who was about eighteen years old, and pierced her with their tremendous spears. Her companions tarried a moment and

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related." but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

[1] [Martius (Source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

224 hunting and look upon it as one of the acmes of masculine activity, it is extremely exhausting and time-consuming work. The hunters leave their villages shortly after dawn and travel long miles through the forests and across sun-baked savannah before raising the tracks or scent of game. There then follows an arduous pursuit that sometimes lasts for hours. And the successful hunter often ends his day by [482] carrying a one hundred-pound wild pig on his back for three hours on the homeward trail to the village. Occasionally, he makes his kill late in the day and far from home and has to spend the night in the forest. The men hunt nearly every fair day except for those happy occasions when good luck brings a great quantity of game to the village. All activity then stops and the people sit around eating the meat, which would otherwise spoil after about three days. The pressure of maintaining a meat supply is great when one considers that a village of eighty people can eat one tapir or two wild pigs in twenty-four hours. The men are therefore rarely able to relax from hunting for more than two consecutive days.

Of the Mundurucú hunting techniques, the collective hunts are most important. The usual system is for three or four men to go ahead of the others with dogs to raise and chase the game. The rest of the men wait along the path which the animal is expected to follow in its flight, usually at a point where it crosses a stream. This calls for a great deal of teamwork in addition to an intimate knowledge of the country and the habits of game. The pursuing hunters inform their waiting companions of the species of the animal by sounding signals on bamboo hunting horns. If an ambush is not possible, the dogs run down the animals and bring them to bay, allowing the hunters to approach and make the kill. Although individual hunters frequently stalk game, the described techniques are most important [262] for the killing of wild pig, the principal game food.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

is usually used, because it is navigable to a point only five 361
hours from the village. From the Cabitutú River port of 487
Cabruá which consists of a house and clearing on the river bank, the path to the village winds through a belt of gallery forest of several miles depth. After crossing a few minor streams that flow into the Cabitutú, the path emerges into an open savannah and gently climbs for about three miles until the crest of the height of land between the Cabruá and Cabitutú rivers is reached. Cabruá is at this point surrounded by a belt of underbrush and low trees that have grown from cast-off seeds and have been fertilized by human waste.

Three hundred yards away at the base of the hill on 312
which the village is built is a small stream and a strip of bordering gallery forest only two hundred yards wide. The stream rises from springs a few miles away and its waters are clear, pure, and cool. People draw their water here, wash clothes, and bathe—the Mundurucú are personally [515]
very clean and perform their ablutions at least twice daily.

The village is in open country, but large expanses of 361
deep, virgin forest are nearby. Paths radiate outward in 487
all directions from the village, leading to the stream, the port, other villages, and to the forest. The forest itself is criss-crossed with trails used for hunting; others lead to the gardens. The latter are generally no more than 45 minutes walk from the village. This is considered a rather long [482]
trip, because the women must carry their harvest in burden baskets back to the village. Land is not unlimited in 311
the environs of Cabruá; stretches of forest are subject to minor inundation in the rainy season, and large areas are sandy and horticulturally worthless savannah. The village, 361
then, must be moved at long intervals. Since contemporary Cabruá has only 67 inhabitants, there is no great pressure [161]
on land. Houses age and fall into disrepair rapidly, how-

727 Yet this Mundurucu had gone nearly mad over the Parintintin head. He would not part with it for an instant. When the time came for me to leave Necodemos, as I shall relate below, he and twelve other Indians escorted me on my eight-day journey through the forest to the headwaters of the Cadereri. In [484] the course of this trip, when evening came and we had to stop for the night, the Indian would thrust into the ground next to his hammock a staff which he carried expressly [85] for this purpose, and on which he would hang the head, as if on a clothes-rack, covering it carefully with a cloth I had given him.

At dawn, his first glance was for the head: he would place it in his lap, run his fingers through its long hair, and caress it as if it were a beloved daughter.

He only handed me this relic at the last moment, when I had already embarked for my descent of the Cadereri, and then he still said: "But I wanted it for myself!" I must say I had made him a present of a double-barrelled shotgun, some gunpowder, shot-lead, and other objects. Nevertheless, his gaze followed us until our canoe had vanished down the river.

In Necodemos there was yet another mummified head. It had been the head of a Parintintin warrior. The Mundurucu who owned it, already quite old, did not wish to show it to me and would not talk about it: I did not press the issue. Some of [301] the Mundurucu wore necklaces made from the teeth of enemies they had killed.

I saw children said by my interpreter to be captives taken in the last war. The villagers, however, did not even mention the subject; perhaps they feared that we should want to take their prisoners from them.

V

Legend of Mundurucu beginnings. -- Beliefs and traditions. -- Appearance of "Caru-Sacaebê." -- Ingratitude of the inhabitants of Acupari -- Punishment. -- Necodemos as the cradle of the human race.

74 It seemed to me that I could distinguish traces of an ancient civilization among these strange people. The Mundurucu

B 439 648 The court found him guilty, and the poor boy is now carrying out his sentence in the penal institution of Bahia.

The other Indians immediately abandoned the trading post. It is now four years since they regained their freedom at a time when they least expected it, and the heroic child who broke their fetters lies forgotten in prison, away from his people, and not yet of age. [159]

XXIX

I return from the maloca of Necodemos to the headwaters of the Cadereri -- The cry of the anhangá -- Farewell.

M 484 M [411] When the day of my departure finally came, I went from house to house and took leave of the inhabitants of Necodemos.

At this time thirteen Mundurucu, among them the boy who gave me the Parintintin head, seized their bows and arrows and prepared to go with me, although they had told me nothing of their decision. I must confess that I was not in the least eager to travel for eight days in the company of these barbarians through dense and deserted jungles; I was hoping instead that they would remain peacefully in their molaca.

I told them that I had no more flour or other supplies, and that it would be impossible for the twenty-odd men we would number to walk that far without provisions.

But this matter was of no concern to them; they merely prepared to take with them a few sweet potatoes, which at best would suffice for a frugal luncheon.

In fact I do not know exactly what these men ate during the journey. They were constantly hunting, catching birds and lizards and gathering wild fruits on which they fed.

M [515] Every once in a while we would come upon a limpid and delightful stream, and the savages never missed the opportunity to leap into the fresh waters, unfettered as they were with the task of undressing and dressing again. At night we would all gather at the sound of the horn, and we always stopped by a [160]

Mu
484 brook that winds every which way through the fields and through the shade of the virgin forest.

Mu
[352] Following the evening meal, each would string his hammock; those who had not brought one would prepare couches
Ma of branches and leaves.

Mu
648 The Maué and the Mundurucu, formerly implacable enemies who could not meet without fighting, now slept peacefully side by side.

ooo I have often been told about the profound silence of the desert. But in these parts, during the night, there is not a single instant of absolute silence. A thousand loud voices, now near, now far, hoarse or sharp, shrill or mellow, form a strange orches-
Ma tration: the creaking of branches, the chirping of insects, the
825 hissing of reptiles, the mournful cries of nocturnal birds.
776 And in the midst of these discordant sounds a cry echoes, piercing and plaintive, which appears to move constantly about.

The Maué, heathens of the Tupi nation, said that it was the "cry of the anhangá." Yet although I questioned them repeatedly on the subject, I was unable to find out whether they attributed the cry simply to the small white deer they call anhangá, or to the evil spirit which according to their beliefs is wont to take the form of a deer in order to deceive them and lead them astray when they go hunting. When they spoke of the anhangá, however, they showed no signs whatever of superstitious fear.

ooo Indeed, Tupi mythology portrays the principle of evil simply as a cunning deer that invents ingenious tricks to lead the hunters astray.

It is not Siva, portrayed by the oldest Sanskrit [161] civilization as forever thirsty for blood; nor is it the Aritman of the Persians.

It is also very remote from Satan, that combined figure of dread and masquerade which the missionaries of old so often mentioned in their sermons and in their chronicles.

At the headwaters of the Cadereri I spent my last day and night with the Mundurucu who had come with me from Necodemos.

I gave them all I had in my canoe, including those personal possessions which were not indispensable to me, and deeply regretted my inability to do more.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karökö*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them. 578 476 778

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent. 622 619

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject. 726 609 [181]

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but [186] 726 [484 501]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who
466 gives valued objects and who must be given something in
648 return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rationalized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 The client-patron relationship applies also to that be-
609 tween the Mundurucú and all white men of similar pres-
648 tige position. The trader is called *katiwat;* or also *compá,* a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre,* or co-father. The latter title was evidently learned from the white rubber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as godparent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mun-
123 durucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role. Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission, and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of smoked latex in return for which they wished merchandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were willing to integrate us into the collective village economy and to designate us by kinship terms.

439 Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savan-
648 nahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed
484 intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader generally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals during the rubber-collection season and sporadically during the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes 439
one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys 648
have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and [484]
secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Mundurucú clients are a 437
source of continual aggravation to the traders, although 439
they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the In- 648
dians. Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Mundurucú society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were divulged simply through the insistence of the questioner. [713]
Since few Mundurucú have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

439 484 574 648 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their excursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main business is with their own patron, they often make side trips to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

171 648 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent, and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 648 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 648 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up 439
and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are 797
more frequent in September, October, and November 648
when rubber is still being collected and the river has be- [484]
gun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets [527]
provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands, [594]
and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their

and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

291 Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children-- went altogether naked.

302 619 We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

609 [145] The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadereri
to the village of Necodemos on the plains.

487 At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadereri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

609 [231] We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty. [342 231]

361 that the only proper place for "people" is in the savannah.
[186] Residence beyond this heartland is tantamount to becoming a pariwat, or "outlander."

THE VILLAGE

342 Each village contains two to five dwelling houses and the
[361] men's house, or *eksé*. The former have rectangular groundplans of about 20 by 40 feet in dimension and are internally uncompartmented. The walls are made of the bark of the *tauarí* tree and extend to approximately two feet from the roof. The intervening space is either left vacant or loosely covered with palm fronds to allow ventilation. The roofs are steeply pitched and made of thatch placed over a pole framework. This architecture represents a departure from the traditional type. Until recent times, houses had roughly elliptical ground plans; structures of 80 to 100 feet in length are said to have been common in the more populous past.

361 The houses are arranged in a circle around a central plaza that is now underbrush and weed-infested. The
345 men's house is always located on the west side of the village perimeter, and faces east into the plaza. It is totally unlike the dwellings in design and construction. Made in the form of an open-sided lean-to, it consists only of a roof that rises from the ground on the west side to a height of about 15 feet, and is supported by posts at the middle and both sides at four points along its length. Men's houses of twenty to thirty years ago were said to measure some 100 feet in length, but that of the contemporary village of Cabruá is only 50 feet long and 30 wide.

361 Modern Cabruá is typical of the savannah communities,
487 except for certain situational factors of population and immediate environment. It is accessible from the Tapajós River by either the Cabitutú or Tropas rivers; the former

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

is usually used, because it is navigable to a point only five 361
hours from the village. From the Cabitutú River port of 487
Cabruá which consists of a house and clearing on the river bank, the path to the village winds through a belt of gallery forest of several miles depth. After crossing a few minor streams that flow into the Cabitutú, the path emerges into an open savannah and gently climbs for about three miles until the crest of the height of land between the Cabruá and Cabitutú rivers is reached. Cabruá is at this point surrounded by a belt of underbrush and low trees that have grown from cast-off seeds and have been fertilized by human waste.

Three hundred yards away at the base of the hill on 312
which the village is built is a small stream and a strip of bordering gallery forest only two hundred yards wide. The stream rises from springs a few miles away and its waters are clear, pure, and cool. People draw their water here, wash clothes, and bathe—the Mundurucú are personally [515]
very clean and perform their ablutions at least twice daily.

The village is in open country, but large expanses of 361
deep, virgin forest are nearby. Paths radiate outward in 487
all directions from the village, leading to the stream, the port, other villages, and to the forest. The forest itself is criss-crossed with trails used for hunting; others lead to the gardens. The latter are generally no more than 45 minutes walk from the village. This is considered a rather long [482]
trip, because the women must carry their harvest in burden baskets back to the village. Land is not unlimited in 311
the environs of Cabruá; stretches of forest are subject to minor inundation in the rainy season, and large areas are sandy and horticulturally worthless savannah. The village, 361
then, must be moved at long intervals. Since contemporary Cabruá has only 67 inhabitants, there is no great pressure [161]
on land. Houses age and fall into disrepair rapidly, how-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result 462 of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, 314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and [592] their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

314 571 476 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation [594] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode [487] of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the 423 economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well- 361
weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use [343] the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the [487] port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a 592
shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear [594] family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were [602] related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined [476] forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average household composed of a smaller number of families, but [476] there is little coöperation between the houses.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transportation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber. The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other important subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situation. Under these circumstances of great distance from his neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete individualization of production, the bonds of economic coöperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no recourse because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

727 According to the same informant, some warriors from this village[1] had returned from a war a few days previously, bringing back with them the mummified heads of two of their enemies, necklaces of human teeth, and other trophies.

As it turned out, I did not regret my choice, for I was well received in Necodemos and I encountered there, more vivid [773] than anywhere else, the legend of Mundurucu beginnings which considers this very maloca or village the cradle of the human race.

133 I continued up the Cadereri. Strange river! Every day we had to carry bodily our light boat over sand bars. Here was confirmed an opinion I had already formed, namely, that the Cadereri, as well as the Araguaia, Juruena, Mamoré, and other upper branches of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, such as the Tocantins, the Tapajoz, the Madeira and others, would dry up completely during the summer months, baring their channels, were it not for the falls of the middle course which serve to dam up the violent flow of the stream. The average gradient on the middle course of these great Amazon tributaries, which descend from the central plateau, is steeper than necessary to maintain a normal flow of water. [76]

133 Finally, on the morning of the sixth day as calculated by [491] the Indian, we came upon a tree thrown across the river in the form of a bridge. On the bank stood a crude hut. There was no one around. We blew a horn to call out the owner of the hut, who was probably out hunting in the nearby woods. As no one appeared, we continued our journey. I left behind some trifling gifts to mark the passage of a friendly person.

I thought it best to behave in this fashion, remembering [648] that Lieutenant Captain Soares Pinto had been attacked and killed by the savages for having destroyed some bridges which they had laid across the river. It is impossible to proceed upriver without destroying the bridges, and it is not always feasible to replace them.

For this reason, whenever I found myself unable to replace one in the same spot -- and on that day we encountered four more bridges -- I left gifts to make up in some degree for the damage I had caused the savages. At the end of the day the river became totally impassable: we could not carry the canoe any further. Happily, at this difficult moment we found another bridge over the river and a hut upon the bank. We blew our horn persistently,

[1] [i.e., Necodemos. - Analyst]

501 edge it to have been learned from their Tupian neighbors, the Apiaca. In early times, this bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when on a war expedition. Small [481 streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. ● 491] Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among those Mundurucú of the savannahs.

226 132 An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks allowing the fish to disperse through the forest in search of fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is very difficult throughout the entire rain forest region, even for those people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who had to fish from the river banks, it was a sheer impossibility. The Indians of the present village of Cabruá complain that they have no canoes and that to fish during the rainy season would involve wading through the igapó, or flooded forest, impractical due to poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

226 Dry season fishing was done by two means. The first of these was to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms were often built on the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it [177 is still preferred to the hook and line, which was introduced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth.

224 deer were also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal, especially at longer range, and, if there are two or three hunters, the possibilities of successfully dispatching the animals are increased.

226 **Fishing**

Fishing was an economic activity definitely secondary to hunting, although as we will see later, the circumstances of acculturation have changed one large section of the tribe to a group which relies primarily on fish for proteins. The 361 723 aboriginal Mundurucú generally built their villages in places several hours inland from the nearest navigable streams. Thus their defensive position was improved while in no way impairing their attacking power. This settlement pattern was well adapted to a warrior society, but removed them from the best [226] fishing sites. The small streams within easy reach of the villages yielded only smaller species of fish and in limited quantity. That the Mundurucú relied little on the water system for food or transportation is shown by the fact that 501 only in recent times has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The usual modern Mundurucú canoe is of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders. In pre-contact times, the only water craft used was the bark canoe of the type described by Von den Steinen on the upper Xingú River.[8] Not even this canoe was native to the Mundurucú for they acknowl-

8. Steinen, 1894, pp. 222-223.

501 edge it to have been learned from their Tupian neighbors, the Apiaca. In early times, this bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when on a war expedition. Small [481 491] streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among those Mundurucú of the savannahs.

226 152 An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks allowing the fish to disperse through the forest in search of fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is very difficult throughout the entire rain forest region, even for those people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who had to fish from the river banks, it was a sheer impossibility. The Indians of the present village of Cabruá complain that they have no canoes and that to fish during the rainy season would involve wading through the igapó, or flooded forest, impractical due to poisonous and constrictor water snakes, covered roots and logs, and the virtual assurance of failure.

226 Dry season fishing was done by two means. The first of these was to fish from the river bank with bow and arrow. To facilitate this technique, platforms were often built on the limbs of trees overhanging the water. The Mundurucú have great skill in fishing with the bow and arrow, and it [177] is still preferred to the hook and line, which was introduced by the whites and is only used during the rainy season when the fish are scarcer and at a greater depth.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karökö*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them. 578 476 778

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent. 622 619

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as "... one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject. 726 609 [181]

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but [186] 726 [484 501]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

In the sphere of material culture, the planting and use of cotton were introduced after their contact with the whites, and their only watercraft were bark canoes of the type the German ethnologist Karl von den Steinen saw in the upper Xingú.[4] The moiety-phratry-clan system of Mundurucú social organization is considerably more complex than most Tupian societies, and the system of kinship nomenclature is correspondingly divergent. Mundurucú religion follows the broad outlines of supernatural beliefs and rites of the area, but there are significant differences in mythology.

These are only a few points of dissimilarity between the Mundurucú and the other Tupian tribes of the coast and lower Amazon region, but when considered with the linguistic data, they are sufficient to suggest a considerable period of independent development. There are also fundamental points of similarity: subsistence techniques are much akin to those found throughout the tropical-forest region of South America, and the Mundurucú are a village-dwelling people. And in common with other tribes of the area, class stratification is absent, political controls are simple, and the fundamental organization of the society is established along lines of kinship.

Certain characteristics lead me to suspect that the Mundurucú may have originally dwelled south of their present habitat. Their lack of cotton and the dug-out canoe and the absence of cannibalism and alcoholic beverages suggest that they may have come from the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Also, although they were and are industrious horticulturalists, their supernatural beliefs and ceremonies are only marginally concerned with cultivation; their major emphasis in ritual is on hunting. One other factor suggests a more southerly origin. The traditional Mundurucú villages were situated in the northernmost savannah coun-

[4] Steinen, 1894, pp. 222–223.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 streams rely primarily upon fish for protein. The savannah villages are several hours inland from the nearest navi-
[361] gable streams. This settlement pattern was well adapted to the defensive requirements of a warrior society, but it removed the communities from the best fishing sites. The narrow, shallow streams within easy reach of the villages yield only smaller species of fish and in limited quantities.

The Mundurucú relied little on the river system for
177 food or transportation in times past, as is shown by the
501 fact that only in recent years has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The modern Mundurucú canoe is usually of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders; before contact with the whites the only water craft used was the bark canoe. Not even this canoe, however, was native to the Mundurucú for they acknowledge having acquired it from their Tupian-speaking neighbors, the Apiacá. In early times, the bark canoe was used only to cross large streams when the Indians were on war expeditions. Small streams were crossed either on fallen logs or by swimming. Today, canoes are in greater use, but very few are owned among the Mundurucú of the savannahs, despite their annual dry-season residence on large streams. Only two men in the village of Cabruá owned canoes and no one in Cabitutú had one.

An additional factor limiting fishing is that the annual
226 rains cause the rivers to overflow their banks, allowing the
[132] fish to disperse through the flooded forest where they feed on fallen berries and fruits. During this season, fishing is difficult in the rain-forest region, even for people having canoes. For the Mundurucú, who have to fish with bow and arrow from the river banks, it is almost impossible. The modern residents of Cabruá say that their lack of canoes would make it necessary for them during

167 and they too abandoned the annual return to the savan-
361 nahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured
178 more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the
182 people of Cabruá today, to choose avenues near their close
361 kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with
621 their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails; other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farinha-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting, and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry summer. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water
501 transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe,
439

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the 439 501 mission if one worked hard.

The villages grew by increments and with no special 177 order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mun- 342 durucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had 361 a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other 182 changes in village organization. Since the first permanent 476 settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three 571 nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the 178 old coöperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on a large group.

Mu

648 It produces excellent rubber in large quantities, and the
797 provinces of Pará and Amazonas owe the rapid development of
439 their export and import trade to this commodity.

Rubber sells on the Pará market for $1.50 to $2.00 a kilogram; the Tapajoz alone yearly exports some 150,000 kilograms of it, and this amount would be larger if there were sufficient manpower to gather all the natural resources of the soil. The
Ma 249 district also produces guaraná, a highly precious commodity of
278 acknowledged medicinal worth.
439

The Maué Indians alone cultivate this plant and prepare the product, which they usually make into cylindrical loaves, sometimes, however, they mold it into the shape of animals native
Ma [532] to the region, such as tapir, snakes, turtles and others, lending to this task considerable intelligence and artistic taste.

Ma Guaraná sells on the Pará market for $4 to $5 a kilogram;
[435] and in Mato Grosso, where it is in great demand, the price is four times higher.

Each crew member of the canoes that sail in those parts takes a guaraná decoction every morning and even several times a day as a fever preventive. The results are positive.

Mu The district also furnishes copaiba oil, sarsaparilla, [147]
439 and other natural products which are priced high and esteemed greatly on all markets.

On this very day I find the following notice in a reputable newspaper of the capital of Pará [Belém]:

"Indians -- Sixteen Mundurucu Indians from the Mission of Bacabal, accompanied by their chief, have arrived in this capital to appear before the Presidency and to promote the sale of 292 arrobas (over 4,000 kilograms) of rubber.

"The chief's attire and the face paintings of these Indians have attracted public curiosity."

Commerce on the Upper Tapajoz is carried out by tradesmen known as regatões [hucksters or traders], who appear in those parts in small canoes loaded with goods during the summer months and the rubber harvest. Navigation through the falls is difficult
Mu [505] and risky; it is often necessary to unload the canoe and carry the burden on land for several kilometers; then the canoe in turn has to be carried and reloaded; and farther on the whole procedure

439 is repeated, with the additional danger of foundering on one of
[505] the innumerable rocks which obstruct the course of the stream. To this must be added privations, fevers, and possible attack by fierce Indians such as the Parintintin. Some of these peddlers, setting out from Itaituba, course upriver through the region for a month and sometimes two.

They find no one to trade with but the Mundurucu and a few Maué savages, who go naked or nearly naked, who have not the slightest notion of our language, of our alphabet, of our system of weights and measures, or of the current price of the goods they sell and the commodities they purchase.

Incredible as it may seem, the traders sell on credit [148] to savages who own no capital other than a hatchet to bleed the rubber trees, commodities which add up on running accounts to such enormous figures as 5, 6 or 7,000,000 reis or even more! Possibly every Indian in those parts is indebted to a considerable extent. When asked how much they owe, these Indians always reply: "Who knows! Only the patron can tell!" They always call their creditor "patron" [patrão].

439 The trader, himself a creditor [sic], regards his Indian
648 debtors as serfs: as best suits his needs, he sends them into the forest to gather rubber, forbidding them expressly to sell it to other traders; or makes them paddle his canoe; or takes them to his home when the harvest is over and puts them to work under his very eyes. He carries this odious exploitation practically to the point of slavery; denies them the right to go where they wish; and if by chance they secretly run away, he sets out after them and captures them by sheer force.

Many cultivators also have a certain number of Indians at their service and under their rule. I have seen many of these savages -- men, women and children -- forcibly retained in the homes of cultivators. When one of these creditors passes away, the Indian moves to the home of whoever happens to inherit his share of the debt. Once on the Upper Tapajoz I asked to whom an Indian "belonged" who interested me, and got the following reply: "We don't know yet, because the household of his former master, who died a short time ago, has not yet been parcelled out."

problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101 648 which, ironically, is what the townsman calls the backwoodsman. The Brazilian residents in the upper Tapajós are scattered along its banks and the lower sections of its larger tributaries as far south as 9° S lat. on the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. Beyond this point the country is inhabited by the Nambikuára, Tapayuna, and Tupí-Cawahíb Indians, who are all hostile to the whites and effectively prevent further penetration. The Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó Indians, who live to the east of the Mundurucú, have raided the upper Tapajós in recent years, and at the time of our visit fear had induced all inhabitants of the east bank of the river between the Tropas and Jamaxím rivers to move to safer areas.

511 249 The local Brazilians have an enormous fear of hostile Indians. This is especially true of recent immigrants to the Amazon, and it is reinforced by a general feeling of insecurity in the jungle environment. The natives of the States of Ceará and Piauí who have been attracted to the area through aspirations of wealth in rubber, are frequently heard to remark that "life here is a sacrifice"; or "it is better to starve in town where there is movement and people than in this desolation." Inhabitants born in the area are, of course, accustomed to it, but they recognize their own poverty and the despair of their condition. Life in the jungle is difficult; the people are poor and often hungry and deprived of the barest necessities of life. Rubber, the basic export of the area, once offered rich returns to collectors, and especially to traders, but the latex of [430] the wild *Hevea* is now submarginal on the world market; the population engaged in its extraction has correspondingly experienced a forty-year period of depression.

648 The governments of Brazil and of the State of Pará are remote from the region. On rare occasions, one or two policemen from the town of Itaituba, the seat of the mu-

makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transportation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber. The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other important subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situation. Under these circumstances of great distance from his neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete individualization of production, the bonds of economic coöperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no recourse because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of 345
the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their 513
hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and 61
adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the eksá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of [561]
the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution 345
in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal 512
forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all [264]
gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening [521]
meal, the occupants of the eksá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on coöperation between the men tran- 476
scends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological 183
adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

321 planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in
314 the village. The average collecting season of the savannah
[241] Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed
342 frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm
[343] leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often
[592] house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

361 There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the
592 membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days
314 a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely
461 works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may
● 512 have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home. He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit his rubber avenue, the Mundurucú hunts or fishes. He is joined by the other men of the house if there are any; otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting techniques cannot be employed. This and the general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely do so because they do not have enough workers to clear forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting them. The resident families have a local supply of farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the village and transported to the rubber avenue, a difficult chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Cabruá. These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
[576] I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
[591] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
[574] in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
[562 342] a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ekçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermacetti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhê."

513 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn
534 all through the night in their quarters or ekçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ekçá is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.

● 513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ekçá above his hammock -- bows, arrows, warclub, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

462 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
248 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the ekçá, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the ekçá stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemos these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the ekçá], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
[562] never set foot in the ekçá. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

meters, but during July in the same period an average of only 6.05 mm. fell. The extremes during this seven-year ranged from 530.4 mm. in January, 1947, to no rainfall in July, 1945, and again in 1951. The rivers rise and fall with the rains, overflowing their banks in November or December and receding in May. 132

Contrary to popular belief, the heat is seldom excessive in this part of Brazil. Although the sea breezes that blow up the Amazon from the sea as far as Manaos every evening are not felt in the upper Tapajós, the temperature usually drops at night to very comfortable levels. It was my experience that one could use pajamas and two cotton blankets at night; the Mundurucú, who do not possess such luxuries, generally sleep in their cotton clothes and awaken at three or four in the morning to light a small fire beneath their hammocks. There are no great variations in temperature from one month to another. Days are slightly warmer and nights cooler during the dry season, but the lower humidity makes it more agreeable than the rains. Maximum temperatures throughout the year range between 87° and 95° F. (30° and 35° C.), minimum temperatures between 63° and 77° F. (17° and 25° C.). During June, a cold wind blows from the distant Andes and chills the entire region for two to four days. Temperatures then fall to as low as 63° F. (17° C.). [291] [513]

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Mundurucú habitat is surely not an earthly paradise, but neither is it the "green hell" so often pictured by royalty-minded travelers and writers. The Brazilians of the Tapajós River, however, do live in a social and economic hell. They distinguish themselves from the Indians by the self-designation of *civilizado* or, less often, *cristão* (Christian). The Indian is commonly called *caboclo* by them, 101 648

476 the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more
591 men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, al-
621 though this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, def-
[606] erence, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from
591 the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently re-
593 lax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And,
621 as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

345 In the eksá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleep-
513 ing arrangements. On each side of the men's house and
61 down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the eksá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society. 345 513 61 [561]

The men's house is the single most important institution in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening meal, the occupants of the eksá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls. 345 512 [264] [521]

The emphasis on coöperation between the men transcends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself 476 183

to harm them. We resumed our journey at dawn of the following day, crossing successively woods and stretches of open country.

While crossing one of those woods I came upon one of the most touching scenes of savage life. Near one of those numerous brooks that wind their way everywhere, and that constitute the head-
593 waters of the Cadereri, I met a young family. The head was no more than eighteen years old, and his companion was not over fifteen or sixteen, yet she already carried in her arms a child of a few months. They were accompanied by an old Indian woman. The faces and chests of the young couple had not yet been painted with
[302 the indelible dyes of the tribe; but the young woman, who had been
●515] bathing in the brook, had painted her face with urucu dye, which
[609] lent her a childlike attractiveness. This interesting couple, on seeing us pass, showed visible signs of surprise and alarm.

Tired as I was, and anxious to get to the end of the journey, it was not even possible for me to tarry a few minutes and have some friendly words with these poor savages; besides, the interpreter was not present at the time.

I would have liked, at least, to offer them a cloth with [80] which the two children -- mother and baby -- might ward off the burning rays of the sun during their journey across vast stretches of open country; but our men, rebellious like all Maué Indians, carried only what was strictly necessary for our own subsistence.

We have sketched here this touching scene in order to inspire sympathy for the poor savages, weighted down as they are with great misfortunes.

III

I arrive at the village of Necodemos. -- The Mundurucu offer me shelter and good hospitality.

131 After five days of incessant walking, counting from the spot where we had left our canoe at the headwaters of the Cadereri, we finally saw in the distance a column of smoke which rose from the maloca of Necodemos.

B 439 648 The court found him guilty, and the poor boy is now carrying out his sentence in the penal institution of Bahia.

The other Indians immediately abandoned the trading post. It is now four years since they regained their freedom at a time when they least expected it, and the heroic child who broke their fetters lies forgotten in prison, away from his people, and not yet of age. [159]

XXIX

I return from the maloca of Necodemos to the headwaters of the Cadereri -- The cry of the anhangá -- Farewell.

M 484 When the day of my departure finally came, I went from house to house and took leave of the inhabitants of Necodemos.

M [411] At this time thirteen Mundurucu, among them the boy who gave me the Parintintin head, seized their bows and arrows and prepared to go with me, although they had told me nothing of their decision. I must confess that I was not in the least eager to travel for eight days in the company of these barbarians through dense and deserted jungles; I was hoping instead that they would remain peacefully in their molaca.

I told them that I had no more flour or other supplies, and that it would be impossible for the twenty-odd men we would number to walk that far without provisions.

But this matter was of no concern to them; they merely prepared to take with them a few sweet potatoes, which at best would suffice for a frugal luncheon.

In fact I do not know exactly what these men ate during the journey. They were constantly hunting, catching birds and lizards and gathering wild fruits on which they fed.

M [515] Every once in a while we would come upon a limpid and delightful stream, and the savages never missed the opportunity to leap into the fresh waters, unfettered as they were with the task of undressing and dressing again. At night we would all gather at the sound of the horn, and we always stopped by a [160]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

774 rather than directly from their immediate Brazilian neighbors. In our present
177 state of knowledge of the ethnology of the Amazon region, reliable reconstructions of such diffusion are most difficult.

774 In the preceding discussion of spirit mothers of game animals, it was mentioned that the *putcha ši* avenges itself upon humans by stealing their souls. This is one
755 of the gravest afflictions that may befall a Mundurucú, and only the performance
784 of a ceremony is sufficient to regain the soul of a stricken person; ordinary shamanistic curing techniques are inadequate. Men can lose their souls to the game through a variety of offenses. The insults to the game already described are the most common means of occasioning the anger of the spirit mothers. One can also lose his soul if he sits too close to a fire over which the head of a game animal is roasting, and he is struck by the optic fluid from an exploding eye. Another means of losing one's soul is to have adulterous relations with the wife of a member of the *Biu ši* (Mothers of the Tapir) society, which is responsible for impersonating the tapir during certain ceremonies. In these cases, the tapir robs the soul of the offending male. The members of the *Biu ši* society, themselves, are in danger of losing their souls during those ceremonies in which they perform. They must
[515] be especially careful not to bathe in the streams during rituals, as the *taue ši*, or mother of the prego monkey, will surely steal their souls. To prevent this they bathe in the house from gourds.

Women may also lose their souls through offenses against the game, but since women do not hunt, this rarely occurs. However, a woman who bathes during her first menses or shortly after the birth of a child may have her soul taken by the jararaca snake. Either the large or small species of this reptile family robs the soul, depending on whether the woman is on land or in the water at that time. The jararaca turns the soul over to the tapir, and it begins the long journey described below.

774 The journey of the stolen soul is believed by the Mundurucú to be a terrifying and danger-fraught experience. Although the *putcha ši* is often spoken of as stealing the soul, the actual theft appears to be the work of the tapir and, less commonly, of other animals and spirit mothers of species. After the tapir steals the soul, it runs with it through thick underbrush and swims across rivers. The beast then gives the soul to the peccary, which travels for some time with it and then passes it on to a lesser game animal. The soul is finally transferred to the smallest species of monkey which, in turn, gives it to the largest variety of fish. It passes on to smaller fish until it finally reaches the smallest species. At this point the journey ends, and the afflicted person dies.

The person whose soul has been robbed lies in a semicoma and dreams of the trials to which his soul is exposed. The rigors of the trip are such that the person grows steadily weaker, and death may occur at almost any time during the travels of the stolen soul. If the animal with which it is traveling dies, the sick person dies also. Two parts of the journey are especially dangerous. At one point the soul passes within a stone's throw of the house of a prego monkey, which throws semen at it. If the soul is struck by only a drop of the semen, its owner dies. In another

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 had to exercise great care in her relations with others lest she look at a person
727 who had recently had sexual relations. On days when hunting parties left for the
554 forest she was supposed to remain in her hammock until late in the morning, for
834 if she arose and moved about the game would run away. She was not allowed to
[515] bathe in the stream with the other women but washed her body from vessels of water brought to her house. Nor was the wife of the *Dajeboiši* supposed to work; a young woman from her *iboiwatitit* was chosen to draw water and wood for her and to perform household chores. Considerable authority over the other women was exercised by the *Dajeboiši*'s wife, and she felt free to send the women of the village to work in the garden or perform whatever services she desired.

The *Dajeboiši* and his wife were, according to some informants, obliged to maintain this regimen during the more than two years between the return of the war party and the final phase of the ceremonial cycle. Others thought that the prohibitions were not continually in force during this long period, but agreed that some restrictions were observed until the conclusion of the final ritual.

With the advent of the second rainy season after the taking of the trophy head,
796 the *Dajeboiši* again issued invitations to the people of other villages, and all re-
727 united for feasting. This phase of the ceremony is known as *Yašegon*, or Stripping the Skin from the Head. As the name indicates, the trophy head was skinned, its ornaments were removed, and the bare skull was then hung in a corner of the men's house.

Before the head was boiled and skinned, it was thrown on the ground and a group of men called "Vultures" batted it back and forth with sticks in imitation of the vulture's practice of tossing strips of carrion with its beak. The Vultures included all the bald men of the village and certain others who were thought to be really bald, although ordinary vision showed them to have hair on their heads. Previous to these proceedings, a number of old men, all of whom had at one time taken an enemy head, took the trophy head and tapped its top. If powder or any other matter fell from it, they announced that the *Dajeboiši* had broken an obligation. This was generally interpreted by all to mean that he had had sexual relations. In such a case his status terminated and no further observances were held, since the head had lost its power. If the test proved the owner of the head had kept his faith, the ceremony could continue.

The rites held during the first two rainy seasons were simple, and activities included only the decoration of the head during the first rainy season, its skinning during the second, and feasting on both occasions. The third winter, however, was the climax of the cycle, and festivities were lengthier and much more elaborate. The final phase of the ceremony was called *Taimetorōm*, or Hanging the Teeth, for on this occasion the teeth extracted from the trophy head were strung on a woven cotton belt. These belts were not worn, but were carefully guarded in a basket kept in the warrior's house.

But the most important ritual of the third rainy season was the all-night songfest of the *Darekši*, or Mothers of the Bow. The *Darekši* was a men's society; it was by no means exclusive in membership for all adult Mundurucú males belonged to

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

is usually used, because it is navigable to a point only five 361
hours from the village. From the Cabitutú River port of 487
Cabruá which consists of a house and clearing on the river bank, the path to the village winds through a belt of gallery forest of several miles depth. After crossing a few minor streams that flow into the Cabitutú, the path emerges into an open savannah and gently climbs for about three miles until the crest of the height of land between the Cabruá and Cabitutú rivers is reached. Cabruá is at this point surrounded by a belt of underbrush and low trees that have grown from cast-off seeds and have been fertilized by human waste.

Three hundred yards away at the base of the hill on 312
which the village is built is a small stream and a strip of bordering gallery forest only two hundred yards wide. The stream rises from springs a few miles away and its waters are clear, pure, and cool. People draw their water here, wash clothes, and bathe—the Mundurucú are personally [515]
very clean and perform their ablutions at least twice daily.

The village is in open country, but large expanses of 361
deep, virgin forest are nearby. Paths radiate outward in 487
all directions from the village, leading to the stream, the port, other villages, and to the forest. The forest itself is criss-crossed with trails used for hunting; others lead to the gardens. The latter are generally no more than 45 minutes walk from the village. This is considered a rather long [482]
trip, because the women must carry their harvest in burden baskets back to the village. Land is not unlimited in 311
the environs of Cabruá; stretches of forest are subject to minor inundation in the rainy season, and large areas are sandy and horticulturally worthless savannah. The village, 361
then, must be moved at long intervals. Since contemporary Cabruá has only 67 inhabitants, there is no great pressure [161]
on land. Houses age and fall into disrepair rapidly, how-

a different origin. Since I have already given the essential material about the Apiacas it might, however, be appropriate to repeat here what I reported about the Mundrucus (Reise in Brasilien III. 1308 et. seq., 1337.) for no other traveller has actually observed these remarkable Indians in their native habitat.

The Mundrucus, Mondurucus, Mundurucus, Moturicus
(called by the Apiacas Pari)

The Mundrucus are, together with the Apiacas, the ruling tribe in the northern basin of the Tapajoz. Their largest aldea de S. Manoel, which has trade connections with the Brasilians, lies about a day's journey below the junction of the Rio Arinos with the Juruena at the Rio negro (vermelho).

[387] When I met the first Mundrucus in the Mission Novo Monte Carmel de Canoma I had to admit that I had never before seen Indians like these. Without exception they were athletically built, broad-chested and four-square, plump and well nourished in limbs and torso, and the hard muscles so evenly covered as though these people had never interrupted a life of comfortable relaxation with the hardships [516] of war and the hunt. Their posture and their walk was that of conscious strength. What struck me the most, along with the general physical excellence of every member of the tribe, was the light skin color. They were not so deep a copper red as many other Indians, in particular those living on plains or on large rivers, and this paler color was considerably accented by the tattooing (it was not just painting) which covered almost the whole of the body. * Either the whole face was

*See the illustration in Spix and Martius Reiseatlas. For this painful operation they use a comb made from the thorns of several varieties of palm trees. In all probability there is no other tribe in South America which practices tattooing to the same extent. Rob. Dudley has drawn similar ones from Guyana.

361 of 200 to 300 for the old Mundurucú villages.

The aboriginal Mundurucú village consisted of three to five dwelling places and the men's house, or akuy.* The average population was about 250 people. Commonly, these villages were located on stretches of high savannah. Such a site was easily defensible as its open location protected it from the surprise attacks always used by Amazonian Indians. Also, these locations were relatively free of insects. The [317] Mundurucú say too that "it is beautiful here for you can see far."

362 The houses were oblong with rounded ends and had steeply pitched thatched roofs. Some houses were 80 to 100 feet in length. The eaves of the roofs terminated at about five feet from the ground and the house was closed by vertical bark walls. Doors made of the center stalks of palm fronds were used.

364 The men's house was a large lean-to type building, the open end of which always faced east. It was up to 100 feet long and had a roof that gently sloped from the east end, at which point it was about fifteen to twenty feet high, until it met the ground at the west end. The front and both sides were open. Adjoining the south side of the west end [178] of the men's house was the small room in which the sacred trumpets, forbidden to female eyes, were kept. Three horizontal beams, one in the middle and one on either side of the house, ran from east to west at about five feet above

164 * The phonetic system used above and throughout this work is, with a few exceptions, that of English. The exceptions are: ö is pronounced like the German ö; i and u are pronounced as in Portuguese fera and usar, respectively.

V. MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

538 A collection of fifty-eight myths and folktales was recorded in the villages of
773 Missão Velha and Cabruá. The latter community, one of the more conservative
savannah settlements, was far more productive of traditional lore of all kinds
[114] and most of the material below was gathered there. Although this chapter represents the complete body of oral literature collected in the field, there is undoubtedly more available if a wider range of Mundurucú informants were to be sampled. Some myths, such as that of the origin of clans collected by Father
[118] Kruse,[1] were specifically sought, but were unknown to those questioned. Mundurucú mythology has undoubtedly undergone considerable attenuation, and these may be among the large number of stories no longer extant.

The older Mundurucú say that oral literature was formerly much more actively
537 recounted and transmitted. During the evenings, the elders told tales to all the
538 assembled men, and children were brought to listen. These sessions are no longer frequent, but considerable interest is still manifest among the listeners. A number of men and children and usually some women gathered around whenever I found an informant with a story. Indeed, without an audience the narrator would not put forth his best efforts. The delivery was always quite animated and was accompanied by vivid gestures, imitations of animals, and dialogues between the personages in the story. The audience gave full attention, and it was considered most disrespectful to create any diversion during the narration. All
[522] laughed readily and spontaneously at the appropriate passages, although many had heard the tale several times before.

538 The stories themselves range over a variety of subjects and are told for a number
773 of purposes. They have been broken down into six major categories to provide continuity. This does not represent an attempt toward a systematic classification
517 of the myths; actually the categories overlap considerably. For example, the animal tales are generally told for amusement, but they frequently explain the origins of certain species. On the other hand, the Karumakaibó cycle is a true creation myth and is centered upon the activities of the principal culture hero.
[522] There are numerous passages in this myth cycle, however, that are considered highly humorous by both narrators and audiences, and in other incidents animals are also created. Similarly, a category of cosmological myths has been included, but there are several events in other tales that are also important to an understanding of Mundurucú cosmology.

538 Through all, there is a running theme of the importance of the animal world
773 to Mundurucú society and of the close interrelation between the two. In many tales, animals either have the form of people or are able to take on this form. The mythology does more than explain the origin of animal species, for in almost all cases the various animals are transformed people. That the species had their origin in the human world tends to reinforce the special significance given them in ceremonies and the supernatural belief system.

This affinity between animals and humans will be evident in the saga of

[1] Kruse, 1954, pp. 56-57.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider even to find out who collects the most rubber.

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be.

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible.

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of 345
the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their 513
hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and 61
adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the eksá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of [561]
the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution 345
in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal 512
forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all [264]
gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening [521]
meal, the occupants of the eksá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on coöperation between the men tran- 476
scends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological 183
adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

571 578 592 males is extremely close knit and is probably the most cohesive group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional bond between the women of these groups that I know of [762] one who committed suicide because of alienation from her two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended family, conflicts between individual women or households are common. All women of the household generally join with a member in her antipathy for another woman or household; this, of course, follows from the fact that the housemates are closely related to each other, which complements the allegiance arising from co-residence.

• 521 578 Hostility between the women generally takes the form of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of most of the confidences that passed among the women, [123] which constituted one of our most valuable sources of information. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house [115] and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women. Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart. And we usually managed to learn by this means of the well-repressed hostilities in the village, of fears and accusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn, gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the exchange of female information and opinion was the shed where farinha was made. The women usually chatted animatedly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the group, the heads of the others drew together and she was thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of residence in the village, the same thing happened, as we had no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst. Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. These events provide the grist for conversation for weeks. 521 578

Relations between the women of the savannah communities are subjected to an extra, situational strain because of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages, marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern. But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured by the support given by the matrilocal extended family. 162 578 [837] [166]

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber season, when village and extended family break up to exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy and from being even a co-resident group. And the thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers the nuclear family from any primary responsibility in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa- 594 [462]

V. MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

538 A COLLECTION of fifty-eight myths and folktales was recorded in the villages of
773 Missão Velha and Cabruá. The latter community, one of the more conservative
savannah settlements, was far more productive of traditional lore of all kinds
[114] and most of the material below was gathered there. Although this chapter represents the complete body of oral literature collected in the field, there is undoubtedly more available if a wider range of Mundurucú informants were to be sampled. Some myths, such as that of the origin of clans collected by Father
[178] Kruse,[1] were specifically sought, but were unknown to those questioned. Mundurucú mythology has undoubtedly undergone considerable attenuation, and these may be among the large number of stories no longer extant.

The older Mundurucú say that oral literature was formerly much more actively
537 recounted and transmitted. During the evenings, the elders told tales to all the
538 assembled men, and children were brought to listen. These sessions are no longer frequent, but considerable interest is still manifest among the listeners. A number of men and children and usually some women gathered around whenever I found an informant with a story. Indeed, without an audience the narrator would not put forth his best efforts. The delivery was always quite animated and was accompanied by vivid gestures, imitations of animals, and dialogues between the personages in the story. The audience gave full attention, and it was considered most disrespectful to create any diversion during the narration. All
[522] laughed readily and spontaneously at the appropriate passages, although many had heard the tale several times before.

538 The stories themselves range over a variety of subjects and are told for a number
773 of purposes. They have been broken down into six major categories to provide
517 continuity. This does not represent an attempt toward a systematic classification of the myths; actually the categories overlap considerably. For example, the animal tales are generally told for amusement, but they frequently explain the origins of certain species. On the other hand, the Karusakaibõ cycle is a true creation myth and is centered upon the activities of the principal culture hero.
[522] There are numerous passages in this myth cycle, however, that are considered highly humorous by both narrators and audiences, and in other incidents animals are also created. Similarly, a category of cosmological myths has been included, but there are several events in other tales that are also important to an understanding of Mundurucú cosmology.

538 Through all, there is a running theme of the importance of the animal world
773 to Mundurucú society and of the close interrelation between the two. In many tales, animals either have the form of people or are able to take on this form. The mythology does more than explain the origin of animal species, for in almost all cases the various animals are transformed people. That the species had their origin in the human world tends to reinforce the special significance given them in ceremonies and the supernatural belief system.

This affinity between animals and humans will be evident in the saga of

[1] Kruse, 1954, pp. 56–57.

476 to bathe and fetch water and firewood as a group. The latter three activities hardly demanded cooperation, but are illustrative of the fundamental division of the society on the basis of sex and of the love for sociability of the Mundurucú. [579] The Mundurucú liked to do things together and it was a grave breach of etiquette to refuse to help in any work.

621 476 It will be noted that the village was the basic unit within which cooperation was carried out, while the extended family was of almost equal importance. Seldom did economic activities involve two or more villages. A man and wife occasionally left the village together for a few hours to plant or harvest vegetables or to gather fruits, but these occasions were of minor importance in the economy.*

476 554 Accompanying this emphasis on cooperation in the economy was a corresponding complete lack of stress on competition. Competitive economic activity was absolutely nonexistent. A lazy person lacked prestige but in this instance it was because a lazy person was a drain on the society. 554 Prestige was sought through accomplishments in warfare and knowledge of Mundurucú lore and not by economic means. In- [536] deed, the Mundurucú did not openly seek to better anybody even in play with the exception of one strength test game, consisting of an attempt by each of two opponents to force back the forearm of the other, indulged in by the young people. In their speech the Mundurucú did not compare people

833 * It should be pointed out here that these conjugal excursions are generally viewed by the Mundurucú as guises to leave the village for the true purpose of daytime sexual intercourse. Their suspicions are well founded.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the
462 copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one
476 toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because
[415] they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally consid-
[422] ered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the
462 women always seek company when they go to the stream
476 to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone
[776] person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young
[834] woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the econ-
477 omy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued
[555] person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with
[526] the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Caboclo* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ponents to force back the forearm of the other. In conversation the Mundurucú refrain from personal comparisons and moral judgments, and it is difficult for the outsider even to find out who collects the most rubber. 477 [526] [521]

PROPERTY AND DISTRIBUTION

Rights to the use of natural resources are held by the community as an entity. New residents or visitors in a village are free, however, to hunt and fish where they please, and may clear garden land if they plan to remain long enough to reap the harvest. There are no fixed village territories, but villages are too far apart for hunting rights to overlap. It sometimes happens, however, that the men of one village chase a herd of wild pigs into the immediate environs of another. On such occasions the animals are pursued and killed by the hunters, but the men of the other village are usually notified and invited to join the hunt. Also, a traveler is free to kill game along the trail wherever he may be. 423

Gardens are held only by usufruct rights; when the land is exhausted after two years it reverts to the common domain. The yield of gardens, hunting, and fishing are considered the property of the person who owns the garden or made the kill. But these rights lose significance when seen in the light of the distribution system. Any food that comes into the household is shared by the extended family, and if there is a surplus it is distributed to all the households in the village. No one person or family can go hungry if others have food; to refuse a request for food is unheard of among the savannah Mundurucú and would be regarded as utterly reprehensible. 422 [431] [183]

Private property is restricted to tools, utensils, ornaments, wearing apparel, and other portable items. The average man owns one or two bows and a quantity of arrows of various types, and a very few own muzzle-loading

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up 439
and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are 797
more frequent in September, October, and November 648
when rubber is still being collected and the river has be- [484]
gun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets [527]
provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands
and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their [594]

291 Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any
841 postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

152 I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I be-
593 lieve that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband ap-
[634] peared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

655 Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are ex-
593 tremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

619 When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

302 Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

[531] On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Karusakaibu (Farabee, 1917 a). His wife, Sikrida (Strömer, 1932); 776
Chicridha (Tocantins, 1877), is a *Mundurucú* woman. Korumtau 773
(Carutau (ibid.)) is his eldest son and his second born is Anukaite (Hanu-Acuate (ibid.)). Karusakaibõ's companion and helper is Daiiru (Rayru (ibid.)), an armadillo.

Conflict between Karusakaibõ and his sons and companion is a recur- 773
rent theme in several myths reported by Strömer and Tocantins. In one story, Anukaite is seduced by his mother. Karusakaibõ learns of the incest and in anger pursues his son. Anukaite delays his flight to have sexual intercourse with several importunate women whom he meets on the way; his father overtakes him and transforms him into a tapir. The insatiable women are transformed into fish.

On another occasion the offenders are Daiiru and Korumtau. Their offense is not explained clearly in the account (Strömer, 1932) but appears to involve an improper relationship between Korumtau and some peccaries, for which Daiiru is partly responsible. Again the guilty are pursued by Karusakaibõ; to evade his father, Korumtau transforms himself successively into a peccary, a cricket, a bird, and a monkey. Once he is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing father, but the armadillo draws the arrow from the wound. The animals of the forest give aid by warning of the father's approach. Finally, the two fugitives throw themselves into a body of water and escape.

The *Mundurucú* origin myth tells of the emergence of mankind from under the ground. According to one version (Farabee, 1917 a), Karusakaibõ had made the world but had not created men. One day Daiiru, the armadillo, offended the creator and was forced to take refuge in a hole in the ground. Karusakaibõ blew into the hole and stamped his foot on the earth. Daiiru was blown out of the hole by the rush of air. He reported that people were living in the earth. He and Karusakaibõ made a cotton rope and lowered it into the hole. The people began to climb out. When half of them had emerged, the rope broke and half remained underground, where they still live. The sun passes through their country from west to [321]
east when it is night on the earth; the moon shines there when the earth has moonless nights. According to another version of the tale (Tocantins, 1877), the creator stamped his foot at the site of the village of Necodemos; White people, Indians, and Negroes emerged from a fissure in the ground. The creator tattooed the *Mundurucú* like himself; the Whites and Negroes scattered. Karusakaibõ then showed the *Mundurucú* how to raise manioc, maize, cotton, and other plants and how to utilize them. It was he who [531]
traced the petroglyphs now found on certain cliffs in the region of Necodemos. Another origin-of-agriculture myth is given in a text gathered by Strömer (1937).

Kruse (1934) reports a myth in which the women are said to have 773
once been in possession of the men's house, while the men lived in the 562

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ferred indirectly, for an Aru clan member is really a descendant of the dwellers of the river of the parrot. In short, the word for clan is suggestive of the origin of the clan as a local group.

Each Mundurucú village harbored a sacred trumpet which was kept in the men's house, guarded from the eyes of the women. These trumpets were the functional equivalent of the more widely distributed bullroarer. The trumpets were owned by clans, and within them resided the *tubõ* (old person) of the clan and another class of spirits called the *che karõkõ ejewõt*, or "companions of the trumpet." The latter also served as clan spirits, secondary to the *tubõ* proper of the clan. The "companions of the trumpets" were similarly named after plants, birds, and animals but, unlike the *tubõ*, never bore the same name as the clan. Nearly all of the clans had more than one spirit "companion" and in many cases the same "companion" was shared by two or more clans. Where such overlapping existed, the clans owning the trumpets having common "companions" were considered to have a very close relationship, and they either shared a trumpet or their respective trumpets were considered to be one and the same. In anthropological terms, they were of the same phratry. However, not all clans in the same phratry were equally close. For example, let us suppose that there is a phratry of three clans called A, B, and C. Clan A has spirit "companion" x, B has "companions" x and y, and clan C has "companion" y. Clans A and C have no common "companion" but are linked through clan B with which they share "companions." The closeness of both clans A and C to clan B is such that members of clan A or C can bestow the name B upon their young, and vice-versa. However, clans A and C cannot exchange clan names, although they recognize a common bond.

It might be hypothesized that clans A and C have the same spirit "companion of the trumpet" as clan B because they are offspring of the latter. This hypothesis is reinforced by the existence of four clans having subclans. The subclans have the same name as the main clan but the latter is spoken of as the "real" one, while the members of the subclan are referred to as *kekuawat*, which can be freely translated as "dwellers of the same place." An interesting facet of this clan and subclan relationship is that the name of the subclan and its trumpet spirits are, in three of the four cases, diminutives of those of the clan. For example, the Kirishi clan (large *itauba* tree) has a subclan named Kirishianan (a small species of *itauba* tree). The "companion of the trumpets" of both clan and subclan is the fox, but that of the clan is the large fox and that of the subclan is the small fox. The above factors and the especially close feeling between members of the two groups point to the subclan as an offshoot of the clan. In time, the subclan could probably achieve complete independence merely by assuming a new name, but a phratric relationship would continue through the common trumpet "companion."

The clan had no residential basis in the nineteenth century, and little manifest function aside from a limited number of ceremonial duties. The only external symbols of clanship were geometric designs, which were painted on the posts of the men's house by the clan members in residence, and the clan name,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the opposite moiety within the framework of the iboiwati- 614
tit relationship, and the clan crests, consisting of geomet- [531]
ric designs, of the inhabitants of each men's house are
painted on the upright posts of the structure. Fellow clans-
men sleep in adjacent hammocks in the men's house and
are adjoined by members of the same phratry, if any reside
in the village.

Beyond these few remaining manifestations of clanship 551
there remains only its expression in interpersonal behavior. 614
The clan affiliation of every Mundurucú is known to every
other through the naming system. The name of each Mun-
durucú consists of his clan name with a given name suf-
fixed. Boys are given the name of their great-grandfather
in the direct paternal line. If there are several brothers,
some are assigned the names of the great-grandfather's
brothers, both real and classificatory. Girls are given the
names of the father's mother's mother. Thus, given names
are transmitted in certain clans, or, at least, within the
moiety. The possession of a name is one criterion of mem-
bership in Mundurucú society. The product of a union be-
tween a white man and a Mundurucú woman is for this
reason, more than for his mixed ancestry, looked upon as
marginal to the society. Similarly, illegitimacy, while [848]
looked upon as a misfortune, does not socially disable the
child as long as the father is known. If, on the other hand,
the mother does not know who the child's father is, it can
receive no name. Such children are not mistreated, but
they are generally called by the derogatory nickname, fun
(excrement).

Clanship thus continues to bestow a social identity on 614
its members and to establish their inclusion as "people,"
or Mundurucú. In this sense, it is an important mechanism
in the maintenance of social boundaries between the Mun-
durucú and their Brazilian neighbors. Fellow clansmen are

Whenever I had the opportunity to enter one of those houses, I always found the women working: some wove hammocks, some made flour, others smoked meat, some cooked, some prepared banana mush, etc.

They never failed to offer me something to eat: now cooked sweet potatoes, now banana mush. [104]

A cheerful and merry Indian woman, her face all painted up with urucu dye in addition to the usual designs, offered me a tremendous caterpillar which she held on her finger. It was a repulsive thing which contracted and stretched convulsively; and the woman insisted upon transferring it to my own hand, telling me that it was something to eat: "Cobi-cobi."

XIV

Symbolic characters drawn on the cliff of Cantagalo, on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and on the hills of Arau-cité between Acupari and Necodemos.

On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the place known as Cantagalo, fifteen figures are to be seen, drawn on the face of a cliff which is about one hundred meters high and which was carved perpendicularly by the stream.

These figures have been there for ages untold: the oldest frontiersmen who explored the Upper Tapajoz, and the oldest Mundurucu, found them just as they are but do not understand their meaning.

They are dark red, like ocher, and stand about eight meters above the highest level of the water at the time of its maximum winter swelling.

At the present time it would be impossible for a man to draw them at this height, even with the help of scaffolding, for the current is fierce where the river curves in at the base of the cliff, especially at the time of year when the water level reaches its maximum height.

1: Tocantins--28 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

172
532

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajebuiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores.

The Dajebuiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajebuiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[5]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
[57] I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
[541] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
[57] in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
[562 342] a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called elicá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermaceti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dh?."

513 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn
534 all through the night in their quarters or elicá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

765 They are held once a year for the first four years following the warrior's death.

On the fourth year, the celebration ends with the burial of the head; on this occasion, the women as well as the men address it with the following words:

765 "My brother (or my son), we have come here to bury thee.
539 Thou hast died; to this end wert thou born. Thou hast died in war, because thou wert brave; to this end did our mothers and fathers nurture us. We must not fear our foe. Whosoever dies in war dies with honor; it is not as death from illness. We have come from all the malocas to weep and dance to the end of thy burial."

The Mundurucu version runs as follows:

"Uanhum inhaçan uté sôte écũ tchãme. Iménhame ari utiẽ bai utiẽ mai pãnme. Etéã nanhum uté rupanhum bẽ anhocate ediẽ. Imenhame utiẽ xi utiẽ me pito utiẽ bai ari ué utiẽ oebé anhocate epéçupeidie ipi bé utiẽ parará ama utiẽ rupanhum bẽ-xime. Rupãnhum-bẽ tié a ãen anhocate ediẽ tutu ué-e utié rupanhum bẽ-ibé pame une pite idiotié ma utié pa-ãme pai bẽxime cauxi pibõne. Idiõtié utiésote anhuncaxiri bẽũi caracuie cuié ãẽ uadime uté cabé ute racui axirau umãe iuelpe iné utiẽ uéné pam utié sote nhaçam achi-tuttme pre ibiman utié diepite diei." [132]

At the same time, around the funerary basket, the women speak as from the dead man's mouth:

"My mother (or my wife), thou wilt die in bed of illness. I died in war because I was brave."

● 534 In the course of these ceremonies the shamans blow on a
784 special instrument: it is a kind of horn which they call caruquẽ.

To this end the shaman hides in a small hut which is espe-
[371] cially built for the purpose, and where the women are strictly forbidden to enter.

On the other hand, these superstitious women avoid the sight of that sacred and mysterious instrument in every possible way. They are convinced that were they to glance at the caruquẽ but for an instant, they would commit a sacrilege that would cause them misfortune for the rest of their lives.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have the Mongolian spot, as have aso the Apiacá children. 142

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individualsibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems. 114

The ancestors of the sib are called *tubé* or *ti*, and are embodied (verkoerpert) in the large *kadukc*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kadukc* are blown at the men's festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mésiri*, a drink prepared for the festivl out of manicuera is poured into the *kadukc* from above, is caught n a cuia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children. [54] [176] [272]

A member of the Red Ararasib is in no sense prohibited to shoot and to eat an arara. The sane holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants. [54]

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the "Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by Karusakaibé,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karuwat*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibé is considered as an unheard-of thing. 114 116

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become members of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i barip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related". 114

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly had *Tupa waket*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last 142

[See arrata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. -- Analyst]

726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and
[634 208] they are guarded by patrols who signal with the tore (beni), a rasping cane trumpet, or with the kiohos, a whistle. With this instrument the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the
727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the [illegible] and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy
[578 846] which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons 622 624

[illegible]

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

[1] [Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

614 simple geometric and slightly curvilinear designs, were
344 painted there by members of the sib depicted, at the time of the erection of the men's house.

614 The sacred trumpets, called <u>karóko</u>, embodied the
534 souls of the "old people" of the sib owning them and also had their own proper souls. These spirits exerted a benevolent influence over the village, but had to be offered food and periodically played in order to maintain this protection. Each village had a set of these trumpets and each one was the property of a certain sib. No special supernatural benefits accrued to the sib owning the trumpets. They were the property of a certain sib only because they took the sib membership of the man who made them. The important thing was that they contained the spirits of "old people" and not that they embodied the ancestors of any particular sib.

614 The sibs had no particular functions in the sense of duties or privileges. They served mainly to integrate the society by fire and formalized intervillage kinship bonds. They integrated the whole tribe, but were expressed by outward symbols in the village men's house. The above mentioned arrangement of hammocks in the men's house indicates that sib and moiety membership served to integrate men from various villages. In marriage regulation, the clans were superceded by the moieties. The moieties also buried each other's dead and had certain reciprocal ceremonial duties.

622 <u>Political organization</u>

Each Wundurucú village had an hereditary chief of limited power. In addition, each house had a recognized

726 A campaign might start at the beginning of the dry season in one year and end at the end of the next dry season, a total of a year and a half in the field. During its course, several villages of different tribes might be attacked. The warriors sustained themselves principally by hunting, and the collection of wild foods.

721 The purpose of aboriginal Mundurucú warfare was to secure trophy heads and to bring back captive children to adopt into the tribe. Wars were usually initiated by young men eager to gain war prowess and prestige by taking heads and captives. These young men would resolve among themselves to go to war and would then approach the chief to ask him to lead them. If the chief and the older men approved of the project, the chief took over the organization of the party. [203] Invitations were sent to other villages via a messenger who [729] belonged to the Muchacha'arwen, a society of older, valiant [578] warriors having an intimate knowledge of certain songs. On [534] his route, the muchacha carried a special trumpet known as the pen, on which he gave a distinctive signal when just outside one of the villages to be invited. A muchacha of that village gave an answering signal and then went out to meet him. Upon their encounter they played a song of the society on their trumpets and danced slowly back and forth towards each other. They then proceeded to the men's house where the messenger, in front of the assembled warriors, addressed an invitation to join in the war. The two most distinguished chiefs of the participating villages assumed

[47] to their temporary shelters to pick up the women and their belongings and proceeded on a forced march until safety was reached, usually after a large river had been put between them and the enemy. If any of their own number was killed or too seriously wounded to keep up with the party, the member of the opposite moiety who had the privilege of burying him stopped long enough to cut off the upper arm of the fallen one, even if he was still alive. Needless to say, death came quickly to the wounded subjected to this operation. The arm bones were brought back to the village flayed of their flesh and after a suitable mourning period were buried.

The trophy heads were prepared en route. The retreating party stopped long enough to preserve the head by cleaning out the brains, boiling it slightly, and drying it near a fire. This process was repeated about three or four times. The head was not shrunken.

The return of the war party to their villages was an occasion of great rejoicing for those who remained behind, but one of sadness for the close relatives of the fallen. The warriors announced their return by blasts on [34] a type of trumpet called the uhua and were met by the older boys of the village. The captive children were turned over to the boys to be guarded and the w[illegible]rriors triumphantly entered the village. The children were a[illegible]ted by their captors, tattooed, and eventually became Mundurucú warriors and wives, themselves. According to informants, those people taken as captives were given full status within the tribe

796 Mundurucuania used to attend, and hunting parties scoured the nearby forests to maintain the enlarged village population during the ceremonies. A feature of both rites was ceremonial imitations of the various beasts by the male participants. The imitation of the tapir could only be done by a society known as the bisahi (mothers of the tapir). Members of this society were recruited by ceremonial capture by bisahi of the opposite moiety. The ceremonies were held at the initiative of one of the older men of the village, often, but not necessarily, the chief. This man acted as leader and organizer of the ceremony, but he was aided in the necessary preparations by all the village.

796 778 534 The above ceremonies were centered in the men's house. The men's house was also central to those rites involving the sacred trumpets. When a new men's house was built, the trumpets were shifted under cover of darkness from the old house to the new in a procession accompanied by the sacred flutes of other villages and the male visitors. The women remained confined to their houses and cried in memory of the fact that, according to legend, the trumpets and the men's house once belonged to them. Much the same procedure was followed when new trumpets were installed. The trumpets were made in secrecy in a secluded part of the forest and brought to the village [illegible]

One ritual so frequent in occurrence as not to warrant classification as a ceremony was the feeding and playing of the

796 778 534 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house, the men who carried out the food had to bring a portion into the trumpet shasher and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "Here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

796 775 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the species "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulas that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

796 562 All Mundurucú religious ceremonies were male dominated. Women served only as observers and were able to [illegible] except for one or two occasions in which female shamans took part. Parts 796 562 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was 535 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ferred indirectly, for an Aru clan member is really a descendant of the dwellers of the river of the parrot. In short, the word for clan is suggestive of the origin of the clan as a local group.

Each Mundurucú village harbored a sacred trumpet which was kept in the men's house, guarded from the eyes of the women. These trumpets were the functional equivalent of the more widely distributed bullroarer. The trumpets were owned by clans, and within them resided the *tabá* (old person) of the clan and another class of spirits called the *che karikó ejewót*, or "companions of the trumpet." The latter also served as clan spirits, secondary to the *tabá* proper of the clan. The "companions of the trumpets" were similarly named after plants, birds, and animals but, unlike the *tabá*, never bore the same name as the clan. Nearly all of the clans had more than one spirit "companion" and in many cases the same "companion" was shared by two or more clans. Where such overlapping existed, the clans owning the trumpets having common "companions" were considered to have a very close relationship, and they either shared a trumpet or their respective trumpets were considered to be one and the same. In anthropological terms, they were of the same phratry. However, not all clans in the same phratry were equally close. For example, let us suppose that there is a phratry of three clans called A, B, and C. Clan A has spirit "companion" x, B has "companions" x and y, and clan C has "companion" y. Clans A and C have no common "companion" but are linked through clan B with which they share "companions." The closeness of both clans A and C to clan B is such that members of clan A or C can bestow the name B upon their young, and vice-versa. However, clans A and C cannot exchange clan names, although they recognize a common bond.

It might be hypothesized that clans A and C have the same spirit "companion of the trumpet" as clan B because they are offspring of the latter. This hypothesis is reinforced by the existence of four clans having subclans. The subclans have the same name as the main clan but the latter is spoken of as the "real" one, while the members of the subclan are referred to as *kobawot*, which can be freely translated as "dwellers of the same place." An interesting facet of this clan and subclan relationship is that the name of the subclan and its trumpet spirits are, in three of the four cases, diminutives of those of the clan. For example, the Kirishi clan (large ilauba tree) has a subclan named [illegible] "companions of the trumpets" of both clan and subclan is the fox, but that of the clan is the large fox and that of the subclan is the small fox. The above factors and the especially close feeling between members of the two groups point to the subclan as an offshoot of the clan. In time, the subclan could probably achieve complete independence merely by assuming a new name, but a phratric relationship would continue through the common trumpet "companion."

The clan had no residential basis in the nineteenth century, and little manifest function aside from a limited number of ceremonial duties. The only external symbols of clanship were geometric designs, which were painted on the posts of the men's house by the clan members in residence, and the clan name,

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[4]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely zonical nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruú belonged to the *Wara* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. [illegible] ants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

NOTES

[1] The field research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. 172

The writer's wife, Yolanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

[2] For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and u have the phonetic values of Spanish i and u; ü is pronounced as in German; ĩ and ũ are nasal sounds. 107

[3] The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on referential systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguished from the vocative system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein. 102

[4] The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep reverberating sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male subconscious is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the banana." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological exploration of this complex. It merely indicates the deep interaction between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purposes, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure. 534 531

[5] The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of 'increase in the economic importance' of women. Eggan (1950: 131) views the continuance of matrilineality among the Hopi in much the same light. 111

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO F. DE
1869 Navegação do Rio Tapajós para o Pará. Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 9: 1–10, Rio de Janeiro. 113

BATES, HENRY W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazon. London.

CONDAMINE, HENRI
1897 Voyage au Tapajos. Paris.

EGGAN, FRED
1937 The Cheyenne and Arapaho kinship system. *in* Social Anthropology of North American tribes. F. Eggan, ed. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. pp. 35–95.
1950 Social organization of the Western Pueblos. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
1954 Social anthropology and the method of controlled comparison. American Anthropologist 56: 743–63.

GOLDSCHMIDT, WALTER
1948 Social organization in native California and the origin of class. American Anthropologist 50: 444–56.

HARTT, CHARLES F.
1885 Contribuições para a etnologia do Vale do Amazonas. Archivos do Museo Nacional 6: 1–174. Rio de Janeiro.

HEINE-GELDERN, R.
1923 Südamerika. *in* Buschan, G. Illustrierte Völkerkunde, vol. II, Stuttgart.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry [132] season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly 554 for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the parwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent [561] direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

721 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party 202 was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group [578] of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs [700] and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he [534] sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties 701 in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who 722 took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticul- [illegible] leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The *wambat ñ* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Mundurucú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurucú informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *wambat ñ*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Karikri Trumps

The *karikri* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurucú village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karikri* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*dirashik*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *tabi*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karikri ejawat*). All three categories of spirit, when properly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,* but a brief recapitulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals in contemporary Mundurucú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurucú at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was more localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karikri* of certain villages were also the *karikri* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

* Murphy, 1958.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

passion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity.

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilineal to a matrilineal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *dicaebik*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *dicaebik*; one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *ahi* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *dicaebik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made.

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karibi*, go to Karibikai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests teem with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upitchari, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be

it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajebeiki* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Mundurucú villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajebeiki*. Come, drink weré and mirí. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Mundurucú style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting. 796 727 [202]

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Weekacka'* society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajebeiki* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the pem, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other society. The captor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (i.e., during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Daxokó* society returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Daxokó* enter the village would be killed during the next war. [534] [501]

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajebeiki*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with beijú (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and beijú and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten. [262] [272]

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vultures had to eat apart from the other *Daxokó*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he dies. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the yellowing sickness, or *ajawaé*. To prevent this a shaman examined the [834]

* The identity of the term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

burití palm and were fashioned in an extremely simple manner. The ends of a large bunch of fronds were tied together and a ring of vine was attached some five inches below the top knot. The vine ring was then placed on the dancer's head, and the leaves were arranged to fall uniformly down all sides of his body to a point below his knees. The garment was fastened to his waist by a burití leaf belt. The dancer's arms protruded from the sides of the cloak, and the fronds were pushed aside to make openings for the eyes and mouth. Underneath these cloaks the dancers wore the same raiment used by all the other men during the ceremony. This consisted of a burití-leaf crown, to the front, back, and sides of which were attached vertical strips of burití leaf. Bands of this leaf were also tied around the biceps, wrists, ankles, and just below the knees, and were crisscrossed across the chest and shoulders. The ends of each band were shredded and allowed to dangle. A belt of burití leaf was also worn, and long thin strips of this leaf hung from it to form a knee-length skirt. Thin fibers hung from the back of a burití-leaf neck choker to below the buttocks. The garment used in the *Arsiarsi* ceremony was identical, except that the burití leaves were first boiled in water and then hung in the sun to bleach white. 796 292 224 535 796

The instruments used by the dancers, called *kiá*, consisted of bamboo tubes some 18 inches long with a reed made of the root of the paxiuba palm inserted in the mouth. Identical instruments were used in a secular dance, the *Parasoi*, but those for the *Dajoarapsrip* and *Arsiarsi* could not be used for such profane purposes, for fear of insulting the Mother of the Game. 224 [824] [534]

After the ceremony began, five cloaked dancers made the house-to-house rounds day and night and were replaced after each round by fresh dancers from the men's house. There was an occasional intermission to allow the men and the inhabitants of the dwelling houses to sleep. Each round began when three cloaked men, dancing side by side, approached the first house in a clockwise direction from the men's house. Playing their instruments, they danced to the doorway of the house three times and backed off, entering the house on their fourth approach. After entering the house they circled twice around the interior and then left for the next house in the same direction, repeating the same movements. As they left the house, the other two cloaked dancers approached it, entered in the same manner, and followed the first three through the village. During the rounds of the five *kiá* players, the other men stayed in the men's house and sang songs appropriate to the ceremony. Most of these songs dealt with hunting and game animals, and some with fish and food-bearing plants.

The climax of the ceremony was the summoning of the spirit mothers of the game and their subsequent visitation. Some days after the beginning of the house-to-house dancing, temporary thatch walls were built about the open sides and front of the men's house. A great number of skulls of game animals were gathered and those of each species were placed in rows running east-west and parallel to each other. At the head of the line of tapir skulls was one that had been kept in the men's house and was considered to be the chief of all the skulls in the room. In front of the rows of animal skulls were those of two coatá monkeys. Their 796 224

sick woman was then dried with a piece of cloth, and the shaman placed the lighted end of a cigarette in his mouth and blew smoke over her entire body. He then rubbed her legs from toes to thighs, blew more smoke upon her stomach and rubbed both front and back of her torso. Another shaman took his place and twice passed a palm leaf down her body and both arms. Each time, he cleaned the leaf of the malignant objects that it supposedly picked up from the patient's skin. 796 755

These ministrations were intended to rid the body of the sick woman of some of the accumulation of evil or extraneous objects that had entered her during her illness. An especially dangerous article was discovered in her chest, and the least powerful of the shamans applied his mouth to her body and sucked it out. He was immediately racked by a fit of violent coughing, and a shaman having somewhat more power sucked at his throat, whereupon the object lodged in his own throat. It was finally removed by the most powerful of the four shamans present. He, too, appeared to be choked by the malignant object but succeeded in spitting it out into his hand. All present were invited to look at it, and, evidently no longer dangerous, it was given to a small boy to throw into a fire.

The last part of the curing ceremony was the special duty of the only member of the *Bisiõ* society present in the village. He approached the sick woman, chanting a song and stamping each foot upon the ground. In this manner he circled about her and then grasped her under the armpits and lifted her while stamping his feet. This process was believed to shake the last of the supernatural objects from her body, and she was then ready to have her soul restored. The shaman again plucked the soul from the tapir's skull and placed his clenched hand over the patient's head, making motions suggesting that he was placing the soul within. The sick woman, who was thought to be fully cured, returned to normal activity and enjoyed the appearance of restored health. Unfortunately, her condition, which was possibly tubercular, soon worsened, and again she began to cough steadily.

The Karõkõ

Certain supernatural beliefs and practices are connected with the *karõkõ*, or sacred musical instruments of the Mundurucú. The instruments themselves have been somewhat inaccurately termed trumpets for lack of a better word, although in design and operation they more nearly approximate the oboe. Each Mundurucú village of the savannahs has a set of three such instruments. Each set belongs to a different clan, but their essential design and construction are the same, though with some variation in size. This has no ritual significance but is regarded by the Mundurucú as a sign of degeneration, for the *karõkõ* of different villages were said to be formerly of the same size and much larger than those of today. However, the three instruments composing any single set are purposely and traditionally graded in size. 594 778

The *karõkõ* are actually extremely simple instruments. Each is merely a long, hollow cylinder made of a very light wood, into the end of which is inserted a reed. Those of the village of Cabruá were 43, 46, and 52 inches long and the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534
778

internal diameters of their resonant chambers were 2¾, 3¼, and 3¼ inches, respectively. The reed is made by splitting a 27 to 28-inch length of wet and pliant paxiuba palm rest, hollowing out both halves and rejoining them by binding at either end. A stick slightly larger than the diameter of the cylinder is bound at right angles to the reed and prevents it from falling within the chamber when inserted. When one blows into the end of the reed it gives a flatulent sound similar to the American Bronx cheer, but when the reed is inserted into the resonant chamber of the *karihi* and blown, it emits a deep reverberating tone. The sound emitted by these instruments is not said to be of supernatural origin, nor is it considered an imitation of the voice of spirits.

The actual playing usually takes place within the chamber where the instruments are stored. This chamber is a small extension at the southwest end of the men's house. The roof adjoins that of the main sleeping quarters and slopes to the ground at the west end at the same pitch. But unlike the open-sided dormitory, the *karihi* chamber is completely walled with thatch in order to insure the secrecy of its contents. The trumpet chamber of the village of Cabruá measured 20 feet in length and 11½ feet in width. Owing to the pitch of the roof, however, one could walk erect for less than half the length of the room. The back of the chamber was generally used as a rubbish heap for the disposal of the old paxiuba rest reeds. Suspended horizontally from the ceiling were two parallel poles, upon which the three trumpets were laid when not in use. Also hanging from the roof was a horn made of a hollow bamboo tube, to the end of which was attached an empty gourd, a design resembling an hourglass was cut in the side of the gourd. The over-all length of the instrument was 22 inches, and the length of the bamboo tube was 16½ inches. This particular horn was used to emulate the roar of the jaguar, or *ub fap apun ipuhat*, which is the eponymous name of one of the spirit companions of the trumpets of Cabruá.

[782] The spirits residing within the *karihi* become displeased, say the Mundurucú, if not properly fed and played. Accordingly, every night when the men gather in front of the men's house for their meal, one of them brings a half-gourd of food into the chamber, lays the trumpets on the ground, and offers food to the mouth of each. The playing of the trumpets is somewhat more irregular and infrequent, although the older men claim that they were played daily in times past.

The trumpets are usually played during the late afternoon and shortly after nightfall. Although they are nominally considered to be the property of a particular clan, any man is allowed to play them. These are not especially sacred occasions. Although other men are free to watch the three players performing, they generally amuse themselves in other ways, as guitar playing, talking, or making artifacts. The women, who go about their work nonchalantly at these times, always seem to know who the performers are, despite the fact that sight of the instruments is absolutely forbidden to them and the trumpet chamber is carefully shielded from their view.

The actual music produced by the three *karihi* players was not recorded and can be described only as a deep and rather monotonous dirge. The music is always

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the same, but there are a number of songs or words to the same basic melody. 594
These songs are not sung by the players but are thought by them during the 778
performance. In keeping with exclusive male access to the instruments, the songs are known and taught only to the men. Of any group of three players the man who knows the songs best acts as the leader and plays the medium-sized instrument, and the others act as his accompaniment. The leader plays the basic *karihi* melody, and the man with the largest trumpet emits long and steady blasts interspersed with occasional short ones. The player of the smallest of the three instruments, usually the youngest man, blows a few short sounds whenever the leader signals him by lifting his elbow. The players pause at indefinite intervals, and the leader then sounds a blast on the guard horn.

As they play, the three walk side by side across the width of the trumpet chamber. The room is large enough to allow three long steps with a pivot motion at the end. The instrument is clutched across the chest by the left forearm as the player walks, and the reed is held with the right hand.

The frequent playing of the *karihi* is accepted as a necessary part of the 594
ordinary round of village life and does not merit designation as a ceremony. 778
There are other, however, special occasions when the instruments become the 796
focus of much wider social participation. It is believed necessary to offer a special feast to the various spirits of the trumpets at least once a year. On the designated day, the women amass large quantities of sweet manioc and grate it into water [272]
to make a rich beverage; sufficient game is usually killed on the previous day to last through the feast. The finished drink is brought to the men's house in large clay pots, and the men gather about with half-gourds and drink. Large quantities are consumed, the the women are kept busy throughout the day. The feasting generally begins at noon and lasts until nightfall. As every round of beverage arrives, a bowl must be offered to the trumpets. The spirits are further gratified by the trumpets being played from the beginning of the feast until dawn of the following day. Most of the village population sleeps throughout the night, and the players are occasionally relieved by other groups of three men. Invitations to this feast are not extended to other villages.

Other ceremonies are held when the trumpets are being moved from an old village to a newly constructed one and when new trumpets are made and installed. Both of these occasions involve the participation of people from other villages. The ceremony of the reinstallation of the *karihi* in a new men's house took place in Cabituté during our field work. The village invited the two nearest villages, Cabruá and Dessalyém. Dessalyém declined as the inhabitants were busy preparing manioc flour, but those of Cabruá accepted. The guests arrived during the afternoon and on the following day the men went to the forest to gather thatch for the wall of the trumpet chamber. The new village was built a few hundred yards from the old one, and although the dwellings had been finished and were already occupied by the women and children, only the frame of the men's house had been completed. The men continued to sleep in the old men's house. On the second day after the arrival of the guests, the men went hunting while the women harvested the sweet manioc.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534 778 796 The women made the manioc drink on the next, or third, day of the ceremony, and the men then commenced thatching the walls of the trumpet chamber. The men's house, say the Mundurucú, is the home of the karihá, and the trumpets must be moved into a completely roofed and walled dwelling at the same time that the men move. For this reason it is necessary to complete the walls and roof in one day and to move into the new men's house, with the trumpets, that very [342] night. Since it takes several days to thatch a roof properly, the roof of the old house is customarily dismantled and placed upon the frame of the new one. A new roof would be built during the next rainy season.

During the busy preparations for the installation of the instruments in their new home, considerable feasting and gaiety took place also. From the arrival of the guests until the completion of the thatching, everybody took part in intermoiety and intersexual joking. Mixtures of urucú or palm fruit and water were prepared and were thrown by the women upon men of the opposite moiety. The latter seized the women's supply occasionally and took revenge.

After thatching the roof of the new men's house and walling the trumpet enclosure, the men assembled in the old men's house. They unstrung their hammocks and assembled all their belongings and then took the trumpets from their old chamber. Three men of the same moiety as the clan to which the trumpets belonged then began playing the instruments and slowly marched toward the new village. The other men crowded about the players, wearing and waving palm leaves, to shield the sacred instruments from the eyes of the women. Within the protecting ring were four other men. One carried a hunting horn with which he occasionally sounded a signal consisting of two long, four short, and two more long blasts; another man followed this signal with the characteristic yell of the hunter who raises game. A third man sounded the gourd horn associated with the trumpets of Cabiteté, and a fourth walked along shaking a rattle. The last man belonged to the opposite moiety of the trumpets and was referred to as their [illegible]. [302] His head was covered with a paste made of urucú and ground maize.

The slow procession started from the old men's house at dusk, and night had fallen by the time the group of marchers reached the new village. The women shut themselves in the dwelling houses in anticipation of the men's arrival, and, as the men entered the village, the women began to wail in sorrow for the loss of the instruments that are believed to have once been theirs.* The procession of men circled each house of the village three times and then stopped in front of the new men's house. There the trumpets were played while the rest of the men drank the sweet manioc beverage and rested. The instruments were played outside the men's house until dawn and were then brought inside their new chamber and played until the sun rose. At that time they were retired to the rack suspended from the ceiling, and the guests departed for their own village. The old men's house was later burned to hide all evidence of the activities that were went on in it.

In view of the rapid disintegration of Mundurucú village life, it is doubtful

* See pp. 68-82.

that many new *karikó* will be made. In the past, however, the installation of newly manufactured instruments called for a ceremony quite similar to that held when they were shifted to a new men's house. The trumpets are made in a temporary shelter situated deep in the forest, secure from the chance gaze of passing women. One man is responsible for their manufacture, and the *karikó* are considered to belong to his clan and to harbor its spirits.[1]

534 796 779

Until they are properly installed in the men's house, the trumpets are referred to as *wiro ewen*, or "jaguar with a beak." The Mundurucú explain this difference in nomenclature as being due to their reluctance to mention the proper names of new instruments in front of the women. The ceremony of installation is called *wiro ewen hon*, or "going to get the jaguar with a beak." Invitations are sent to the residents of several other villages, and all are expected to bring their own *karikó*. The male invitees leave their own communities with the trumpets well before dawn and proceed directly to the shelter where the new instruments are being made. Their women leave after daybreak and go to the host village. The assembled men feast throughout the day and at dusk form a procession to the village. This is almost identical to the one formed when old trumpets are being installed in a new village, except that the trumpets of several villages are played. After the new instruments are installed, the old ones are brought to the place where the former were made and are burned.

This description of Mundurucú ceremonialism shows that ritual emphasis was placed upon the propitiation of the spirit owners of game animals, warfare and the quest for trophy heads, and the placation of the clan and trumpet spirits. A unifying thread can be discerned in the fact that the proper care of the trophy head was regarded as a means of pleasing the animal spirits, and also that the trumpet spirits were vaguely conceived as being associated with those of the game. Furthermore, the curing ceremony was specifically devoted to retrieving souls stolen by the animal supernaturals.

796 [782]

Mythology and folklore reveal a continuation of the basic masculine theme of hunting and warfare in Mundurucú culture. The Mundurucú recognize spirit mothers of fish and aquatic animals, but these were propitiated only incidentally during the major ceremonies for the animal spirits; informants mentioned fish spirits in this connection as an afterthought. There is a striking absence of attention to horticulture both in the belief system and in the ceremonial cycle. Each species of domestic plant is believed to have a soul, but not a mother spirit. Songs were formerly sung to the species souls, when the particular plant was being sown, to insure a good harvest, and another song was sung to the garden at the time of burning the clearing. All these songs were better known by the men than by the women, although the latter did most of the horticultural work. No substantiation could be found for Tocantins' statement that the Mundurucú perform annual ceremonies for maize and manioc.[2]

[776]

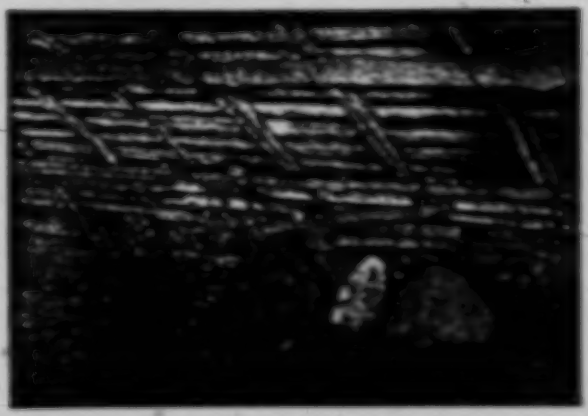
[1] During the patrilineal phase of Mundurucú social structure, the maker of the trumpets probably belonged to the dominant, and perhaps only, clan of the village, and there was undoubtedly a closer functional relationship between clan and trumpet than under present matrilineal circumstances.

[2] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 135-136.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

594
778
415
796
392



a. Instruments used in the ceremonies of the Dance. The cylinders are horns played in these rites, and the earthenware pots are used as containers of the beverage offered to the "spirit mothers" of the game animals. Note the tapir skull between the vessels.

b. Mundurucú man playing one of the sacred trumpets, or *karikri*. Another of the set of three instruments is leaned against the wall at the right.

[cut plate 5]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karökö*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tubö) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karökö ejeuöt*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tubö resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Warú* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Ihi* and *Rapaem* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nucleus of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Warú*, *Ihi*, or *Rapaem* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Mundurucú who might happen to be in

614 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to
534 be placated by playing the instruments and presenting
778 them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karökö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 Clan ownership of the karökö and the localization im-
[591] plicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent
614 that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions
615 of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several
776 "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Wituru*, *Wakó*, and *Karó* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *uxerémop*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *uchirim*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karó* subclan, *Kabó*, *Arú*, *Yuri*, and *Ili* clans of the Red moiety. *Yuri* and *Ili* are linked by common recognition of *aput*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karó* subclan and *Arú* are affiliated through common recognition of the yarökpökpökpöka, a bird; *Kabó* and *Arú* are affiliated through

476 from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and sus-
183 picion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men.
578 Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

476 This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the
621 Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

562 The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But these are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the ekní only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in
395 which the sacred trumpets (karókó), are kept is absolutely
779 forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber
584 adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attenuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

complied under the condition that they could occupy the men's house and play the trumpets there. The men acceded, and the women, their position supernaturally reinforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beijú* (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the *ekad* and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to the karókó is one of the social charters of male superordination. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karókó, although nobody can remember this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karóró is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

562 mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male posi-
578 tion, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to
571 the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here,
[189] unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans
182 but remain functional in protecting the village from super-
● 534 natural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual
778 roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a soli-
562 dary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling
392 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents. 584

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the fatally ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Mundurucú* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes. 888 734

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars. 764

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (kadshé). The ceremony is repeated at yearly intervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finally buried in the house of the deceased. 766

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Mundurucú* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes success in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic dialogue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc. 796 952

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in hobbling off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes. 796 535 224

1 [Martius (Source #2) says this was done by the children -- Analyst]
2 [Martius says female rather than maternal - Analyst]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
535 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
227 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

796 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants.
786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred
796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[776] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibi, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, jabut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
[578] When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kaibi (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

796 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house,
778 the man who carried out the food had to bring a portion into
539 the trumpet chamber and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "Here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

796 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need
775 to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the species "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulas that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

796 All Mundurucú religious ceremonies were male dom-
542 inated. Women served only as observers and were able to participate at times in a play capacity only, except for one or two occasions in which female shamans took part. Parts
796 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was
535 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a

70
362
535

lesser degree, for the men led the dance and played the instruments. This was a circle dance in which animals, birds, and fish were imitated and, although greatly enjoyed, had no religious significance.

[pp 70- end, not processed]

buriti palm and were fashioned in an extremely simple manner. The ends of a large bunch of fronds were tied together and a ring of vine was attached some five inches below the top knot. The vine ring was then placed on the dancer's head, and the leaves were arranged to fall uniformly down all sides of his body to a point below his knees. The garment was fastened to his waist by a buriti leaf belt. The dancer's arms protruded from the sides of the cloak, and the fronds were pushed aside to make openings for the eyes and mouth. Underneath these cloaks the dancers wore the same raiment used by all the other men during the ceremony. This consisted of a buriti-leaf crown, to the front, back, and sides of which were attached vertical strips of buriti leaf. Bands of this leaf were also tied around the biceps, wrists, ankles, and just below the knees, and were crisscrossed across the chest and shoulders. The ends of each band were shredded and allowed to dangle. A belt of buriti leaf was also worn, and long thin strips of this leaf hung from it to form a knee-length skirt. Thin gloves hung from the back of a buriti-leaf neck choker to below the buttocks. The garment used in the *Arasiarai* ceremony was identical, except that the buriti leaves were first boiled in water and then hung in the sun to bleach white.

The instruments used by the dancers, called *kei*, consisted of bamboo tubes some 18 inches long with a reed made of the root of the paxiúba palm inserted in the mouth. Identical instruments were used in a secular dance, the *Parauri*, but those for the *Dajaurupirip* and *Arasiarai* could not be used for such profane purposes, for fear of insulting the Mother of the Game.

After the ceremony began, five cloaked dancers made the house-to-house rounds day and night and were replaced after each round by fresh dancers from the men's house. There was an occasional intermission to allow the men and the inhabitants of the dwelling houses to sleep. Each round began when three cloaked men, dancing side by side, approached the first house in a clockwise direction from the men's house. Playing their instruments, they danced to the doorway of the house three times and backed off, entering the house on their fourth approach. After entering the house they circled twice around the interior and then left for the next house in the same direction, repeating the same movements. As they left the house, the other two cloaked dancers approached it, entered in the same manner, and followed the first three through the village. During the rounds of the five *kei* players, the other men stayed in the men's house and sang songs appropriate to the ceremony. Most of these songs dealt with hunting and game animals, and some with fish and food-bearing plants.

The climax of the ceremony was the summoning of the spirit mothers of the game and their subsequent visitation. Some days after the beginning of the house-to-house dancing, temporary thatch walls were built about the open sides and front of the men's house. A great number of skulls of game animals were gathered and those of each species were placed in rows running east-west and parallel to each other. At the head of the line of tapir skulls was one that had been kept in the men's house and was considered to be the chief of all the skulls in the room. In front of the rows of animal skulls were those of two coatá monkeys. Their

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

V. MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

538 A COLLECTION of fifty-eight myths and folktales was recorded in the villages of
773 Missão Velha and Cabruá. The latter community, one of the more conservative
savannah settlements, was far more productive of traditional lore of all kinds
[114] and most of the material below was gathered there. Although this chapter represents the complete body of oral literature collected in the field, there is undoubtedly more available if a wider range of Mundurucú informants were to be sampled. Some myths, such as that of the origin of clans collected by Father
[118] Kruse,[1] were specifically sought, but were unknown to those questioned. Mundurucú mythology has undoubtedly undergone considerable attenuation, and these may be among the large number of stories no longer extant.

The older Mundurucú say that oral literature was formerly much more actively
537 recounted and transmitted. During the evenings, the elders told tales to all the
538 assembled men, and children were brought to listen. These sessions are no longer frequent, but considerable interest is still manifest among the listeners. A number of men and children and usually some women gathered around whenever I found an informant with a story. Indeed, without an audience the narrator would not put forth his best efforts. The delivery was always quite animated and was accompanied by vivid gestures, imitations of animals, and dialogues between the personages in the story. The audience gave full attention, and it was considered most disrespectful to create any diversion during the narration. All
[522] laughed readily and spontaneously at the appropriate passages, although many had heard the tale several times before.

538 The stories themselves range over a variety of subjects and are told for a number
773 of purposes. They have been broken down into six major categories to provide
continuity. This does not represent an attempt toward a systematic classification
517 of the myths; actually the categories overlap considerably. For example, the animal tales are generally told for amusement, but they frequently explain the origins of certain species. On the other hand, the Karusakaibõ cycle is a true creation myth and is centered upon the activities of the principal culture hero.
[522] There are numerous passages in this myth cycle, however, that are considered highly humorous by both narrators and audiences, and in other incidents animals are also created. Similarly, a category of cosmological myths has been included, but there are several events in other tales that are also important to an understanding of Mundurucú cosmology.

538 Through all, there is a running theme of the importance of the animal world
773 to Mundurucú society and of the close interrelation between the two. In many
tales, animals either have the form of people or are able to take on this form. The mythology does more than explain the origin of animal species, for in almost all cases the various animals are transformed people. That the species had their origin in the human world tends to reinforce the special significance given them in ceremonies and the supernatural belief system.

This affinity between animals and humans will be evident in the saga of

[1] Kruse, 1954, pp. 36–37.

V. MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

538 773 [114] A COLLECTION of fifty-eight myths and folktales was recorded in the villages of Missão Velha and Cabruú. The latter community, one of the more conservative savannah settlements, was far more productive of traditional lore of all kinds and most of the material below was gathered there. Although this chapter represents the complete body of oral literature collected in the field, there is undoubtedly more available if a wider range of Mundurucú informants were to be sampled. Some myths, such as that of the origin of clans collected by Father Kruse,[1] were specifically sought, but were unknown to those questioned. [178] Mundurucú mythology has undoubtedly undergone considerable attenuation, and there may be among the large number of stories no longer extant.

537 538 The older Mundurucú say that oral literature was formerly much more actively recounted and transmitted. During the evenings, the elders told tales to all the assembled men, and children were brought to listen. These sessions are no longer frequent, but considerable interest is still manifest among the listeners. A number of men and children and usually some women gathered around whenever I found an informant with a story. Indeed, without an audience the narrator would not put forth his best efforts. The delivery was always quite animated and was accompanied by vivid gestures, imitations of animals, and dialogues between the personages in the story. The audience gave full attention, and it was considered most disrespectful to create any diversion during the narration. All [522] laughed readily and spontaneously at the appropriate passages, although many had heard the tale several times before.

538 773 517 The stories themselves range over a variety of subjects and are told for a number of purposes. They have been broken down into six major categories to provide continuity. This does not represent an attempt toward a systematic classification of the myths; actually the categories overlap considerably. For example, the animal tales are generally told for amusement, but they frequently explain the origins of certain species. On the other hand, the Karusakaibê cycle is a true creation myth and is centered upon the activities of the principal culture hero. There are numerous passages in this myth cycle, however, that are considered [522] highly humorous by both narrators and audiences, and in other incidents animals are also created. Similarly, a category of cosmological myths has been included, but there are several events in other tales that are also important to an understanding of Mundurucú cosmology.

538 773 Through all, there is a running theme of the importance of the animal world to Mundurucú society and of the close interrelation between the two. In many tales, animals either have the form of people or are able to take on this form. The mythology does more than explain the origin of animal species, for in almost all cases the various animals are transformed people. That the species had their origin in the human world tends to reinforce the special significance given them in ceremonies and the supernatural belief system.

This affinity between animals and humans will be evident in the saga of

[1] Kruse, Ibid. pp. 56–57.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Perimáit, the young man who makes an incredible journey through the forest and returns home more animal than human. The Mundurucú visualize themselves as hunters and voyagers of the forest, and the odyssey of Perimáit has deep meaning for them. They are also warriors, and several of the tales abound with head-hunting episodes and warfare. And some are tales of internecine strife, which, to a Mundurucú, is one of the most horrible eventualities imaginable. 538 773

The reader familiar with European mythology will recognize many thematic similarities, either independently invented or diffused, in Mundurucú tales. And the student of lowland South American mythology and folklore will see in the Mundurucú another example of the widespread dissemination of tales, in whole or in part, throughout the area. No attempt has been made toward any exhaustive distributional analysis of this material, and only a few of the more interesting parallels have been noted.

The Karusakaibé Cycle of World Creation

The major creation legends of the Mundurucú revolve around the figure of the culture hero, Karusakaibé. Métraux has made the apt suggestion that this personage merits the title of "transformer" rather than "creator" and compares him to Maíra, a figure widespread in Tupian mythology.[1] But apart from this rough similarity of roles of the two culture heroes, the Mundurucú creation legends seem to be quite divergent from those of most other Tupian groups. The Tupian grandfather personage, subsumed under the names of Monan, Maíra-Monan or Sumé, is absent, as are the twins commonly found in Tupian creation myths.[2] Despite these points of difference in the structure of the tales and in the main actors, there are numerous parallels of episode and theme between the Mundurucú creation cycle and the oral literature of Tupian and other South American groups. 773 538 171

The first story of the Karusakaibé legend shows a marked resemblance to a Christian-influenced tale collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara and entitled by them, "Creation of Wild Pigs."[3] In both Tenetehara and Mundurucú versions, a culture hero imprisons a group of people in a wall of feathers and converts them into peccaries. Other Tenetehara resemblances include the widespread emphasis on the tapir as a symbol of virility, as derived no doubt from the size of the genitalia of the male of the species. In one Tenetehara story, a woman marries a tapir,[4] and in the corresponding Mundurucú tale the culture hero transforms his sexually precocious son into that animal. Another widely distributed theme is found in the discovery of humans in the underworld. Nimuendajú relates an Eastern Timbira story in which the discovery is made by a man digging for an armadillo,[5] whereas in the Mundurucú episode the armadillo

[1] Métraux, 1928, p. 27.

[2] The Mundurucú denied all knowledge of episodes concerning twins and even claimed that twins were an unknown phenomenon in their own society. It is interesting to note that though other forms of infanticide were freely admitted, they specifically disavowed the killing of twins. They are not and were not a genetically isolated population, and I assume that the practice exists but that there was very strong resistance to giving this information.

[3] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 134.

[4] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 148–149.

[5] Nimuendajú, 1946, pp. 247–248.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

773
538
171

himself makes the find. In the further development of the Mundurucú story the culture hero pulls a number of peoples out of the underworld, but his cord breaks and many are left behind. This theme is distributed beyond South America, as in the Magic Flight passage found in the first tale of the Karusakaibó cycle.

1. KARUSAKAIBÓ AND THE WILD PIG

*539

In times long past, Karusakaibó lived in the village of Uacupari. This settlement was not at the site of the modern Uacupari, but was near by.

During one dry season Karusakaibó and all the people of the village were out hunting in the forest, where they lived in temporary lean-tos. That of Karusakaibó was separated from those of the other people, and he stayed there alone with his son Kirumtau. The people killed a great deal of game, but in that time there were no tapir, wild pig, or vendu capoeira; the only equivalent of the wild pig was the cutiri. Karusakaibó, however, hunted the nambú bird to the exclusion of all other game, and every day he sent Kirumtau to the lean-tos of his sisters to trade his kill for game that their husbands had taken. On the first three days that Kirumtau went to the lean-tos of his aunts, they said to him, "We do not have any meat, but we will get you some." On the fourth day the aunts became angry with the boy and said to him, "Your father hunts only nambú which is no good to eat, and we always have to give you food. We do not have any." Kirumtau began to cry and went away. The sisters called him back, offering him food, but he would not return.

The boy returned home crying, and Karusakaibó asked him what had happened. He replied that the aunts had scolded him because the nambús did not please them. Karusakaibó said, "They will pay for this," and sent his son outside to gather the feathers of the parrot, the mutum, the jacú, and the nambú and to bring them back to him. There were many feathers outside, for Karusakaibó had killed many birds, and the boy gathered them and brought them back. The father then transformed his son into a small bird, the *tsukirwajapat*, and sent him out to surround the lean-tos of all the other people with the feathers. In this disguise, Kirumtau flew around the lean-tos and planted the feathers in the ground, quills first. As he went about his task, he sang the song of the bird. He was nearly out of feathers when someone in one of the lean-tos called out, "Who is that singing out there," and threw a piece of burning firewood at him. The boy flew away and returned to his father.

Karusakaibó asked the returned son, "Did you put all the feathers in the ground?" The boy said that he had not finished, and his father sent him out for more feathers. He replenished his supply and finished his task in two more days.

Upon completion of his chore, Kirumtau reported to Karusakaibó, and the latter told him, "Now go back and tie the feathers together at the top." For this purpose he transformed the boy into a frog and made the feathers grow to a great size. The boy, in the guise of a frog, returned to the encircled lean-tos and climbed a tree, singing the song of the frog, "pik, pik, pik . . ." as he tied the tips of the feathers together. When he finished, the lean-tos and their environs

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dabbed a bit of rotten Brazil nut on the mouth of each one. It is because of the animals who made the vaginas that they are of different shapes and sizes today, and it is because of the armadillo that the female organ smells as it does. 539

6. HOW KARUSAKAIBÓ MADE THE SKY AND FINALLY AVENGED HIMSELF AGAINST DAILRÚ

Now Karusakaibó resumed his plans to rid himself of the armadillo-trickster, Dailrú. One day he invited Dailrú to accompany him to bathe. On the way, Karusakaibó told him, "Carry a flat stone." The armadillo picked up a flat stone and carried it in his hands. "No," said Karusakaibó, "carry it on your head." As soon as Dailrú had placed the flat stone on his head, Karusakaibó caused the stone to grow in diameter. It grew and grew, and, in order to support it, Dailrú braced his hands beneath it. As it grew larger Dailrú cried out, "It is heavy." When the armadillo could no longer support it, Karusakaibó caused both him and the stone to rise high into the air. This great, flat stone is now the sky.

Karusakaibó then made roots grow from Dailrú's nose and implant themselves in the earth; the armadillo thus became transformed into the apoi, a tall tree of the jungle. It is this tree which to this day supports the sky, although nobody knows where it is.

THE BIBLE: MUNDURUCÚ VERSION

The following six tales are among the most delightful collected; they are also of great value for an understanding of the processes of integration and creativity in myth-making. The first three syncretize the story of Adam and Eve with Mundurucú themes, and the last three represent a similar integration of New Testament themes. 539 171

Karusakaibó and Tupan are interchangeable in these stories, and the same narrator frequently used both names to designate the same person. The first tale of the cycle, "The Creation of Adjun and Eva," has become a continuation of the account entitled "Karusakaibó Makes More Women." An interesting reversal of Biblical events occurs in that Adjun, or Adam, is made from Eve's rib.

The second story, "The Origin of Work," appears to be an aboriginal myth integrated with that part of the Biblical punishment for original sin that commands that man shall live by the sweat of his brow. Koch-Grünberg recorded a similar story of tools that worked by themselves among the Taulipang,[a] and Nimuendajú found the same theme in an Eastern Timbira tale.[b] Neither story betrays European influence, nor does that collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara.[c] The aboriginality of the theme in eastern South America is further corroborated by Métraux's reference to the belief in a land where there is no work as an essential part of the ancient Tupian myth of the "terre-sans-mal."[d] Granted that the legend is aboriginal to the Mundurucú also, they have then adopted and embellished that part of the Book of Genesis which had meaning

[a] Koch-Grünberg, 1927, pp. 135-137.
[b] Nimuendajú, 1946, p. 244.
[c] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 132.
[d] Métraux, 1928, pp. 208-209.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

538 177 for them. By the same principle, Eve's consumption of the forbidden fruit becomes a minor theme in the third story, and the main activity of the devil-serpent is to teach Adam and Eve the art of sexual intercourse.

The three New Testament stories are all interpretations of Christ's death and ascent to Heaven. In the last two versions, Karusakaibé, who in this case is equated with God the Son and not God the Father as in the Genesis tales, is accused of sorcery and is slain by his fellows. Like Christ, he arises from the dead and has further adventures. In two of these stories Karusakaibé-Tupan-Christ endows the white people with their technological superiority. The Mundurucú still look upon their own backwardness as the result of Karusakaibé's anger.

The last story of the cycle has integrated more European content than have the others. Karusakaibé is specifically mentioned as visiting America and Germany, the respective native lands of the author and the missionaries. En route he made salt water and ice, both of which are but dimly understood by the Mundurucú. One episode substitutes domestic fowl for the fishes and loaves of the Sermon on the Mount, but the resulting creation was not used to feed the multitude.

7. THE CREATION OF ADAM AND EVE

*539 When Karusakaibé, or Tupan as he is known by the priests, made the women out of clay, he also made a little house in which he locked the unfinished clay dolls. When he opened the house again, the dolls had all turned into adolescent girls.

There were already men at that time, and one of these men discovered the girls and seduced one. Karusakaibé asked who had had coitus with the girl, and when he found out, he made the man marry her. As the girls grew to maturity, the culture hero gave one to each man. Eventually, all the men had wives, and only a girl named Eva was left without a mate. Karusakaibé decided to make a man for her. He took one of her ribs while she was asleep, turned it into a man, and placed him beside her. In the morning she awoke to find Adjun.

Karusakaibé told Adjun that Eva was his woman and was given to him to help him. He left a quantity of fruit with them, but instructed them not to eat any.

8. ORIGIN OF WORK

Karusakaibé sent Adjun to the forest to make a garden. Adjun did not, however, have to do any physical labor, for Karusakaibé gave him machetes that worked by themselves and did not require a human arm to swing them. But he instructed Adjun to refrain from spying upon the work of the machetes.

Adjun, however, was overcome by curiosity and peeked at the activity of the machetes, whereupon they all broke. When Karusakaibé saw that nothing had been done in the new garden, he made Adjun do the work himself. And he warned Adjun that his children after him would also suffer for his disobedience. From then on it would be hot, and people would sweat and develop calluses on their hands.

Karusakaibé then gave axes to Adjun and again told him that the axes would do the work themselves as long as they were not spied upon. Adjun again looked, the axes broke, and Karusakaibé ordered him to fell the trees himself. Adjun

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

539 sorcerer. The men of the village went to his house to kill him, but Karusakaibé was aware of their intent and transformed himself into a weak old man who could not even walk. They came again, and Karusakaibé turned himself into a very old woman, and again the men left out of compassion. On the third occasion, Karusakaibé again made himself into an old man, but this time the men slew him with their bows and arrows and left him.

Some days later the village men visited Karusakaibé's grave and found him sitting on the ground, alive and young again. He then left them and ascended into the sky.

To this day it is dangerous to live on the site of Karusakaibé's old village of Uaripari, for down below in the underworld from which the people were drawn. This underworld is like the present world of the Mundurucú, but it has cities, steamboats, and other wonderful things. If one were to live above this world, the land would sink and in its place a river would flow.

12. KARUSAKAIBÉ LEAVES THE WORLD: THIRD VERSION

The people were angry and suspicious toward Karusakaibé (Tupan) because he did many strange things and had great power over people. They shot him with arrows and buried him, placing over his grave thorns and great stones. However, he came to life again and burst out of the tomb with such force that the hills of the Mundurucú country were formed.

Tupan is now in the sky. On the way he visited America and Germany. During his travels he made salt water and turned water into ice so that he could cross it. He also created many kinds of animals. On one occasion he killed a hen, split it, and put it on the fire. He cut one of the halves into many little pieces and blew upon them. Each piece turned into a hen or a rooster and flew away. One of the roosters saw Tupan as he flew away and cried, "There goes Santo Antonio rising."

Tupan arrived at a house and asked for water and manioc flour. The people did not know who he was and gave him only water. Tupan said, "Their garden is going to grow." He turned his back and walked away, and the garden turned into stone. He went on and arrived at another house. These people gave him manioc flour and water. Tupan said, "This garden is going to become all overgrown." But the opposite happened, and the garden yielded abundantly. The first people were angry at Tupan and thought him a sorcerer. Those who were kind to him said, "Ah, but our grandfather is good!"

Cosmological Myths

538 The following nine tales deal in part with cosmological themes. The cycle of tales concerning the activities of Karusakaibé and Wakurumpé explains the visage of the sun, but differentiates its physical appearance from the sun spirit, or its ultimate reality. The visible sun, we learn, is really a dual phenomenon that consists alternately of the heads of Karusakaibé and Wakurumpé. The tale (15) explaining this shares certain motifs with the widely distributed "Rolling Head"

myth. But in other stories in which detached heads become astral bodies, the heads are usually transformed into the moon.[a] The most interesting episode in these stories, however, is the clearly delineated Oedipus theme in tale 12. The myth bears some resemblance to one collected by Nimuendajú among the Eastern Timbira in which a star takes pity upon a young but ugly man.[b] The latter story, however, has two brothers playing the roles of the brothers-in-law in the Mundurucú account. 538

The stories of Nung-eung are likewise concerned with origins in that they explain the prevalence of fleas at certain seasons and the origin of the Milky Way. But the latent theme of sibling rivalry that runs through this myth cycle is quite strong. Tales 16 and 17 tell how Nung-eung's wife (and patrilateral cross cousin in the second version) left him for his younger brother, and in tale 18 Nung-eung copulates with the brother's wife and is killed by him in revenge.

The two remaining stories of this group are unrelated to these two myth cycles. One gives an account of how the spirit, the Mother of the Rain, appeared in the guise of an old woman and created the abundant fruit of the forest. The other partakes of the widely distributed theme that the night was once very short and became long through human intervention. The responsible person is transformed into a bird of the night in the Mundurucú account, as he is in native myths collected by Nimuendajú[c] and by Couto de Magalhães.[d]

13. TRANSFORMATION OF KARUTAUCIBÚ AND WAKURUMPÚ

Once upon a time there lived two men, named Karutaucibú and Wakurumpú, who were married to each other's sisters. The latter was a man of normal appearance, but Karutaucibú was very ugly. He was so ugly that his wife no longer wanted him and not only refused to accept his kill of fish and game, but had relations with another man. 539[x]

One day the men of the village went to a stream far in the forest to fish with timbó. When the others returned, Karutaucibú remained in the shelter that they had built and contemplated his unhappy situation. He was disgusted with life and reluctant to return to a wife who did not want him. As he was sitting there, the Sun came with his wife and asked him what he was doing. "Nothing," replied Karutaucibú, "I am only sitting here because my wife has relations with another man and no longer wants me because of my ugliness."

The Sun wished to verify the truth of this and told his own wife to have coitus with Karutaucibú in order to see if he was capable of pleasing a woman. The wife tried him out, but his penis was soft and would not enter. She went back and reported this to the Sun. To see if his wife was telling the truth, he passed his hand down the front of her body and then down her back to see if he could bring out semen. Nothing could be discovered, and he knew his wife told the truth.

[a] See Baldus, 1946, pp. 108–109.
[b] Nimuendajú, 1946, p. 245.
[c] Nimuendajú, 1915, p. 297.
[d] Couto de Magalhães, 1935, pp. 221–222.

into the village. He shouted to the villagers to bring fire, but nobody heard him, and he then turned into the curujão da noite (a bird). When he flew away he took the thread of day with him, and nobody knows to this day where it is. That is why the nights are so long. 539A

21. MOTHER OF THE RAIN

In times past wounded warriors used to turn into shamans during the period of their disability and wandered over the world in this form. One of these warriors was once walking along a path when he met an old woman who was really the Mother of the Rain. He said to her, "Where are you going, old woman?" The woman, who was carrying an empty basket on her back replied, "I am going to gather fruit," and she named many species of fruit that she intended to collect. As she turned away the warrior pulled on her basket, dragging it to the ground. Out of the empty basket tumbled so much fruit that the warrior could not eat it all; she had created this fruit to demonstrate her power to the wounded man. The angry old woman then exclaimed, "You are not a real shaman. You have only become one for a short time, and only because you went to war and were wounded." She then continued on her way, but since that time there has been an abundance of fruit in the forest, whereas there previously had been but little.

Cultural Inventions and Innovations

The following myths are specifically concerned with explaining cultural innovations. The first two are the longest and, to the Mundurucú, the most important and account for the origin of the sacred trumpets and of horticulture. The first is a true social charter, for it validates the secondary of the male in Mundurucú society. It reveals also the basic insecurity of the male position; the women once owned the instruments and the men can retain them only by force. In short, the male role is felt to be subject to constant threat. The reader will immediately recognize the almost globally distributed theme associated with sacred musical instruments forbidden to the eyes of women. 538 562

The myth of the origin of horticulture and domesticated plants makes a clear association between these aspects of culture and womanhood and nurture of the young. The story demonstrates an obvious congruence not only with the female principle in fertility, but with the primary role of the woman in horticulture.

22. INVENTION OF THE SACRED TRUMPETS

The sacred trumpets of the Mundurucú, called the *karikó*, are taboo to the sight of women, but the women once owned them. In fact it was the women who first discovered the trumpets. 539A

There were once three women named Yayombiri, Tuembiri, and Paraward. When these women went to collect firewood, they frequently heard music from some unknown source. One day they became thirsty and went off in search of water. Deep in the forest they found a beautiful, shallow, and clear lake, of which they had no previous knowledge. This lake came to be named Karikóbeapti,

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

"539 Maraishiñi made the paintings on the Morro de Castagnin, on the Tapajós River." He and Marakiewibé then went to the lands downstream.

Adventures and Sagas

● 538 The following tales are not greatly concerned with supernaturally implemented transformations and innovations, although such events do occur within their contexts. And they are not creation epics in the sense of the cycle of Karusakaibé. The first (tale 29) is the story of a boy who is tricked by his mother's brother and, as a result, accomplishes a journey fraught with a number of hardships and successive dangers. He finally reaches home, but his experiences have left him more animal than human. This is clearly indicated at the end of the story when he kills his own pet birds, for no Mundurucú would kill a pet any more than he would his own children. The story is reminiscent of a Tukuna tale related by Nimuendajú, in which a woman is lost in the forest and has various adventures with animals, returning home bereft of reason.[a] A Tembé tale collected by Nimuendajú has even more close affinity to the Mundurucú story.[b] A boy undergoes a similar odyssey and returns home with the personality of the catitú. The story of Perimãt probably indicates more clearly than do the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits that the Mundurucú feel that their own arboreal way of life connects them very closely with the animal world. The human and animal spheres are conceived as symbiotic to each other, and their memberships are interchangeable under certain circumstances.

That the Mundurucú and Tembé sagas are historically connected is manifest in an episode common to both, in which the lost boy crosses a river on the back of a giant alligator. The tale of Perimãt has other widely distributed elements. The motif of fowls that speak can be found in much of native South American folklore, and the theme of the man with the sharpened leg bone is encountered far beyond the limits of the continent.

Tales 30 to 33 are united by the common theme of internecine conflict. The first relates the estrangement of two brothers and the growth of hostility and suspicion between them owing to the failure of one to join in common ventures with the other. This attitude toward the deviant and the nonparticipant is still active in contemporary Mundurucú society and is a potent agent in the enforcement of cooperation and communality. If such a person is also a shaman, his behavior is frequently sufficient to bring accusations of sorcery. The tale (30) continues to develop the growing hostility between the two brothers until its culmination in head-hunting attacks on each other's villages. During one episode, one of the brothers has sexual intercourse with the wife of the other as in the cycle of Nung-nung stories (tale 18). But unlike that legend, one brother cuckolds the other for the specific purpose of revenge, thus providing one illustration of the strong component of covert aggression in Mundurucú adultery.

[1] Some informants attributed the cliff paintings to Karusakaibé. I have seen those on the Morro de Castagnin. They are clearly animal representations and are indeed in a seemingly inaccessible place. The paintings undoubtedly predate the Mundurucú occupation of this territory.

[a] Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 148.

[b] Nimuendajú, 1915, p. 299.

The story (22) of the origin of the Parihitetet tribe repeats the theme of the isolated and antisocial person who finally breaks out into open aggression against his fellows. These are terrible acts to the Mundurucú, and it is interesting to note how the dilemma is resolved. In tales 20 to 22, the persons guilty of intra-tribal conflict leave the Mundurucú country, and their descendants form enemy tribes. The offenders in tale 23 are killed in warfare, and they die without issue. Thus, although fratricidal conflict is thought by the Mundurucú to have occurred in the past, the guilty parties and their heirs were subsequently completely expunged from the society. 538

29. THE TALE OF PUSHUIAP: A MUNDURUCÚ ODYSSEY

At one time there lived a boy named Akainoatpó, who had an uncle (mother's brother) named Karujuribó. The boy liked to hunt with his uncle and called to his grandmother every day as they left for the forest, "Grandmother, I am going to bring back the tripe of a tapir." Before setting out on the hunt one morning, the uncle, Karujuribó, told Akainoatpó to give him his arrows for sharpening. The uncle sharpened the arrows and they left. 539

On the path the uncle said to Akainoatpó, "Go ahead. I am going to stop to defecate." But this was only a ruse, and the uncle circled ahead of the nephew and transformed himself into a deer to test the boy's hunting skill. Upon spying the deer Akainoatpó called back, "Uncle, there is a deer here." When he received no response to his cries, he decided to shoot the animal himself. The uncle had foreseen this eventuality and had sharpened the point in such a way that the arrow would not enter. The unharmed deer ran away and became retransformed into the uncle. When the uncle returned, Akainoatpó said to him, "Uncle, there was a deer here, and I shot him but the arrow did not enter." The uncle replied, "I did not hear you call, but it seems that the deer has gone. Let us look for another." When they returned to the house at the end of the day, the boy told his grandmother what had happened.

Every time thereafter that the boy accompanied his uncle on the hunt, the latter turned himself into various species of wild life. One day the uncle turned himself into the deer and appeared before the boy. However, Akainoatpó had sharpened his own arrows on this occasion and the arrow entered the body of the deer. The deer fell over as if dead, and the lad tied its legs with sipó (jungle vine) and placed it over his shoulders and set out for home. On the way he grew tired, put the deer on the ground and lay down to rest. The deer came back to life and freed its legs easily from the weak vine used to tie him. Transformed again to a human, the uncle returned home shortly after the boy.

Before the next hunt the boy said again to his grandmother that he would bring back the tripe of the tapir. The grandmother replied that if he really wanted to kill the tapir, he should put his arm up the animal's anus and pull out the tripe. The boy misunderstood and did not know whether the tapir should be dead or alive when this was done. He went again to the florest with his uncle, and this time the latter disguised himself as a tapir. The boyy shot the tapir and, although the arrow did not enter, the tapir feigned sleep. Thinking the tapir

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

multitude of other beasts of every species who were also pursuing the woman and her daughter, intent upon raping them. 539

After the frog had shot and killed all the animals, he ordered the woman to skin them and to put their meat on the bakriest and their hides in the fire. She did this, and there were so many that she was completely blackened with soot when she finished. Then the frog told her, "Go take a bath, but look only upstream and do not look behind you." He did not explain this order to her. The woman went to the stream and bathed, and the dirt from her body turned the stream black. This dirt was acting upon the fish like timbó, and they began to come to the surface, batting their tails three times before dying. The woman heard this sound and turned around to see what it was. All the fish immediately came back to life again and swam away. At this point the frog came down to the stream to collect the dead fish. When he saw that there were none, he asked the woman if she had looked around. She admitted that she had, and the frog told her that if she had not done this people would not have to go into the forest in search of wild timbó. Instead, fish would have been killed by the dirt from the bodies of bathing women.

55. THE MAN WHO LIVED ON SMOKE

There was once a man whose only food was tobacco smoke. Without tobacco smoke he would die. He was so dependent upon tobacco that, when he ran out of it, he filled a gourd with smoke and drank from it.

One day he went to the forest to get Brazil nuts and brought along some tobacco and a gourd full of smoke. He smoked all the tobacco during the journey and began to drink the smoke from the gourd. He drank sparingly, but still he consumed all the smoke when only halfway up the tree. Since he could not live without it, he fell down to the ground dead. However, his body disappeared.

To this day people must plant tobacco only among the burned pieces of wood that lie about in the garden.

TALES OF ANIMALS AND PEOPLE

This last group of legends includes a somewhat varied assortment of stories that concern animals or people or, commonly, the two in interaction. The first story explains that dogs originated from a union between a girl and a dog in human form. Two other stories also deal with the domesticated dog. In tale 57 two dogs burst out of the eyes of a burning demon, and tale 50 tells how the inhabitants of the Land of Dogs took revenge upon a Mundurucú by feeding him bones. 538

Tales 57 to 60 are united by the common theme of hostility between father-in-law and son-in-law, an antagonism that seldom erupts into open quarrels in Mundurucú society. The story entitled "The Origin of the Alligator" tells of a man who eats his sons-in-law, but who is finally outwitted by a son-in-law who escapes a series of traps. The structure of the tale bears a strong resemblance to a Tenetehara legend about a vulture father-in-law* and to two Tukuna myths 538 171 606

* Wagley and Galvão, 1948, pp. 150–151.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

●539 collected by Nimuendajú.[a] "The Man Who Married the Guerilla Monkey" is in
171 many respects almost identical with a folktale of the same name reported by Roth
606 from the Arawak of British Guiana.[b] An interesting note in the Mundurucú version is an incestuous union between the monkey-woman and her son. Tale 39 deals with the macura father-in-law's attempts to imitate the feats of his nonhuman son-in-law and his consequent death. The story is clearly linked to the Tenetehara "Opossum Takes a Son-in-law."[c] Another variation of the theme of union between two species is found in tale 40, in which the deer unknowingly marries a jaguar-girl. A similar story is reported from the Tuhuna,[d] both Mundurucú versions include an episode in which the son-in-law must maintain a normal demeanor in the face of the wife's family.

Included in the following collection are four stories about the land tortoise,
539 a notorious prankster in the folklore of the Amazon. Tales about the land tortoise are well represented in collections of Brazilian oral literature, and Charles F. Hartt devoted an entire volume to these stories.[e]

Three stories concern humans who made love to animals. Although this is a common theme in the region, it is worth while to note that the Mundurucú story of a man's love for a sloth has parallels in Cayua[f] and Guiana Arawak[g] folklore. Also, stories of a liason between a woman and a snake are found among both the Mundurucú (tale 49) and the Tenetehara.[h]

The last two stories in this section are of great interest. Tale 57 is an obvious rendition of the story of Hansel and Gretel, although the actors are spiders, and the wicked witch appears as a Yurupari. It should be noted that the cruel stepmother is missing in the Mundurucú version, as she is in the legend "Babes in the Wood," collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara.[i] Finally, it is fitting that the last Mundurucú myth (58) to be related should be the one that explains their acceptance of the whites. Although the idea that the Mundurucú once owned the present site of the city of Belém has no basis in truth, it is quite accurate to attribute their involvement with the whites to their desire for manufactured articles. This realism is consistent with the common recognition of the modern Mundurucú that needs are cumulative.

36. ORIGIN OF THE DOG

×539 Dachekorõ had arrived at her first menses. She therefore stayed in the house alone when her mother went to the garden and her two brothers set out for the hunt. After they had all left, a young man entered the house. His name was Karupitabõ, and he was not a human at all but a dog in human form. However, at that time there were no dogs in the villages of people as there are today.

[a] Nimuendajú, 1932, pp. 145–146.
[b] Roth, 1915, p. 71.
[c] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 131–134.
[d] Nimuendajú, 1932, p. 150.
[e] Hartt, 1872.
[f] Nordenskiöld, 1924, p. 296.
[g] Roth, 1915, p. 204. This story is slightly variant in that a woman loves a male sloth.
[h] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 149.
[i] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 163–165.

11: Murphy
539, 773

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[For the texts of 58 Mundurucu myths and folktales, see category 116, pp 70-132.]

XXI

Funerary honors for warriors who die in battle

766 When a Mundurucu happens to die in the course of one of their frequent wars, his comrades cut off his head and mummify it in the accustomed manner.

Upon their return to the village, they put it in a special place along with the weapons, horn and ornaments which belonged to the dead warrior.

This relic becomes the object of public veneration.

765 If a Mundurucu from a neighboring tribe happens to come by, he goes to see it and pays it the proper respects, weeping and lamenting its fate. In the native village, public honors are paid to the late warrior; the time is settled in advance and invitations are made to neighboring villages.

When the time comes the people get together; the head is laid in a sort of basket or hamper, which is placed across the laps of the widow, mother and sisters of the dead man.

The other women sit around them in a circle. Several torches of resinous wood blaze near the funerary basket.

The warriors, bedecked with ornaments and armed with bows and arrows, dance around the group, blowing their horns and playing other musical instruments.

Other groups of men do likewise inside the elçam while some dance and sing around the house where the head receiving these funerary honors is located. All the while they pronounce in loud voices the following lament:

"Thou hast died, my kinsman, we shall avenge thee; this is the [131] purpose for which we are on this earth, each to avenge the other who dies in battle. Our foes are no braver and no more manly than we."

In Mundurucu it runs as follows:

[539] "Ftean ari ubaripeinhaçan eted ei ue-gne ari utiede aipanme idie ôpe te atedeiame rupanhô be tean anhem parui áte bé. Uterupanhon ibeixi ame utie de utedie ute beixi."

These funerary celebrations last for longer than one day.

They are held once a year for the first four years following the warrior's death.

On the fourth year, the celebration ends with the burial of the head; on this occasion, the women as well as the men address it with the following words:

"My brother (or my son), we have come here to bury thee. Thou hast died; to this end wert thou born. Thou hast died in war, because thou wert brave; to this end did our mothers and fathers nurture us. We must not fear our foe. Whoever dies in war dies with honor; it is not as death from illness. We have come from all the malocas to weep and dance to the end of thy burial."

The Mundurucu version runs as follows:

"Uanhum inhaçan uté sôte ôcû tchâme. Imônhame ari utiê bai utiê mai pâome. Etiê nanhum uté rupanhum bê anhocate ediê. Imenhame utiê xi utiê me pipo utiê bai ari ut utiê tebé anhocate epecupeidie ipi bé utiê parara ama utiê rupanhum bê-xime. Rupânhum-bê tiê a ãen anhocate ediê tutu ut-e utiê rupanhum bê-tbé pame une pite idiotié ma utié pa-âme pai bê:ime cauxi pibdne. Idiôtié utitsote anhuncaxiri bêtii caracuie cuié ãe uadime uté cabé ute racui axirau umãe iueipe iné utiê uéné pam utié sote nhaçam achi-tuttne pre ibiman utie diepite diei." [132]

At the same time, around the funerary basket, the women speak as from the dead man's mouth:

"My mother (or my wife), thou wilt die in bed of illness. I died in war because I was brave."

In the course of these ceremonies the shamans blow on a special instrument: it is a kind of horn which they call caruquê.

To this end the shaman hides in a small hut which is especially built for the purpose, and where the women are strictly forbidden to enter.

On the other hand, these superstitious women avoid the sight of that sacred and mysterious instrument in every possible way. They are convinced that were they to glance at the caruquê but for an instant, they would commit a sacrilege that would cause them misfortune for the rest of their lives.

village hunters during the coming year by keeping her children close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

In addition to those ceremonies consecrated to the tutelary deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called ken; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers" of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way:

"Oh, 'mother' of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we entreat thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu runs as follows:

"Mucẽipixi eirũ beré bereme u tiedie imenedie diei chipanme mucẽ dẽ aipanem itabungue diẽe taraibote ama epõtepõte diẽe imenedie tutu utie-die araiarai utecõpe ixi abime pame euatu abime eirũ berereme bate que mẽaipanhate uéré mon utie caroi diẽai panme tuman."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the lap of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

44. THE TORTOISE AND THE DEER PLAY A GAME

×539 Two tortoises were playing together on a hill at a game which they called *karurapenpenpenpen*. There was a clean, straight path on the side of the hill that terminated at the bottom in a tree. The tortoises climbed to the top of the path and rolled back down it, shouting, *karurapenpenpenpen* as they descended. When they neared the tree at the bottom, they pulled their heads into their shells and struck the tree with a loud noise.

The deer arrived on this scene and watched their game with great curiosity. "What are you doing, Yautí?" he asked. "We are playing *karurapenpenpenpen*," they answered. "Try it yourself. It is lots of fun." The deer responded that they would have to teach him, and the tortoises said, "Just watch what we do and follow us." Down the hill they rolled, shouting "*karurapenpenpenpen*," and pulled their heads into their shells just before striking the tree. The deer followed after them, gaily crying, "*karurapenpenpenpen*," but having no shell his head smashed into the tree and he was killed.

The tortoises thought this funny. "Weh, weh, weh," they chortled, clapping their hands. They then sat down and ate the deer.

45. THE TORTOISE RACES WITH THE DEER

One day the deer said jokingly to the tortoise, "Yautí, do you think that you can keep up with me if we run together?" The tortoise immediately replied, "Yes. I can keep up with you." The deer did not believe him, and they agreed to run together the following day.

The tortoise then went to all the other tortoises and posted them along the line of the race. He instructed them, "Whenever the deer calls out 'Yautí,' answer him." The tortoise himself waited at the finish line.

When the race started, the deer ran for a while and then, curious to see whether the tortoise had kept the pace, called out "Yautí." "Ah?" came the answer from a tortoise posted along the route. The deer ran faster and later called again. Again he was answered and he ran even faster. This happened several more times and each time the deer ran faster. Finally he fell over dead from exhaustion. All the tortoises laughed, "Weh, weh, weh," and clapped their hands. They then sat down and ate the deer.

46. THE TORTOISE, THE JAGUAR, AND THE ALLIGATOR

One day the tortoise was traveling through the forest and passed under a najá palm in the top of which some prego monkeys were eating the palm fruit. He stopped to eat some of the fruit which had fallen to the ground when the monkeys spied him. "Ah, there is Yautí," they exclaimed. "Come up and eat with us, Yautí." The tortoise replied that he could not climb, and two of the monkeys went down and carried him to the top of the tree. He ate najá fruit with them until they departed, leaving him alone in the tree.

A passing jaguar saw the tortoise in the top of the tree and called to him, "How did you get up there, Yautí?" "I climbed," answered the tortoise. The jaguar, who

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the opposite moiety within the framework of the iboiwati- 614
tit relationship, and the clan crests, consisting of geomet-
ric designs, of the inhabitants of each men's house are [531]
painted on the upright posts of the structure. Fellow clans-
men sleep in adjacent hammocks in the men's house and
are adjoined by members of the same phratry, if any reside
in the village.

Beyond these few remaining manifestations of clanship 551
there remains only its expression in interpersonal behavior. 614
The clan affiliation of every Mundurucú is known to every
other through the naming system. The name of each Mun-
durucú consists of his clan name with a given name suf-
fixed. Boys are given the name of their great-grandfather
in the direct paternal line. If there are several brothers,
some are assigned the names of the great-grandfather's
brothers, both real and classificatory. Girls are given the
names of the father's mother's mother. Thus, given names
are transmitted in certain clans, or, at least, within the
moiety. The possession of a name is one criterion of mem-
bership in Mundurucú society. The product of a union be-
tween a white man and a Mundurucú woman is for this
reason, more than for his mixed ancestry, looked upon as
marginal to the society. Similarly, illegitimacy, while [848]
looked upon as a misfortune, does not socially disable the
child as long as the father is known. If, on the other hand,
the mother does not know who the child's father is, it can
receive no name. Such children are not mistreated, but
they are generally called by the derogatory nickname, *tun*
(excrement).

Clanship thus continues to bestow a social identity on 614
its members and to establish their inclusion as "people,"
or Mundurucú. In this sense, it is an important mechanism
in the maintenance of social boundaries between the Mun-
durucú and their Brazilian neighbors. Fellow clansmen are

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

166 It does not require a particularly strong motive to in-
182 duce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weak-
602 ening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same
[835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively
[594] smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship
● [551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-
621

846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the
child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened
to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is
changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the
bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the
same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already de-
termined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband
dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take
her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage,
for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons
888

*The hopelessly degenerate Camês, Voturôes, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do
this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a
service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[101] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tame-
puyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to
this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old peo-
ple" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
[302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside
the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
[175] Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
000 the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent
462 of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were
727 taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also
[301] be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and
[736] her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

266 Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

846 **Birth and naming.**—According to Martius, the father keeps to his hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives
●553 the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children
852 reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

881 **Puberty and marriage.**—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

584 A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

komtí, a tree; and *Arú* and *Yurí* find a bond in *ikönip*, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the *Sau* clan may bestow the name *Marí* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kiriši* clan of the White moiety and the *Warú*, *Sau*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kokuawat*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan half is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

476 to bathe and fetch water and firewood as a group. The latter three activities hardly demanded cooperation, but are illustrative of the fundamental division of the society on the basis of sex and of the love for sociability of the Wundurucú. [579] The Wundurucú liked to do things together and it was a grave breach of etiquette to refuse to help in any work.

621 476 It will be noted that the village was the basic unit within which cooperation was carried out, while the extended family was of almost equal importance. Seldom did economic activities involve two or more villages. A man and wife occasionally left the village together for a few hours to plant or harvest vegetables or to gather fruits, but these occasions were of minor importance in the economy.*

476 554 Accompanying this emphasis on cooperation in the economy was a corresponding complete lack of stress on competition. Competitive economic activity was absolutely nonexistent. A lazy person lacked prestige but in this instance it was because a lazy person was a drain on the society. 554 Prestige was sought through accomplishments in warfare and knowledge of Wundurucú lore and not by economic means. In- [536] deed, the Wundurucú did not openly seek to better anybody even in play with the exception of one strength test game, consisting of an attempt by each of two opponents to force back the forearm of the other, indulged in by the young people. In their speech the Wundurucú did not compare people

835 * It should be pointed out here that these conjugal excursions are generally viewed by the Wundurucú as guises to leave the village for the true purpose of daytime sexual intercourse. Their suspicions are well founded.

[557] and, even among the more acculturated Mundurucú, it is difficult to find out who collects the most rubber. This is [557] linked with lack of ego assertiveness, an important aspect of the Mundurucú modal personality.

Socio-Political Organization

Tribal Integration

619 621 Mundurucú society was integrated on a tribal as well as village level. The foregoing section on the subsistence economy has demonstrated some of the economic bases of local cohesion and a further analysis of village socio-political controls will follow. However, to place the village in proper context it would be well to first outline those factors that unified the various Mundurucú villages.

It should be stated first that no permanent tribal or multi-village political controls existed. Each village was an autonomous political unit. However, warfare, patri- [559] lineal sibs, and matrilocal residence combined to unite the villages very closely. The self-conscious cultural unity of the Mundurucú was recognized and described by Tocantins who referred to the Mundurucú as a "republic."[9] The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unit as opposed to the outside world. When speaking of another Mundurucú they said "one of us" or "person" or when referring to themselves as a groupe they said "we are many." Everybody else was an "outlander," a category into which were lumped other Indians and white men alike.

9. Tocantins, 1877, p. 85.

476 571 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the participants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the timbó.

[224] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

[796] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Wundurucú 157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain 554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Wundurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

156 tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the
family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely
[55] discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior
status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and
legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert
authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and
the old men would express their opinions quietly and calmly
and that the others would heed their council. However, a
younger but respected man was also able to express himself
[623] to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were suf-
ficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic
[476] to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it
from an early age. There was no elaborate division of labor
to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit.
The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the
Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done
in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand
nor does a group of people who are used to working as a
unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political
controls and the social organization certainly did not.

578 Disputes within the society were repressed. The
average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling
and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made
it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important
622 functions of the village chief were to lead war parties, to
provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the
village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an
autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

727 and were so successfully incorporated that there were never any cases of defection, even in wars upon their native villages.

554 784 727 The greatest honor went to the men who had taken heads. They were referred to as dajeboishi, or, literally translated, "mother of the game." Such was their distinction that they were usually addressed by the short form title a'eboi. Proscriptions were relatively rare in Wundurucú culture, but a very elaborate series of taboos was observed by the trophy head owner and his wife. For a period of three years after his return he was not allowed intercourse with his wife, and he was not even supposed to look at other women. He spoke to the men only when necessary and avoided familiar contact with them. He didn't hunt, but went into the forest at a distance from the hunting party and after the first kill retired to the village. His presence brought the [789] magical charm of the head into the forest and made the animals fall an easy prey to the arrows of the hunters. The Wundurucú still say that in the days when the men's house had enemy heads in it there was a lot more food in the village.

During this period, certain taboos were observed by the wife of the trophy head owner. She did no household work, and she could not bathe in the stream. In general, she held herself aloof from the other women. She was aided 554 727 at all times by a woman of the other moiety who acted as a servant to her. During three successive winters, the trophy

head owner was responsible for holding ceremonies centering around the enemy heads. These ceremonies were participated in by people from many villages. After a successful expedition, a number of villages might hold these ceremonies, thus involving a great deal of intervillage visiting. Cane, *kainé*, and non-alcoholic vegetable and fruit drinks were amassed to feed the visitors. In the first ceremony of the cycle the trophy head was decorated by stringing cords through the mouth and out of the nostrils via a hole in the roof of the mouth, attaching brightly colored feathers to the ears, and affixing *para* teeth over the eye sockets. On the second occasion, the skin was taken from the skull and it was hung in a corner of the men's house, and on the third and last, the teeth of the trophy head, which had been removed immediately after the attack, were strung on a belt of woven cotton. A great dance was then held by the *Tarak-yahi'anyen* (literally, "mothers of the arrow"), a singing society to which most of the Wundurucú males belonged. After this ceremony, the trophy head owner and his wife resumed their normal lives.

The highest honor achievable for a Wundurucú man was to become a *muhacha*, or one of the society of learned and distinguished warriors. All members of this society had at one time taken a head and all were founts of Wundurucú learning, especially of the all-important songs. The greatest chiefs and war leaders were members and such membership did much to enhance the chief's prestige. Below the status of the *muhacha* was that of the trophy head owner (*dajaboishi*).

554 In addition to the glory of being an owner of a head, he was a valuable economic asset due to the charm that the head exerted over game.

726 622 Warfare was an occasion upon which the position of the chief became of great importance. The young warriors depended heavily on his experience and leadership. His authority was not unlimited, but it was more fully exercised and more necessary to successful results than during any peaceful endeavor in the village.

726 101 This is only a brief sketch of Mundurucú warfare for its complexity rivaled the war patterns of the North American Plains Indians. To the Mundurucú, themselves, it was the most important single pursuit and characterized their way of life more than any other activity. Its results were extremely destructive to other tribes but was a source of élan and vitality in Mundurucú culture.

Religion

771 The following discussion of Mundurucú religion will be brief and will touch mainly on those points pertinent to the problem of socio-cultural integration. In conformity with Tropical Forest patterns, the religious system was of great simplicity. There were the typical Tupian spirits of animal, fish, and plant species, souls of the dead and certain malignant spirits.[22] Magic was simple and usually directed towards antisocial ends. The only specialist was the shaman. All the males participated in the ceremonials

22. cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 108-109; Oberg, 1953, pp. 53-4.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be
252 occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

476 Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of
423 shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either
552 possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women
[551] went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

622 There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *awyéénadat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mu-
[578] durucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporad-
[132] ic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November: Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly
554 for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the pariwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war
[561] party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

721 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from sev-
202 eral villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had
[575] to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group
[701] of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he
[534] sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties
701 in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this
722 was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 765 [616] Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the [578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 554 784 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 554 [609] [825] The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajeboiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 224 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiši

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores. 727 224 [834]

The Dajeboiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house. 796 727 [301]

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[2] 796 575 533

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported. 727 597 [554]

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental; it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular 721

726 burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

721 It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú. A young man who made great claims [626] [554] of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it. 157

181 The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity 577 of Mundurucú is consistent with the 579 dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

754 The execution of sorcerers was the [639] only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

[p. 572(A)]

181 Internal harmony within the house-
577 hold and within the village were
476 thought to be a necessary part of social and economic life. The men of the vil-
[562] lage as a whole hunted and cleared forest for gardens in cooperation, and the women of the large, extended family-household carried out their tasks in unity. Foods were shared among house members and by all the people of the village. The individual
[156] and the biological family of man, wife, and children had no independent existence external to their roles within the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in rec-
[554] ognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

554 Although prestige was attainable
156 through the above accomplishments,
577 it was not considered good for a man

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

439 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[441] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

186 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[721] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[754] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

181 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

III. SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

THE PROBLEMS of illness, accident, and death are commonly conceived in supernatural terms by primitive peoples, and the techniques for their resolution are accordingly the province of religious practitioners. The supernatural dangers threatening the Mundurucú currently preoccupy the society more than any other aspect of the supernatural realm, for they constitute the cause of all sickness and death; and epidemic disease has beset the Mundurucú since their first contact with Europeans. But the Mundurucú do not feel broken and powerless before the onslaughts of ailments to which they have little natural immunity. Mystical in nature through the evil may be, it is not mysterious, for it can be explained and controlled. The threat is no less concrete for existing on a level of reality beyond the sensory powers of ordinary mortals, but the protection of the society must, therefore, rest in the hands of persons who are able to see and act in this sphere. These individuals are viewed by the Mundurucú as the possessors of great and manifestly beneficial power, although they recognize the corollary principle that this power is potentially dangerous and corrupting. 753

THE SHAMAN

The Mundurucú shaman, or *mamú*, has the ability to deal with supernatural threats through possession of a mystical power latent within him from the time of his birth. His functions within the society are manifold. The shaman performs cures; he is essential to nearly all ceremonies; he propitiates the spirit mothers of the animal world; he rids the community of evil forces; and he can detect lost people and objects. But through essential to the well-being of society, the power of the shaman can be used for evil ends. His status is ambivalent; he maintains a balanced and favorable relation between the human and supernatural worlds, and he is capable of profoundly disturbing this balance. 756

Most Mundurucú villages have at least one shaman in residence, although some have none. The shaman has high prestige, although the respect accorded an individual practitioner is at times mixed with fear when it is suspected that he indulges in black magic. In spite of the high regard in which he is held, he receives no material benefits for his services. Among the more acculturated Mundurucú, a small present is sometimes given to the shaman for a cure, but this pattern appears to be of recent origin and obtains in only a minority of cases. The shaman does not devote full time to his specialty. All practitioners hunt, fish, and clear gardens with the other men and manufacture baskets, bows, and other objects. [554] [465]

The shaman frequently makes great personal sacrifices in the performance of his duties. Some travel great distances to treat those who are too ill to come to them, and they often make these trips to the detriment of other activities and tasks. The practice is considered dangerous, for the shaman must face the dual menace of contact with hostile spirits and the suspicion of his fellowmen. But most Mundurucú shamans are motivated by a true sense of public service. They feel that they possess a great power that can be used both for good and bad ends and be-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

feather pendants that were suspended from either ear, the attachment of which was the central purpose of the *Inyenborotaptam*. Feathers from five species of birds were used in the ornamentation, and each type of feather could be attached only by the *Kiriší*, *Akai*, *Chunyún*, and *Parawá* clans, and those of the mutúm by the *Witúm* clan. The *Karú* clan and subclan, the *Sau* subclan, and the *Warú* clan and subclan used the feathers of the red macaw; the *Kabá* clan attached parrot feathers; and the *Borón* clan contributed those of the gavião tawató. Those clans sharing the same feathers were always linked within the same phratry, and the appropriate bird species was usually an eponymous clan spirit of at least one of the groups. 796 727 [615]

The feather pendants could be no longer than the hair on the trophy head. For this reason, long-haired victims were especially prized and a woman's head was highly valued, although it was thought more valorous to kill an enemy warrior.

The sponsorship of these ceremonies was not the only duty of the taker of the trophy head. The social and religious role of the *Dajeboiši* had certain nonceremonial aspects that were, nonetheless, part of the larger ritual complex of warfare and head-hunting. Upon his return to the home village, the successful warrior assumed an enhanced status that endowed his person with an almost sacred aura and isolated him from normal relations with his fellow Mundurucú. Sexuality was considered especially dangerous both to the *Dajeboiši* and to his wife. They were enjoined against indulging in sexual intercourse with each other or with anyone else throughout the ceremonial period. The *Dajeboiši* could lose his power and fall into the previously discussed state of bad luck merely by looking at a *yapö*, or wanton woman, and for this reason he always bathed very early to avoid meeting one on the path to the stream. Moreover, he was expected to have minimal contact with or sight of women other than his wife. Even she posed a threat to his special status, and they ate sitting back to back. 796 727 834 554

The *Dajeboiši* was expected to maintain a decorous and restrained attitude at all times. He spent much of his time lying in his hammock and gazing upward to avoid the contaminating sight of men who had recently had coitus. He could talk to the other men, but only on serious topics; trivial conversation and joking were considered inappropriate to his sacrosanct position. Although he slept in the men's house, the *Dajeboiši* did not partake of the communal meals there and ate only with his wife. But he was expected to be generous toward the other men and to keep tobacco under his hammock at all times for their use.

In addition to his ceremonial role, the *Dajeboiši* had an important function in the religious aspect of the hunting economy. His person and the trophy were thought pleasing to the Mother of the Game, and he brought the head into the forest whenever a hunting party embarked. The *Dajeboiši* did not, however, hunt nor did he accompany the other men. His mere proximity was sufficient to insure a good kill, and after two animals were slain he returned to the village. It was believed that if he were to remain longer in the forest he might step in the blood of a game animal and thereby lose the charm of the head.

The wife of the *Dajeboiši* occupied a delicate status also. Like her husband, she

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 had to exercise great care in her relations with others lest she look at a person
727 who had recently had sexual relations. On days when hunting parties left for the
554 forest she was supposed to remain in her hammock until late in the morning, for
834 if she arose and moved about the game would run away. She was not allowed to
[515] bathe in the stream with the other women but washed her body from vessels of water brought to her house. Nor was the wife of the *Dajeboiši* supposed to work; a young woman from her *iboiwatitit* was chosen to draw water and wood for her and to perform household chores. Considerable authority over the other women was exercised by the *Dajeboiši*'s wife, and she felt free to send the women of the village to work in the garden or perform whatever services she desired.

The *Dajeboiši* and his wife were, according to some informants, obliged to maintain this regimen during the more than two years between the return of the war party and the final phase of the ceremonial cycle. Others thought that the prohibitions were not continually in force during this long period, but agreed that some restrictions were observed until the conclusion of the final ritual.

With the advent of the second rainy season after the taking of the trophy head,
796 the *Dajeboiši* again issued invitations to the people of other villages, and all re-
727 united for feasting. This phase of the ceremony is known as *Yašegon*, or Stripping the Skin from the Head. As the name indicates, the trophy head was skinned, its ornaments were removed, and the bare skull was then hung in a corner of the men's house.

Before the head was boiled and skinned, it was thrown on the ground and a group of men called "Vultures" batted it back and forth with sticks in imitation of the vulture's practice of tossing strips of carrion with its beak. The Vultures included all the bald men of the village and certain others who were thought to be really bald, although ordinary vision showed them to have hair on their heads. Previous to these proceedings, a number of old men, all of whom had at one time taken an enemy head, took the trophy head and tapped its top. If powder or any other matter fell from it, they announced that the *Dajeboiši* had broken an obligation. This was generally interpreted by all to mean that he had had sexual relations. In such a case his status terminated and no further observances were held, since the head had lost its power. If the test proved the owner of the head had kept his faith, the ceremony could continue.

The rites held during the first two rainy seasons were simple, and activities included only the decoration of the head during the first rainy season, its skinning during the second, and feasting on both occasions. The third winter, however, was the climax of the cycle, and festivities were lengthier and much more elaborate. The final phase of the ceremony was called *Taimetorõm*, or Hanging the Teeth, for on this occasion the teeth extracted from the trophy head were strung on a woven cotton belt. These belts were not worn, but were carefully guarded in a basket kept in the warrior's house.

But the most important ritual of the third rainy season was the all-night songfest of the *Darekši*, or Mothers of the Bow. The *Darekši* was a men's society; it was by no means exclusive in membership for all adult Mundurucú males belonged to

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 contents of each bowl to ascertain whether a ritually impure person had defiled
727 the food.

After partaking of the ceremonial feast, the men went to the men's house, across the front of which they lined up in a single row with the boys behind. They sang songs celebrating warfare and their arms until dawn, at which time the ceremony ended and the guests returned to their villages. At the conclusion of the
[554] rite, the *Dajeboiši* resumed his normal life. His person and the trophy head no longer exercised their power, but he retained the title and distinction for life.

This account suggests some of the functions of the ritual complex in relation to the practice of warfare and to the social structure, in general. First, the high status accorded the *Dajeboiši* acted to give personal incentive to individual warriors and thus contributed to more effective military action. The taker of the trophy head was further motivated, for the power possessed by him and the head increased the yield of the hunt. The concept of this magical influence also provided an additional group motivation and rationale for warfare and served to root it more firmly in Mundurucú beliefs. The emphasis on warfare was further heightened through the celebration of Mundurucú prowess by the *Darekši;* and this phase of the ritual provided a means of indoctrinating the young into the militarism in which they would one day take part.

The ritual complex was also related to aspects of Mundurucú culture other than warfare. The burial of the humerus of the warrior slain in battle was the most important occasion for the expression of intermoiety ritual hostility. And the attachment of feather pendants to the ears of the trophy head was one of the few remaining corporate functions of the fragmented clans. Finally, and this is true of all the important intervillage ceremonies, the warfare rites served to integrate the populations of the several Mundurucú villages and to maintain bonds of association among scattered fellow clansmen.

Ceremonies of the Game

796 Two ceremonies, the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip,* were held in honor of the
224 spirit mothers of the game. The several Mundurucú villages took turns as hosts in these intervillage rites, and one of the two ceremonies was held during most years. The purpose of the two rites was identical, and they differed only in length and in minor formal details. The following description of the *Dajearuparip* is also valid for the *Araiarai,* except where noted.

A ceremony was usually held at the instigation of one of the older and more respected men of the village—not necessarily the chief—who then became its *piwat,* or leader and organizer. But it was essential for the leader to have the consent of his fellow villagers, for they had to join him in amassing food and drink for the visitors.

796 As in all Mundurucú ceremonies, the arrival of the guests signaled the begin-
224 ning of feasting and preparation of ceremonial regalia. The actual ceremony began with the playing of flutes by a group of cloaked dancers who danced from
292 house to house, performing in each. The cloaks were made of the long fronds of the

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

883 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[884] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his pri-
[882] mary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[756] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in the powers and duties of the office. Older informants said that chiefs formerly inherited the office either from their father or older brother. Lineal continuity of the chieftaincy in a village was ensured by the general exemption of most of the chief's sons from the rule of matrilocality. The chief, although never authoritarian or possessed of coercive powers among the Mundurucú, was nonetheless an important figure in the community. His was the most prominent voice in any collective decisions affecting the village as a whole; he frequently led war parties, and he represented the village in commercial or other relations with the whites. His position was reinforced in a number of ways. He was generally selected from the available and possible heirs because he had distinguished himself as a warrior through taking trophy heads and was the repository of lore and songs. And the patrilocality of the chief's family allowed him to build a strong kin group composed of sons and sons-in-law. This exemption from the normal residence rule also legitimized the line due to the genealogical continuity of the family within the village. Thus, the chieftaincy symbolized the village as a continuing entity. Furthermore, his special relations with the whites and his role of intermediary, in which he sold the trade commodities gathered by the villagers and distributed the returns among them, did much to enhance his status.

The Mundurucú look upon their contemporary village chiefs with mixed feelings. The chief is often personally respected and liked by the people, but they simultaneously feel the office to be inconsequential and of little importance today. And they quite frequently look upon their particular leader as an illegal occupant of the position. Also, the role of chief is commonly a center of latent hostility and factionalism. This change has come about through the disappearance of the more integrative aspects

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 554 578 622 of the chieftaincy and the persistence and aggravation of certain disruptive features.

First, the Mundurucú chief no longer holds the all-important position of war leader. Second, he now trades on behalf of his village in theory only. In the nineteenth century the trading function of the chief tended to bolster his traditional powers and some became well-known figures in the Tapajós valley. As the rubber trade grew in importance, the control of the chiefs became increasingly important to those traders who monopolized the Indian commerce. Since this period corresponded with the declining days of warfare, some traders were able to install their own appointees as village chiefs where the rightful holder of the office was unsuitable to them. Besides, traders occasionally took Mundurucú to Belém, where they were introduced to government functionaries and awarded the title of *capitão*. These new luminaries were sent back to their villages and assigned the task of representing the trader. Thus, legitimate lines of succession were broken, and the new chiefs owed their positions to the trader. The villagers were well aware of this.

The general patrilocality of the chief's family, no matter by what means he was selected, continued; his extended family remained the largest such unit in the village and, more important, was the only significant group of close male, patrilineal relatives. The rest of the village men were of diverse affiliations and found organization within the context of men's-house activities. But they were faced with a powerful kin group in which political authority was vested. If points of difference arose, the men of the chief's group rallied to his support, but antagonisms were aroused among the other men. In former times, the important functions served by the chieftainship undoubtedly overrode the potential factionalism inherent in this situation, but, in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly 252
items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are consid- 422
ered to be the property of the chief, since they were pur- 415
chased through his and his extended family's labor. The [622]
large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cu- 623
rurú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate coöperative patterns. 182
Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position pri- 622
marily to recognition by the mission, but who is also ac- 554
corded some deference because of his age and his status [797]
as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão [476]
Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

622 ironical in their replies to the question of how José
554 achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask
182 the priests," or, "Only José knows."

This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less in-
554 dicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his
578 family and the mission, which José is considered to rep-
622 resent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs
797 persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

Shamanism is the only element of the native religion
756 that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians
[758] seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this
[753] has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

114 each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months
157 with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset me considerably. Biboi turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Mundurucú activity or in their relationships with the outside world.
554 He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of
555 material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate him from his barefoot Indian fellows--shortly after one of his visits, my [illegible] discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so [illegible].
157 They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Biboi would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we pointed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Biboi had other most unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to co[illegible]eal his hostility and contempt when someone inimical to him was near. But [illegible]neath this façade, Biboi was a frightened and anxious man. He would of[illegible]
158 confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be [illegible]preted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people [illegible] indeed talking about him, and Biboi had every reason to be anxious. Not [illegible]ly his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

157 Biboi's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucú
183 expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should behave. Mundurucú society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are conceived
[81] to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilineal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal
[61] clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an
578 extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and
181 individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the Mundurucú type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only produces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[2] Given the structure of Mundurucú society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, unaggressive, serene, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity
183 before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Biboi presented a threat to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and acquisitive--all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the coinage of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Biboi's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. He thus violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows. 554 577 177

Biboi not only misconstrued the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Biboi's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Biboi had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role commitments. Hostilities and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully repressed--a requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in disguising aggression and in presenting the bland face of neutrality, but Biboi's own socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any cuckold, he had some cause to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian cuckold but not for a Mundurucú victim. 183 578

IV

Biboi's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabitutú. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftaincy must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader wants increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely counter the patrilineal rule of inheritance of 622 157 554 439 622

439 the chieftaincy, it is common practice to select one or two possible heirs and
622 rear them in his household; this is what happened to Biboi. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favor of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, as he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his wishes, even at the expense of the Mundurucú villagers.[3]

The contemporary Mundurucú chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both ends have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by maximal adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and minimal acquiescence to the demands of the traders. Biboi's father, Caetano, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Caetano would communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubber; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He also sincerely sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

622 Caetano embodied many characteristics of the traditional chief. An older man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and cajoled, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Caetano knew Mundurucú traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

622 Biboi's position was very different from that of his father, for he was
177 the prototype of the Indian boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he would recognize only Biboi in dealings with Cabitutú. The residents grudgingly assented, but they regarded his as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was,
[756] in reality, a renowned shaman who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office.

622 Biboi's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To complicate mat-
554 ters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Cabitutú. Matrilocality, I have
[591] said, is the normal mode of residence among the Mundurucú, but the sons of chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of conscious motivation, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters to them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilocality of the chief's family is twofold. By keeping the sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the discontinuity that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilineally related kin, a small and solidary patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Much as this may reënforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise unilateral authority, for the rest of the

village men are ever-watchful and jealous of the chiefly family and would be quick to resist, however passively, what they considered to be high-handedness. Biboi, however, did not have the surrounding group of relatives that may have given even minimal support to his claim to leadership. Rather, he depended upon the trader and his father and relatives in Cabrua to buttress his position. 622 554

Given his delicate status, Biboi proceeded to worsen it through a misinterpretation of the chieftaincy. He had listened to his father's nostalgic tales of the role of the chief in times past, and one might say that he had some knowledge, in a purely cognitive sense, of the traditional culture. It is highly dubious, however, that Biboi had internalized sufficient culture to make his an effective actor within the system of social relationships. Biboi knew that "in the old days, chiefs were powerful men who directed their people and bought goods for them." This view of the past may or may not have been true, but it surely did not apply to the present. Biboi, nonetheless, announced at large that he was eminently qualified to be chief, as only he knew how to deal with the trader and only he had the force to tell the people how, when and where to work. I was a special recipient of this information, for Biboi found it most important to gain stature in the eyes of a prestigeful outsider. But Biboi also told all the others of his importance, and the people of Cabitutú stated that he indeed relayed the demands of the trader in forceful terms. His "followers" saw him solely as an agent of the trader in their village, and they were certain that his only function was to promote their exploitation and defraudment. Their analysis was correct, but I doubt that Biboi thought his role to be at all asocial. There is no evidence to substantiate this, for only he could tell me whether he was aware of the machinations of the trader, and he did not. But I believe that Biboi saw the trader as a father figure, many of whose values he had internalized and subscribed to as legitimate. And he also saw himself to be in the position of a strong and traditional leader. [157] [578]

Biboi had learned something else about the chiefs of times past, and this was the fact that many were polygynous. Polygyny was possible only for chiefs, for the matrilocality that applied to most of the population made it most difficult to have plural wives unless they were sisters. Even for a chief, however, polygyny was a difficult and stormy relationship, and it was evidently never of very great frequency.

Biboi did not have the implicit and unconscious ability to understand the fine points of Mundurucú social structure that a man raised in a village would have, and he made some of his most serious blunders in marriage. Soon after assuming the chieftaincy of Cabitutú, he married a woman of the village, a widow several years older than himself who, through the situational variability of post-marital residence, had a strong nucleus of kin in the village. Though I have no data upon which to make a firmer statement, it is quite probable that he married the woman--frankly a crone--in order to enlist the sympathies of her relatives. But Biboi was a young, handsome and virile man, and he subsequently sought a wife more to his liking. He located a pretty girl of about sixteen years in the village of Decodyem and brought her home to Cabitutú. This enraged the first wife, who berated Biboi, assaulted the girl and complained to her brothers. The latter expressed their disapproval of the polygynous union to Biboi, and the rest of the village supported them. Biboi's general behavior and his exercise of his "chieftaincy" had already outraged them, and this [578] 575 578

595 offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond
578 their endurance. Biboi refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly
attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father.
[622] He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

183 This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurucú culture and
577 social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this
578 is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring must inevitably close on Biboi. He had offended all the Mundurucú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Biboi returned to Cabitutu to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of
[754 Cabitutu, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would
681] seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover, Biboi did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Biboi's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

554 In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Biboi
684 thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl; whatever rectitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some exceptions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Biboi's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Biboi, for the Cabruá men, too, disliked Biboi with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered unbearably deviant. But physical sanctions against Biboi would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruá attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Biboi's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Biboi soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those

who had cuckolded him. The village reacted to his charges ambivalently. They were highly amused at his discomfiture and humiliation, but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of deportment, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village soon became ranged on two sides. Bibei's family supported him, but the majority of the population were ranked solidly against him. Thus, the threat of conflict had spread from Cabituto to Cabruá. And Bibei ran back and forth between Cabituto, where they plotted against his life, and Cabruá, where they took more covert measures against him through his wife. 554 684 [57]

The balance of power and of moral correctness lay with Bibei's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made most difficult by virtue of the fact that Bibei had almost ceased to be a social person--the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the curtain fell on our little drama, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was seen most clearly when, shortly before our departure, Castano fell from a palm tree and lay seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Cabituto would kill him as soon as they were assured of his father's death, Bibei came immediately to Cabruá and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Bibei approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tapajós River." I asked him why, and, in fine Bibei style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Bibei knew that his life as a Mundurucu was finished. 554 157

*

ENDNOTES

(1) Mundurucú Indians are a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1952-53 with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council. 109 114

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Mundurucú social structure and the positive evaluation of male solidarity has already been published in an article entitled "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion" (American Anthropologist 59:1018-35, 1957). 554

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Headhunter's Heritage (Berkeley, 1960). 114

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was secondary. 175 721

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers. [439]

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own. 721 727 [842]

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajeboili was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means. 555 701

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that 721

177 ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the
462 copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one
476 toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because
[415] they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally consid-
[422] ered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the
462 women always seek company when they go to the stream
476 to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone
[776] person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young
[834] woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the econ-
477 omy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued
[555] person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with
[526] the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] Caboclo families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the caboclo is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

114 each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months
157 with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset me considerably. Biboi turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Mundurucu activity or in their relationships with the outside world.
554 He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of
● 535 material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate him from his barefoot Indian fellows--shortly after one of his visits, my wife discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so brash.
157 They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Biboi would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we pointed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Biboi had other most unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal his hostility and contempt when someone inimical to him was near. But underneath this façade, Biboi was a frightened and anxious man. He would often
158 confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be interpreted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were indeed talking about him, and Biboi had every reason to be anxious. Not only his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

157 Biboi's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucú
183 expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should behave. Mundurucu society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are conceived
[81] to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilineal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal
[61] clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an
578 extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and
181 individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the Mundurucu type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only produces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[2] Given the structure of Mundurucu society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, unaggressive, serene, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity
183 before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Biboi presented a threat to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and acquisitive--all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

264 476 the men's house. The women of each dwelling cooked equal amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

422 Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse. [576] It was not considered polite to demand something from another. [437] Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively [556] uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

462 Division of labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

422 shotguns. A scattering of breech-loading shotguns and Winchester .44-caliber carbines is also found in the savannah villages. Each man also possesses a few fishhooks and some line, steel axes, knives, a machete, and usually a hoe. Other items of personal property include a hammock, two sets of cotton shirts and trousers, and a variety of such miscellaneous things as buckshot, a comb, matches, and cigarette papers.

Female property includes metal household utensils, ceramic pots, dresses, hammocks, needles and thread, scissors, knives, baskets, beads, brilliantine, hammock looms, tin cans, and a variety of gew-gaws. Items of personal [431] property are given away if the request is persistently and strongly phrased, but these gifts are generally in nonutil- [426] itarian articles. Hoes, knives, and similar items are less often requested, but they are freely loaned.

[439] Trade and the influx of manufactured items have greatly expanded the inventory of Mundurucú personal property. [556] But there is no indication of any differentiation of the population by wealth. The only productive resources owned 423 by individual Mundurucú are the rubber avenues, and every man has one. The savannah Mundurucú derive no [466] profit from the labor of others nor do they maintain commercial relations with their fellows.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 797 the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in en-
177 couraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and
461 in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than
[562] the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and there-
[556] fore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and
[581] especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the
439 mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the
797 Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives up-
648 stream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater
[177] Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the In-
[437] dians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporad-
[132] ic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly
554 for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the pariwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent
[561] direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

721 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from sev-
202 eral villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group
[575] of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs
[701] and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he
[534] sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties
701 in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this
722 was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of 345
the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their 513
hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and 61
adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the eksá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of [561]
the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution 345
in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal 512
forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all [264]
gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening [521]
meal, the occupants of the eksá lie in their hammocks and converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on coöperation between the men tran- 476
scends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological 183
adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself

609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
[576] I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
[541] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
[574] in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
[562 a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female
342] sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ekçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermacetti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhê."

513 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn
534 all through the night in their quarters or ekçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

342 east. Thus oriented, the house is excellently ventilated and im-
361 mune from the invasion of gnats and other insufferable mosquitoes, which are the agony of those who live in the heart of the forest or on the banks of streams. The rays of the rising sun penetrate freely into the house and overcome the morning cold, which is quite intense. The ekçá is only for sound men, warriors, and
342 their sons over eight years of age.

513 Each warrior slings his hammock wherever he pleases inside the house.

351 On the grounds, and also towards the east, stand three rows of posts connected by crossbeams where the warriors string their hammocks on clear summer nights. [103]

352 Each warrior keeps within his reach everything he owns, hanging from the roof of the ekçá above his hammock -- bows, arrows, warclub, and horn.

352 They all sleep in hammocks woven of cotton thread and so
513 small that they must lie motionless so as not to fall on the floor.

462 The cotton is planted by the Indian women, who also pre-
248 pare the thread and the netting.

354 Inside the ekçá, many fires burn at night amid the warriors' hammocks.

342 Around the ekçá stand the houses of the women, which also
361 shelter the children of both sexes, the decrepit old men, and the sick.

In Necodemos these houses are five in number, quite large, built with greater care [than the ekçá], higher and completely enclosed, having as a door only one opening or sometimes two. There are no interior partitions whatever: the house is altogether communal; but the mothers, with their children, their decrepit old men, and their sick, each take care of one part of the house and
352 there hang their hammocks. Near them they keep their implements, namely: brooms, looms, baskets, etc. In the center of
354 the house stand one or two ovens to make manioc flour: they consist merely of crude stones, more or less flattened, standing on other stones. A fire burns under this oven. The warriors may
352 come into the women's house whenever they please; but the women
[562] never set foot in the ekçá. It is in the women's houses that the more precious objects are kept, such as feather ornaments, necklaces of human teeth, enemy heads, etc.

224 But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude
221 husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadereri.

361 In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly
621 united although divided into twenty villages.
619 It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

585 Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

584 Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond
[545] between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

562 The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the ekçá or warriors' quarters.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pnyc*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracereru. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceará ?], the Carawat, known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nye*, the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [411] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [231] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The [222] wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can 261 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

242 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p.57—A.—Analyst]

226 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
224 Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

252 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made
[272] from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water.
[273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

[276] They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

342 The dwelling house (ekqa, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low
[562] walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Karusakaibu (Farabee, 1917 a). His wife, Sikrida (Strömer, 1932); 776
Chicridha (Tocantins, 1877), is a *Mundurucú* woman. Korumtau 773
(Carutau (ibid.)) is his eldest son and his second born is Anukaite (Hanu-Acuate (ibid.)). Karusakaibõ's companion and helper is Daiiru (Rayru (ibid.)), an armadillo.

Conflict between Karusakaibõ and his sons and companion is a recur- 773
rent theme in several myths reported by Strömer and Tocantins. In one story, Anukaite is seduced by his mother. Karusakaibõ learns of the incest and in anger pursues his son. Anukaite delays his flight to have sexual intercourse with several importunate women whom he meets on the way; his father overtakes him and transforms him into a tapir. The insatiable women are transformed into fish.

On another occasion the offenders are Daiiru and Korumtau. Their offense is not explained clearly in the account (Strömer, 1932) but appears to involve an improper relationship between Korumtau and some peccaries, for which Daiiru is partly responsible. Again the guilty are pursued by Karusakaibõ; to evade his father, Korumtau transforms himself successively into a peccary, a cricket, a bird, and a monkey. Once he is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing father, but the armadillo draws the arrow from the wound. The animals of the forest give aid by warning of the father's approach. Finally, the two fugitives throw themselves into a body of water and escape.

The *Mundurucú* origin myth tells of the emergence of mankind from under the ground. According to one version (Farabee, 1917 a), Karusakaibõ had made the world but had not created men. One day Daiiru, the armadillo, offended the creator and was forced to take refuge in a hole in the ground. Karusakaibõ blew into the hole and stamped his foot on the earth. Daiiru was blown out of the hole by the rush of air. He reported that people were living in the earth. He and Karusakaibõ made a cotton rope and lowered it into the hole. The people began to climb out. When half of them had emerged, the rope broke and half remained underground, where they still live. The sun passes through their country from west to [821]
east when it is night on the earth; the moon shines there when the earth has moonless nights. According to another version of the tale (Tocantins, 1877), the creator stamped his foot at the site of the village of Necodemos; White people, Indians, and Negroes emerged from a fissure in the ground. The creator tattooed the *Mundurucú* like himself; the Whites and Negroes scattered. Karusakaibõ then showed the *Mundurucú* how to raise manioc, maize, cotton, and other plants and how to utilize them. It was he who [531]
traced the petroglyphs now found on certain cliffs in the region of Necodemos. Another origin-of-agriculture myth is given in a text gathered by Strömer (1937).

Kruse (1934) reports a myth in which the women are said to have 773
once been in possession of the men's house, while the men lived in the 562

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

773 dwelling house. The men did all the work, including such women's tasks
562 as fetching firewood, providing manioc, and baking manioc meal. The woman ruler of the tribe and two companions found three sacred trumpets and secretly practiced playing on them in the forest. When the men discovered the secret, they took the trumpets away from the women. The women were sent to the dwelling house and were forbidden to look again upon the trumpets, while the men took possession of the men's house.

773 Both Strömer (1932) and Farabee (1917 a) report a myth which tells that the sun once fell upon the earth and destroyed its inhabitants by fire. Five days after the fire, the creator sent a vulture from the sky to see if the earth had cooled, but the vulture remained to eat the bodies of men who had been killed. After 4 days a blackbird was sent, but it remained to eat the charred buds of the trees. Four days later, the creator sent a dove, which returned with earth between its claws. Then the creator came down and recreated men and animals of white potter's clay.[4]

LORE AND LEARNING

773 A few miscellaneous cosmological beliefs were obtained by Farabee:
821 Karusakaibō created the sun by transforming a young man who had red eyes and long white hair. The moon is a transformed virgin with white skin. The rain spirit makes thunder by rolling a pestle in a mortar. The constellations are men and animals in a great savanna. An eclipse of the sun is due to a great fire which sweeps over its surface. A powerful shaman once ascended to the sun and put out the fire. Now, when an eclipse occurs, the shaman sends his yakpu to clear the sun. The yakpu (a fragment of meteoric iron) falls to the earth as a ball of fire. After it cools, the shaman puts it away until the next eclipse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Baena, 1885; Barbosa Rodrigues, 1882 a; Bates, 1892; Campana, 1904–06; Chandless, 1862, 1870; Coudreau, H., 1897 a; Farabee, 1917 a; Hartt, 1885; Hörschelmann, 1918–20; Katzer, 1901; Koseritz, 1885; Kruse, 1934; Martius, 1867; Nimuendajú, 1938; Nordenskiöld, 1924 b; Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3; Steinen, 1899; Strömer, 1932, 1937; Tocantins, 1877; Wood, 1868–70.

[4] For texts of some of the myths given in condensed form above, see Strömer (1932); for other myths, not included in this account, see Strömer (ibid.) and Tocantins (1877). Farabee (1917 a) also gives three animal fables which he attributes to the *Mundurucú*.

344 the ground. Between these beams, the men stretched their hammocks to sleep.

361 Like all Tropical Forest Indian villages, the Mundurucú village shifted location every five to ten years due to the exhaustion of nearby stands of high forest in which to make gardens. Each village had a definite area, usually a certain savannah, in which it moved. After 30 to 50 years a new forest cover on previously used land made it adaptable to horticulture again. Today, the reduced population of the contemporary villages makes frequent village shift due to lack of garden land unnecessary, but a new village is built every ten years due to the rapid decay of the houses, and also because the immediate environs become overgrown with weeds that are soon infested with insects and snakes. The locale of the new village was chosen by common consent, and the houses were built collectively. The last structure to be 344 562 built was the men's house. Until it was built the flutes were kept in the old men's house.

The men's house

The Mundurucú exhibited the most complete development of the male-female social division and accompanying men's house complex to be found in South America. Among the Camayura, the men's house is a ritual center.[14] Among the Bororo, it serves this function and is also a bachelor's and young men's sleeping quarter.[15] However, all the Mundurucú males from the age of about seventeen, worked, gathered and held council,

14. Oberg, 1953, p. 54.

15. Colbacchini, 1942, p. 35.

ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the man's life was the men's house and that of the women the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Mundurucú culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their new village.

The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the griddle on which the beiú was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large babricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

796 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house,
778
534 the men who carried out the food had to bring a portion into the trumpet chamber and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "Here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

796
775 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the species "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulas that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

796
562 All Mundurucú religious ceremonies were male dominated. Women served only as observers and were able to participate at times in a play capacity only, except for one or two occasions in which female shamans took part. Parts
796
562 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was
535 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a

796 lesser degree, for the men led the dance and played the in-
562 struments. This was a circle dance in which animals, birds,
535 and fish were imitated and, although greatly enjoyed, had no religious significance.

[pp 70- end, not processed]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

602 to the opposite one. Finally, when a Mundurucú is queried about the close
619 solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

601 Extension of kin terms was complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjuat*) or "father" (*bai*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "older" (*wawyú*) or "younger (*o kit*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*kabi*) and "grandsons" (*tapó*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjuug*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ú*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú had "grandfathers" (*adjuat*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapó*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*wawyú*) and "younger (*o kit*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*ú sum*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*auuk*), "mother" (*ai i*), and "daughter" (*da ú*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Mundurucú could, and still can, place every other Mundurucú in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguinal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

619 The picture of Mundurucú society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Mundurucú intervillage connections.

621 The social structure of the Mundurucú village was characterized by a deep
●562 cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Mun-
621 durucú village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the western extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five such houses

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any women who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[4]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Waru* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world. 721 182

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Darekši, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads. 701 182

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe. 619 621 182

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house. 621 562 591 182

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt 621 182 578

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for
578 male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[591] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

182 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his
622 lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

181 Internal harmony within the house-
577 hold and within the village were
476 thought to be a necessary part of social and economic life. The men of the vil-
[562] lage as a whole hunted and cleared forest for gardens in cooperation, and the women of the large, extended family-household carried out their tasks in unity. Foods were shared among house members and by all the people of the village. The individual
[156] and the biological family of man, wife, and children had no independent existence external to their roles within the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in rec-
[554] ognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

554 Although prestige was attainable
156 through the above accomplishments,
577 it was not considered good for a man

[p. 373(A)]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community. Moreover, great care
224 must be taken to avoid giving offense to these spirits lest they strike back at the offender. The major Mundurucú ceremonies functioned mainly to secure the
[756] benevolence of the spirit mothers, and one of the chief duties of the shaman was to make periodic offerings to them and thus insure their coöperation.

562 This preoccupation with animal spirits reflects certain basic facts about
224 Mundurucú culture. The society is male-oriented; women are by no means passive actors in the social structure, but the major foci of the culture were male values and activities. And to the Mundurucú men, at least those of the remaining savannah villages, few activities are more important than the hunt. The male self-image is that of the warrior and hunter, the wayfarer of the forests,[3] and the Mundurucú are intensely concerned with all things arboreal. Hunting was as important as horticulture in the traditional subsistence economy and may well have been more basic to the diet in earlier times. There is some speculation about
[174] a more southerly origin of the Mundurucú,[4] which suggests the corollary hypothesis that horticulture was less important in their former habitat. If this were true, it would help to explain why hunting is so heavily emphasized in Mundurucú religion, and horticulture is almost completely secularized.

776 The mother of the game, or *putcha ši*,[5] protects the animal kingdom as a whole
224 from human offense. The relation between the *putcha ši* and animals is conceived
756 by the Mundurucú to be a mother-child relationship. It is believed to be a single, unitary spirit, but it can be found in several places and under several guises at one and the same time. Expressed differently, the *putcha ši* is a single power having several manifestations.

The mother of the game is not an anthropomorphic personage; it has no form nor does it exist as a mobile and independent entity. Characteristically, the *putcha ši* is found in two forms; in one it is a very special stone called a *wirakuá*, and in the other it travels in the bodies of the land tortoise and the coatá monkey. The Mundurucú *wirakuá* concept, as many of their beliefs, is not highly conceptualized or rigidly formalized. It is vaguely conceived as a power and is described as a stonelike object visible only to shamans. Thus, the mother of the game and the *wirakuá* are not identical, but the spirit does manifest itself in the latter object. In its *wirakuá* guise, the *putcha ši* is usually found in the deep perennial springs at the headwaters of the streams that issue from the hills of the Mundurucú country. Hunting is invariably good in these locales because of the desire of the game to congregate about their mother, and Mundurucú shamans have techniques whereby they can place the *putcha ši* in springs near their villages. So placed, the *putcha ši* will remain indefinitely unless stolen by a shaman of another village. When the *putcha ši* is moved by a shaman, it emits

[3] See the myth of Perisuat on pp. 187–201 for the expression of this theme in legendary form.
[4] Cf. Martius, 1867, p. 396 and Strömer, 1932, p. 1.
[5] Mundurucú words are italicized throughout the text. The system of phonetic transcription
[128] and a complete glossary of all Mundurucú terms used may be found in Appendix A. Portuguese words are not italicized, but Appendix B contains the translations of all terms mentioned and the taxonomic classifications of most flora and fauna for which Portuguese designations have been given.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 lieve that it is incumbent upon them to help the sick and to perform their obligations to the supernatural world.

756 One does not seek to become a shaman among the Mundurucú, nor is shamanism
428 the result of a serious illness or an extraordinary experience, as is true in many
562 societies. The power is acquired only through inheritance from the father, and it is believed that all children of shamans are also shamans, although they may not practice the art in later life. For all practical purposes, however, only male children inherit shamanistic power. The female offspring of shamans are nominally classified as shamans also, and women evidently participated more fully in the practice until a relatively recent period, for Tocantins reports a number of women to have been accused of sorcery, knowledge of which is confined to shamans, in and about the year 1875.[1] Today, active status is limited to men, and the daughters of shamans are considered to be shamans in an academic sense only.

Mundurucú informants were unable to explain the shaman's power beyond
756 saying that it is within him and that he is born with it. It is not thought of in concrete terms, as a supernatural object lodged within his body, nor is the power thought to reside in supernaturals whom the shaman controls. The absence of any concept of control or of coöperation with certain spirits is rather unusual in this section of South America. Métraux, for example, reports the trait for the Tupinamba,[2] and Wagley has written of the use of familiar spirits among both the Tapirapé[3] and the Tenetehara.[4] In the regions to the south of the Mundurucú, Oberg states that shamans are aided by spirits among the Kamayurá, Bacairí, and Nambicuara.[5] Investigation failed to indicate, however, that the Mundurucú shaman was aided in any way by supernatural beings. He is in contact with the supernatural world and is capable of coöperating with it or defeating its intents, but he accomplishes this through direct use of the unlocalized power contained within him and not through the intermediary of spirits. Also, all shamans have some form of contact with all supernatural beings; none has special relations with any particular supernatural.

Some shamans are thought to be more powerful than others. The most effective
[888] practitioners are usually the older men, for they are considered to have acquired experience and skill. However, the crucial determinant of a shaman's strength is the strength of his father, for the sons are believed to inherit the degree of power of the parent. Some older Mundurucú men barely practiced, since their power was considered slight, whereas younger men were often highly regarded as shamans. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, two or three shamans are looked upon as being in possession of great strength, and their services are in heavy demand. On one occasion, a man became violently ill shortly after midnight and needed immediate care. The village shaman was away, so it was necessary for one of the sick man's relatives to set out through the forest, which is feared at night, on the path to the next village. He directed its shaman to the aid of his sick rela-

[1] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109–111.
[2] Métraux, 1948, p. 129.
[3] Wagley, 1943.
[4] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 108 ff.
[5] Oberg, 1953, pp. 60, 75, 100.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

into the village. He shouted to the villagers to bring fire, but nobody heard him, and he then turned into the curujão da noite (a bird). When he flew away he took the thread of day with him, and nobody knows to this day where it is. That is why the nights are so long. 539x

21. MOTHER OF THE RAIN

In times past wounded warriors used to turn into shamans during the period of their disability and wandered over the world in this form. One of these warriors was once walking along a path when he met an old woman who was really the Mother of the Rain. He said to her, "Where are you going, old woman?" The woman, who was carrying an empty basket on her back replied, "I am going to gather fruit," and she named many species of fruit that she intended to collect. As she turned away the warrior pulled on her basket, dragging it to the ground. Out of the empty basket tumbled so much fruit that the warrior could not eat it all; she had created this fruit to demonstrate her power to the wounded man. The angry old woman then exclaimed, "You are not a real shaman. You have only become one for a short time, and only because you went to war and were wounded." She then continued on her way, but since that time there has been an abundance of fruit in the forest, whereas there previously had been but little.

CULTURAL INVENTIONS AND INNOVATIONS

The following myths are specifically concerned with explaining cultural innovations. The first two are the longest and, to the Mundurucú, the most important and account for the origin of the sacred trumpets and of horticulture. The first is a true social charter, for it validates the ascendancy of the male in Mundurucú society. It reveals also the basic insecurity of the male position; the women once owned the instruments and the men can retain them only by force. In short, the male role is felt to be subject to constant threat. The reader will immediately recognize the almost globally distributed theme associated with sacred musical instruments forbidden to the eyes of women. 538 562

The myth of the origin of horticulture and domesticated plants makes a clear association between these aspects of culture and womanhood and nurture of the young. The story demonstrates an obvious congruence not only with the female principle in fertility, but with the primary role of the woman in horticulture.

22. INVENTION OF THE SACRED TRUMPETS

The sacred trumpets of the Mundurucú, called the *karõkõ*, are taboo to the sight of women, but the women once owned them. In fact it was the women who first discovered the trumpets. 539x

There were once three women named Yanyonbõri, Tuembirú, and Parawarõ. When these women went to collect firewood, they frequently heard music from some unknown source. One day they became thirsty and went off in search of water. Deep in the forest they found a beautiful, shallow, and clear lake, of which they had no previous knowledge. This lake came to be named Karõkõboaptí,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of work performed and the added importance of the co- 174
operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This 178
process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks 591
and a degree of organization among the women of a house- 439
hold. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of 614
the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[15]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú 105
clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of 174
the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized 614
that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Val- 105
ley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the 174
whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured 562
articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female 614

[15] Eggan (1950, p. 131) states that the Hopi remained matrilocal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

105 174 562 614 labor, in general, and the female work organization, in particular, that extended families increasingly sought to keep their daughters, even at the price of relinquishing the sons. The result was a shift, probably gradual, to a matrilocal mode of residence.

This shift modified the nature of Mundurucú society, 105 and its further consequences will be developed in the 174 course of this chapter. The most immediate and obvious 614 change, however, was the destruction of the residential basis of clanship through the dispersal upon marriage of the men, who are the transmitters of membership. This can be illustrated by the census of one village, which shows that eleven clans are represented among nineteen men. In a matrilocal and matrilineal system, men are also dispersed, but since descent is through females a co-resident lineage having a core of clanswomen can be maintained. This is not possible among the Mundurucú, for the patrilineal descent system places a daughter in a different clan and the opposite moiety from those of her mother. Thus, although the women are nucleated into clusters of blood relatives, the clan membership of these units is also eclectic.

The result of this fragmentation has been the severe 614 weakening of the clan as a functional social entity with corporate prerogatives. In the hypothesized localized form, the clan was a co-resident unit having important economic and political characteristics. Its members were in everyday interaction with each other, and bonds of clanship were continuously manifested and exercised. Moreover, the clan, through its possession of sacred musical instruments, had ritual significance that is perpetuated into the present only as empty form. Other than the continued nominal ownership of the trumpets, clans, as social entities, have few prerogatives. They bury the dead of certain clans of

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization of male and female social activity is separately treated. The Mundurucú exhibit the most complete development of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayurá men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Mundurucú, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

This unusually complete division presents points of difference with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated the Mundurucú men's house eksá to be the residence of village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unreliable extant source on Mundurucú culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the eksá, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the eksá are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 54.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 35.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 102.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

114 but it is equally possible that the former reporter was cor-
345 rect and that the present composition of the men's house
575 represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceeding from Martius's data on other aspects of Mundurucú social structure, if the men's house was the residence of
591 bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were
621 fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality
562 would have kept the latter in the village. They would then have been faced with either permanent residence in the men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incorporation into the household economy and authority structure. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocality by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such easement is important, for, in contrast to the local endogamy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[7] the Mundurucú male commonly comes from another village and does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts prerogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans undoubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from another community. The young man caught in the process of change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate himself to permanent residence in a village in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female, the male plays the main role in the structure of authority and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

[7] *Cf.* Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion of clan and lineage has made the social adjustment of 562 the Mundurucú most delicate, as will be seen presently, 591 but the problem of the integration of the male into a 621 household group far from his native village would have imposed a formidable obstacle to the change to matrilocality. It is possibly for this reason that a combination of patrilineality and matrilocality is most rare. The Mundurucú men's house provided a means to accommodate such a change and to make matrilocality more acceptable to a people who reckon their closest kinsmen patrilineally. The man who marries a woman of another village becomes integrated into the men's house, where he finds a large group of men of the same moiety and perhaps some fellow clansmen and natives of his own village. His relations with his new household are, in the beginning, tenuous.

The means by which the men accommodate themselves 476 to matrilocality may be seen in operation today. The earlier 591 discussion on marriage indicated that the male has great 621 mobility; if his affinal relatives trouble him, he may gather [562] up his belongings and leave. But the organization of village life relieves him of many such pressures. He is expected to bring game and fish to his wife, and this constitutes his main responsibility in the household economy. After he turns over the food, the wife keeps a share for the general household larder and, if there is enough, distributes the rest to the women of the other houses in the village; the food is cooked, and the women of each house bring a portion to the men's house, whereupon the males partake of a communal meal. The provision of his wife with the day's kill is thus primarily a symbolic act, except when there is only enough to feed his wife's household or his nuclear family. Each family head has a garden, but the man clears the garden with the aid of all other village men, and his wife is joined in weeding and the harvest by

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and sus-
183 picion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men.
578 Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

476 This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the
621 Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

562 The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But these are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the eksá only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in
345 which the sacred trumpets (karökö), are kept is absolutely
778 forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber
534 adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attentuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

534 complied under the condition that they could occupy the
562 men's house and play the trumpets there. The men ac-
773 ceded, and the women, their position supernaturally re-
778 inforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beijú* (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the *eksá* and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

534 Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to
562 the karökö is one of the social charters of male superordi-
778 nation. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the
831 classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karökö, although nobody can remember
[688] this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

562 mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male posi-
578 tion, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to
571 the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here,
[184] unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans
182 but remain functional in protecting the village from super-
534 natural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual
778 roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a soli-
562 dary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling
342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
[833] digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. How-
[855] ever, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended
[866] families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
868 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

● [562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the 857
men's house, have very loose ties with their households. 868
Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine [591]
where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only [593]
by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as com- 562
pared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented 452
about any household economy, and the boys take little 867
part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since [596]
the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social struc- 857
tural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys 868
cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When 883
the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown [868]
sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old [582]
enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village [584]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid. 182 476

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence. 182 592 562 [602]

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe. 182 578 [621]

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers 182 574 754 683

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

done by the men, women, and children, working in common. 178 182

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew 962 out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer [592] had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reëstablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status [562] in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and [177] other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun- 178 182 345

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 796

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campinciro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber. [439]

439 648 The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in encouraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and therefore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives upstream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the Indians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians SL4

M 177 182

durucú society are the subject of this study. But fundamentally what has taken place is the attraction of a simple people by the new, glittering, and eminently useful objects proffered by Western civilization, and their ultimate reliance upon these items. These things, in themselves, have had limited effect on aspects of culture other than the material inventory. Rather, it has been the means of obtaining them and the social relationships in which they are exchanged that have altered the nature of Mundurucú society. These means have been the production first of manioc flour and later of wild rubber as cash commodities, and the establishment of a client relationship to white patrons in a mercantile economy.

M [439]

B M 182 563 177

The experience of the Mundurucú is not unique. It has parallels throughout the world, especially in Amazonia. There, remnants of similarly fragmented tribes have merged into the racially mixed population, and others are on the threshold of assimilation. Incorporation into the neo-Brazilian, or *caboclo,* population of the Amazon valley is not as long a step for the Indian as the corresponding process in the United States. The term caboclo is used in Brazil to designate the lower-class backwoodsmen and peasants of the interior. In the Amazon it refers to the rubber collectors and farmers, whose racial composition is generally a cross of Indian and Caucasoid with a minor admixture of Negroid genes. No strictly defined racial demarcations prevent the transition of Indian to Brazilian. The barriers are social, linguistic, and cultural. That is, the Indian remains such as long as he identifies himself with a tribal society and plays social roles within it; and the extent to which he preserves the cultural and linguistic symbols of his own society makes possible life within it and inhibits communication beyond it.

Most Indian groups of Brazil are today transitional to

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians SL4

incorporation in Brazilian society. They have acquired a limited but adequate body of common understandings with their Brazilian neighbors, and their social structures have become accommodated to their relations with the whites. Straddling two worlds, their positions are not stable, and they push themselves and are pulled from the outside into closer relations with Brazilian society. The "pull" arises from the chronic demand for cheap labor in the Amazon; the "push" is a product of the native's increasing desire for manufactured possessions, coupled with disturbances in his society which resulted from this acquisitiveness. The outcome of the process is the disappearance of traditional Indian social systems. But the affected Indians are not left in a social limbo. Rather, they shift their principal bonds of dependency to their already existent relations with the whites and move into the general orbit of caboclo society.

B M 182 563 177

An understanding of the process by which native societies of the Amazon have become economically and socially dependent on the white man, and of the effects of this dependence, are central to an understanding of the transition from Indian to caboclo. Other aspects of the native culture are secondary in importance; the Indian, once incorporated, has ample opportunity to learn the white man's ways. Or, if he is disinclined or unsuccessful in this respect, his children, who have been reared outside the traditional social matrix, certainly will become linguistically and culturally as much, or more, Brazilian than Indian.

B M 177 182

These remarks are also pertinent beyond the Amazon valley. The final chapter of this book will consider the general relevance of Mundurucú social and economic change to an understanding of the broader problems of culture change.

M [128]

[Text continues on page 7]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

226 Barbed arrows are used more commonly than hook and line in fishing.
224 Strömer's vocabulary (1932) includes references to basket traps and weirs. Fish and crocodiles are drugged with poison from twigs and leaves of the timbó.

252 **Food preparation.**—Cooking is women's work. Dishes mentioned in the literature include roasted sweet potato, banana mush, manioc broth, cará fruit soup, and a dish consisting of Brazil nuts which have been washed, soaked in water, smoked, crushed, and roasted. Meat is roasted on a babracot of green sticks or on a slanting spit. Strömer's vocabulary includes a word for manioc press and a phrase meaning "roasting house for manioc meal." Mortar and pestle are reported. Beverages are made
[272] from wild beans, cacao, and manioc meal mixed with honey and water.
[273] The *Mundurucú* had no native alcoholic beverages.

[276] They raise tobacco and smoke it in the form of cigars wrapped in tauari bark.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

361 Tocantins and Farabee imply that the dwellings are arranged around the periphery of an open village plaza in the center of which is the men's house. Bates, however, mentions a settlement of 30 houses scattered for a distance of 6 or 7 miles along a river bank; and Martius (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3) speaks of houses arranged in rows in a forest clearing.

344 The men's house (ekça) occupied by the warriors, is a prominent feature
562 of the village. Tocantins describes one 100 m. (325 feet) long, covered
● 571 with thatch and open on one of its long sides. A photograph of a men's house in Farabee (1917 a) shows a rectangular structure, smaller and more crudely built than the dwelling house, with a gable roof and incompletely enclosed sides. The warriors slung their hammocks from posts inside it during the winter and from a series of posts set in three parallel rows and united by cross beams, in the village plaza, during the summer. Although warfare is no longer an important aspect of *Mundurucú* life, the men's house still serves as a men's work place and as a dwelling for the unmarried men. Women are not permitted to enter it.

342 The dwelling house (ekça, "big house") photographed by Farabee is a
[562] long, rectangular, windowless structure with a high thatched roof and low walls. The men's door is in the center of the long side facing the men's house; the women's door is directly opposite. Strömer describes the house as a long, rectangular building with a roof sloping to the ends and sides, and with rising peaks at each end of the roof crest, but in a later publication (1937) he speaks of the house as "dome-shaped." In the 1850's, Bates found that most of the dwellings had conical roofs and walls of framework filled with mud. The roof was covered with palm thatch, and the eaves extended halfway to the ground. Martius also reported conical roofs.

623 and house leaders and other older men of the village had the greatest influence in these matters for it would have been highly impertinent of the "children" (as anybody under the age of about 35 or 40 was called by the older men) to contest the wisdom of those who were collectively referred to as "the old men."

624 The house leader was simply the oldest man of the house and generally the husband of the oldest female, who occupied the respected position of older sister, mother, and maternal aunt to the other women of the house. He was a man who married into the village, or at least the house, from outside and his position was the result of circumstances rather than selection or heredity. In our discussion of the household organization and economy, it became clear that the house leader did little to direct the activity of the women. His sons-in-law treated him with the respect due an older man and a father-in-law, but, since most of their activity was carried out in the larger unit of the village, he exerted little authority over them.

476 571 The leadership of collective enterprises was generally invested in the person who initiated the activity and not in the chief. If a man wanted to organize a timbó fishing trip, he notified the other men in the village of his desire and a date and place was set. The men then went out to the garden of the man who initiated the party and helped him to pull up the timbó roots. Direction was nominally in his hands and if many people took part, he would carry com-

476 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the parti-
571 cipants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the timbó.

[224] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

[796] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Wundurucú
157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain
554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Wundurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

177 portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods
361 could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rub-
314 ber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their
[182] resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The
first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be
studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their
income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable
[571] during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain re-
lationships with the inland villages, the locus of their social lives lie in-
creasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent
upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local
Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come
when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues,
and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon
trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the
same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves
177 passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the
Cururu River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the
797 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries
were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became
more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted
in a general movement to the banks of the Cururú River, and by the 1930s many
interior villages had been abandoned.

177 The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to
nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organiza-
621 tion, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type
villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy,
594 it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages
grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. Dur-
ing this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of
which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to
carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the ex-
tended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife
with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family
members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collec-
tive hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber produc-
tion enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing
was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic divi-
sion of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of
production.

621 Political authority on the Cururú River was almost nonexistent. The migrants
began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the
178 newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one
of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of inter-
mediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururú
River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of
adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the
[221] Cururú River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber sea-
son, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the
majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets
of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

phenomenon is not at all unusual in South America; Wagley and Galvão report the Tenetehara belief in the demon, Zurupari, to have been borrowed by the Indians from the local Brazilian population.[7] Similarly, the Tupinambá culture hero, Tupan, became a mythological figure in many Brazilian tribes through the active agency of the Jesuits.

Another instance of this type of diffusion and syncretism may exist in the Mundurucú belief that the *Yurupari* take the souls of their victims in order to recruit their own ranks. This may well be an aboriginal idea, but it corresponds suspiciously to the classical missionary teaching that the souls of sinners are taken by the *Yurupari*, or Devil.[8] The absence of any concept of sin in the Mundurucú belief is not surprising, for missionaries have labored for generations without noticeable results, to inculcate the idea of sin and punishment among them.

The *Yurupari* attack all people regardless of age or sex, but a class of spirits known as *aĩk* is dangerous only to infants. There are hordes of *aĩk* wandering over the earth, for the shadows of all people turn into this spirit upon death. Only the transformed shadows of little girls are dangerous to infants, however. The Mundurucú believe that these *aĩk*, like all little girls, want to take the children for themselves, and they rob the child of its life to do so.

Like the *Yurupari*, the *aĩk* kills its victims by throwing a magical stone into them. The *aĩk* is clearly visible to the shaman as a little person no more than a foot high; its skin is either black or white, and it is always very beautiful. To ordinary people unendowed with shamanistic powers, the *aĩk* is visible only as a fleeting shadow. It is not at all remarkable, therefore, that anxious Mundurucú mothers often see *aĩk* on the paths between the villages and the bathing places. These paths are considered to be especially dangerous, but the *aĩk* also attacks in the village on days when most of the people are abroad, and only one or two women or girls remain in the village to tend the infants.

As a rule, the Mundurucú believe that safety from all supernaturals can be gained by numbers; the various malevolent beings are always especially dangerous outside the village and to the lone person. This idea functions to provide supernatural support for sociability and coöperation, and few Mundurucú hunt, fish, or garden alone, nor does any woman willingly go to bathe or draw water by herself. To be sure, there are other, more concrete and persuasive reasons for Mundurucú gregariousness, but supernatural concepts rationalize and support this aspect of the social structure.

The shaman must be called to cure an attack by the *aĩk*, but there are also means by which such attacks can be prevented. Children are made immune by frequent baths in a solution of water and the crushed leaves of an unidentified shrub, and a piece of ginger root is almost always hung on the child's *tipoia*, or carrying sling, as protection against the *aĩk*. Also, mothers bite off and spit out pieces of the ginger root as they walk along the paths between the villages and the bathing places in the belief that this will avert molestation by the spirit.

[7] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 102.

[8] It is equally possible that this represents a modification of an aboriginal concept of the Yurupari. Métraux (1928, p. 56) notes the antiquity of this belief among Tupian groups, and the Mundurucú might well have shared this element.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Dajearuparip ceremonies. Since bathing in the stream was considered particularly dangerous to them, the members had to bathe in the village from gourds. Also, their obligation to sing the songs of the tapir allowed the *Biuší* little sleep during ceremonies. 796 224

When night fell, all fires of the village were extinguished and the *Biuší*, their captives, and the men fortunate enough to have escaped them reëntered the village in total darkness. The women shut themselves in their houses and did not dare look at the procession lest their next children be born with the fleshy hump found between the shoulders of the tapir, that is, hunchbacked. The procession ended in one of the houses, where the *Biuší* partook of a sweet manioc drink; after they were thus refreshed the women could look upon them with impunity.

A number of creatures were imitated on the final night of the ceremony, and songs appropriate to each species were sung. Among the performances was that for the land tortoise, in which the men imitated the animal and acted in this role as the pets of the women. All lined up in close order and pretended to accept chewed food from the mouths of their owners. The Mundurucú recall with glee that on one such ceremonial occasion a local Brazilian trader, who had been visiting the village, participated in the land tortoise imitation and actually ate the proffered food. In other sequences the grasshopper was emulated by squatting with stomach close to the ground and chirping, and the cry and hopping movements of the toucan were also enacted.

The animal performances lasted throughout the night, and dawn saw the conclusion of the ceremony and the departure of the guests.

The Curing Ceremony

The above performances of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle are now defunct, and there is little likelihood that they will be revived. But some ritual activity is still extant. It will be noted that the following ceremonies, though quite important to Mundurucú society, involve little social participation beyond the confines of one or two villages. None calls for the large reunions characteristic of the ceremonies devoted to the animal spirits or to the trophy head. 796 755 [571]

The curing ceremony, referred to as *Piunbökmökupunyen*, does not call for broad participation, although all the people of the village in which it is held usually attend as bystanders. Four shamans and two men with special knowledge of songs are needed, however, and must frequently be summoned from a distance. The curing ceremony is held only in cases of robbery of the soul by the animal spirits, a belief which has already been described. Soul loss is commonly held responsible for illnesses in which general, progressive debility is noted without the specific symptoms usually indicative of bewitchment. Given this diagnosis, the shaman attempts to identify the violation for which the animal spirits have taken vengeance and then prescribes a curing ceremony. At least four shamans are necessary to effect a cure and two men are called in to sing the required songs. The latter are persons who, as was described in a previous chapter,[6] received

[6] See page 27.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

562 mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male posi-
578 tion, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to
571 the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here,
[184] unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans
182 but remain functional in protecting the village from super-
534 natural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual
778 roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a soli-
562 dary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling
342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated 422
by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. 476
Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and 574
the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that coöperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible. [183]

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a 461
strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete 571
among the women, however. The household unit of fe- 578
592

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

571 578 592 [762] males is extremely close knit and is probably the most cohesive group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional bond between the women of these groups that I know of one who committed suicide because of alienation from her two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended family, conflicts between individual women or households are common. All women of the household generally join with a member in her antipathy for another woman or household; this, of course, follows from the fact that the housemates are closely related to each other, which complements the allegiance arising from co-residence.

521 578 [123] [115] Hostility between the women generally takes the form of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of most of the confidences that passed among the women, which constituted one of our most valuable sources of information. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women. Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart. And we usually managed to learn by this means of the well-repressed hostilities in the village, of fears and accusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn, gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the exchange of female information and opinion was the shed where farinha was made. The women usually chatted animatedly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the group, the heads of the others drew together and she was thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of residence in the village, the same thing happened, as we had no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst. Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

602 trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule re-
628 sulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that
619 constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

571 Integration was furthered also by such groups as the
575 *Muchacha anyen* society, the men's ceremonial group
619 known as the *Biu ši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Darek ši anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and resi-
121 dence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart."[2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.
[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

this is a valid statement. But it conveys the impression that such integration is sufficient to social cohesion; actually interpenetrating modes of segmentation may make social adjustment a most delicate matter. 121

When considering the relation between structural integration and social solidarity, it may be well to keep in mind that life in society requires a degree of personal renunciation as a means of securing the corporate well-being. Conflicts in interest, between individuals or groups, are bound to follow in all human societies. The causes and intensity of conflict and the means by which it is resolved are, however, variables of the structure of the particular society. The open expression of hostility, we learn from the sociologist Georg Simmel,[3] may result in a readjustment of relations between groups that produces a measure of stability; the playing out of conflicts can thus promote the integration of a society through the correction of disbalances in power and by the cathartic release of aggression.[4] According to Meyer Fortes, battles between lineal groups in Tallensi society has just this effect.[5] But the Tallensi are significantly different from the Mundurucú. Both are patrilineal, but the former society has local groups based on patrilocal residence; conflict between kin groups is simultaneously conflict between local groups.

Conflict in Mundurucú society, on the other hand, cannot range along such simple segmental lines. The memberships of lineal groups and local groups do not coincide; in a conflict, people cannot align themselves with clan fellows, for this may well pit them against the members of 578 571 628

[3] Simmel, 1955.

[4] The latter corollary to Simmel's thesis has been more fully developed by Lewis Coser (1956).

[5] Fortes, 1945, pp. 240-244. See also Gluckman (1956) for a penetrating analysis of segmentary opposition and the part played by cross-cutting loyalties in the dampening of bend.

571 578 628 the same men's house, or even the same household. Correspondingly, if a man is to side with his co-residents, he may find himself arrayed against his patrilineal kinsmen in another household or village. Mundurucú men have two primary sets of bonds, one based on co-residence and the other on patrilineal kinship. Since the persons affected in each set are generally not the same, the individual is placed in potential role conflict, if sides are to be chosen. To choose the tie of kinship may disrupt the village and household and their economies; to give primary loyalty to one's co-residents can destroy clanship.

There can be no balance of antagonisms in Mundurucú society; conflict can only destroy both social solidarity and social integration. Hostility is, for this reason, suppressed. Intervillage conflicts are unheard of, as are those between kin groups. And interpersonal grievances remain latent between individuals not only because of the disruptive effect of an open breach, but because the antagonists cannot expect uniform support from either kinsmen or co-residents. Covert factionalism may be rife among the Mundurucú, but open feud is impossible within their social system.

578 There are few means to express the aggression arising from the frustrations of normal social life. Real grievances, such as those arising from sexual rivalries or from the institution of chieftainship, do not result in direct retaliation against the objects of hostility. Aggression is instead buried and later displaced on surrogates. During the nineteenth century, the Mundurucú were able to use warfare as a displacement device and as a rallying point for social cohesion. The only acceptable means of purging latent hostility today is the projection of generalized antagonisms to the shamans and their execution as sorcerers. [613]

Although matrilocality is no longer as rigidly adhered

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation 578
noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships 156
is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men 571
of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; 578
it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the 182
level of village organization; coöperative endeavors 571
among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare [628]
and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism [619]
has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social 771

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result 462 of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, 314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and [592] their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

314 571 476 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation [594] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode [487] of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the 423 economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of course, but that could be obtained in trade with the mission if one worked hard.

The villages grew by increments and with no special order. The original houses were of the sort that the Mundurucú usually erected in their rubber avenues. These had a square floor plan, and, when graced with walls, usually were made of straw or wattle and daub in the manner characteristic of those of the Brazilian rubber collectors. Later additions to the village followed this design and furthered the already drastic alteration of the traditional Mundurucú settlement by being built in any convenient space in the village clearing, with no reference to an over-all village plan. Today, the usual Mundurucú village on the Cururú consists of from three to eleven square wattle-and-daub houses having no special arrangement except that all face toward the river.

The circumstances of the migration induced other changes in village organization. Since the first permanent settlers on the Cururú came in small groups of one to three nuclear families, it was no longer possible to carry out the old cooperative economic organization; this is essentially the same problem faced by the contemporary campineiros during the rubber season. There were not enough men in any one place to carry on the almost daily collective hunts, but the proximity of the river and the stable food supply it offered compensated for this. Timbó-fishing trips still required a concentration of forces, but, since they occurred only periodically during the dry season, the gatherings could be arranged by sending invitations abroad. Everyday bow-and-arrow fishing required only two men, one to handle the canoe and the other to shoot the fish. If fishing was done from the banks, one man was adequate to the task. Thus, the new economic circumstances of their lives combined with the nature of the migration itself to decrease the dependency of the individual on large group-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 757 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 •571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost [579] always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 578 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

609

[362] From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled [362 574] with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia venifera); he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully.

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Absenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

342 621 The village of Absenanti was under construction; it comprised but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

[352] We found no one inside the house, but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

[609] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

302 This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the lozenges; that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

609 When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

123 609 In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away, leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Absenanti and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
[576] I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
[591] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
[574] in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
[562 342] a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ekçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermaceti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhé."

513 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn
534 all through the night in their quarters or ekçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

773 on the hills of Areucrẽ. He had Rairũ snatched away by the clouds,
172 and he himself disappeared from Necodemos, following the course of the Tapajoz; on the left bank of the river, at a height no human hand can reach, he also drew some characters on the cliff of Camagalo.

773 And since then no one has known where he is. The Mundurucu faithfully preserve the memory of his deeds, and paint themselves, their wives and their children in exactly the same fashion as Caru-Sacaebẽ was painted.

VI

Appearance of the dog in Necodemos -- Legend

Among all peoples, the dog is looked upon as a faithful
[85] friend. The Mundurucu, who are hunting savages, picture the dog in their legends as descended from a maiden of their tribe and from an unknown warrior, who appeared in the maloca and disappeared again without anyone finding out who he was, whence he had come, or where he had gone. He was a deus ignotus.

The story ran as follows. After Caru-Sacaebẽ had disappeared, the Mundurucu of Necodemos continued [89] to hunt, searching every part of the plains and forests. One day, while they were out hunting, an unknown warrior by the name of Caru-Pitubẽ appeared at the maloca.

He went to the ekcã, climbed into a hammock, seized a horn from the roof, and proceeded to blow upon it in a peculiar way. A maiden of the maloca, Iracheru by name, responded to
[242] the call and offered the warrior dati [food prepared from Brazil
[579] nuts] as a sign of good hospitality.

Caru-Pitubẽ had arrived almost at nightfall.

There was no one else in Necodemos.

Whenever I had the opportunity to enter one of those houses, I always found the women working; some wove hammocks, some made flour, others smoked meat, some cooked, some prepared banana mush, etc.

They never failed to offer me something to eat: now cooked sweet potatoes, now banana mush. [104]

A cheerful and merry Indian woman, her face all painted up with urucu dye in addition to the usual designs, offered me a tremendous caterpillar which she held on her finger. It was a repulsive thing which contracted and stretched convulsively; and the woman insisted upon transferring it to my own hand, telling me that it was something to eat: "Cobi-cobi."

XIV

Symbolic characters drawn on the cliff of Cannagalo, on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and on the hills of Areu-cré between Acupari and Necodemos.

On the left bank of the Upper Tapajoz, in the place known as Cannagalo, fifteen figures are to be seen, drawn on the face of a cliff which is about one hundred meters high and which was carved perpendicularly by the stream.

These figures have been there for ages unsold. the oldest frontiersmen who explored the Upper Tapajoz, and the oldest Mundurucu, found them just as they are but do not understand their meaning.

They are dark red, like ocher, and stand about eight meters above the highest level of the water at the time of its maximum winter swelling.

At the present time it would be impossible for a man to draw them at this height, even with the help of scaffolding, for the current is fierce where the river curves in at the base of the cliff, expecially at the time of year when the water level reaches its maximum height.

554 head owner was responsible for holding ceremonies center-
727 ing around the enemy heads. These ceremonies were participated in by people from many villages. After a successful expedition, a number of villages might hold these ceremonies, [57] thus involving a great deal of intervillage visiting. Cane, beiṭú, and non-alcoholic vegetable and fruit drinks were amassed to feed the visitors. In the first ceremony of the cycle the trophy head was decorated by stringing cords through the mouth and out of the nostrils via a hole in the roof of the mouth, attaching brightly colored feathers to the ears, and affixing pana teeth over the eye sockets. On the second occasion, the skin was taken from the skull and it was hung in a corner of the men's house, and on the third and last, the teeth of the trophy head, which had been removed immediately after the attack, were strung on a belt of woven cotton. A great dance was then held by the Daraki-[57] ahi'anyen (literally, "mothers of the arrow"), a singing society to which most of the Mundurucú males belonged. After this ceremony, the trophy head owner and his wife resumed their normal lives.

554 The highest honor achievable for a Mundurucú man was to become a muchacha, or one of the society of learned and distinguished warriors. All members of this society had at one time taken a head and all were founts of Mundurucú learning, especially of the all-important songs. The greatest chiefs and war leaders were members and such membership did much to enhance the chief's prestige. Below the status of the muchacha was that of the trophy head owner (dajeboishi).

431 food, as well as other articles, is between houses of more closely related females. But sharing is not structured exclusively by kinship; food was also given to our household [123] without question or request for payment. It was understood by the Indians, of course, that we would ultimately reciprocate by the distribution of manufactured articles, but the mutual exchanges existed on a general level between our house and the village and not between individuals in a trade of specific commodities.

The women of all village households frequently coöperate in the harvesting of manioc and the preparation of farinha, especially when large quantities are to be produced. These occasions show lucidly how nebulous are concepts of property among the savannah Mundurucú, for coöperation extends to the manufacture of farinha for trade to the whites. Men commonly arrange for the sale of [439] farinha to a trader and then call upon the women of their household to commence gathering and preparing the tubers. The women then invite women of other households to join them in the work. If the man who contracted the sale of farinha has an inadequate supply of manioc in his garden, the women frequently take the tubers from a garden in which there is a surplus, but which might belong to a member of another household. During the course of toasting the manioc flour, the invited women feel free to take portions of the completed product for their own households. The women of the house initiating production contribute most of the manioc and the bulk of the labor, and the productive process is, therefore, oriented to the household. The women of the other houses expect reciprocity at some time in the future, but there is no strict accounting of what is due in labor and manioc to individuals or extended families.

That farinha belongs to whoever initiates its production

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and participates most intensively in the labors illustrated 422
by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. 476
Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropa River and 574
the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that coöperation should be given in an task in which joint effort is possible. [83]

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a 461
strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete 571
among the women, however. The household unit of fe- 578
592

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

459 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their ex-
488 cursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main busi-
577 ness is with their own patron, they often make side trips
648 to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent,
711 and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores
648 constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the
[123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural
191 interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in
649 Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savanna travellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual
649

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 754 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost [574] always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 579 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

726 A campaign might start at the beginning of the dry season in one year and end at the end of the next dry season, a total of a year and a half in the field. During its course, several villages of different tribes might be attacked. The warriors sustained themselves principally by hunting, and the collection of wild foods.

727 The purpose of aboriginal Mundurucú warfare was to secure trophy heads and to bring back captive children to adopt into the tribe. Wars were usually initiated by young men eager to gain war prowess and prestige by taking heads and captives. These young men would resolve among themselves to go to war and would then approach the chief to ask him to lead them. If the chief and the older men approved of the project, the chief took over the organization of the party.

[728] Invitations were sent to other villages via a messenger who
[729] belonged to the *muhacha'ayem*, a society of older, valiant
[575] warriors having an intimate knowledge of certain songs. On
[576] his route, the *muhacha* carried a special trumpet known as the *pem*, on which he gave a distinctive signal when just outside one of the villages to be invited. A *muhacha* of that village gave an answering signal and then went out to meet him. Upon their encounter they played a song of the society on their trumpets and danced slowly back and forth towards each other. They then proceeded to the men's house where the messenger, in front of the assembled warriors, addressed an invitation to join in the war. The two most distinguished chiefs of the participating villages assumed

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the pariwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajebolli spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores. 727 224 [834]

The Dajebolli was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house. 796 727 [301]

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Dawekli* or "mothers of the arrow." The Dawekli was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Dawekli. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajebolli and his wife resumed their normal life.[9] 796 595 533

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported. 727 591 [595]

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular 721

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization of male and female social activity is separately treated. The Mundurucú exhibit the most complete development of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayurá men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Mundurucú, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

This unusually complete division presents points of difference with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated the Mundurucú men's house ekuí to be the residence of village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unreliable extant source on Mundurucú culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the ekuí, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the ekuí are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 34.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 38.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 102.
[6] Ibid., p. 103.

114 but it is equally possible that the former reporter was cor-
345 rect and that the present composition of the men's house
575 represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceed-
ing from Martius's data on other aspects of Mundurucú
social structure, if the men's house was the residence of
591 bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were
621 fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality
562 would have kept the latter in the village. They would then
have been faced with either permanent residence in the
men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their
wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of
the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incor-
poration into the household economy and authority struc-
ture. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any
matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of
the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocal-
ity by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such
easement is important, for, in contrast to the local endog-
amy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[7] the Mun-
durucú male commonly comes from another village and
does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts pre-
rogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At
the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then
prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans un-
doubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may
be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from an-
other community. The young man caught in the process of
change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate
himself to permanent residence in a village in which he
had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of
the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female,
the male plays the main role in the structure of authority
and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

[7] *Cf.* Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic 619
matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated
into the society and are said to have remained loyal even [727]
in wars against the villages where they were born. The
unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic
and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members
was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elab-
orate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was [304]
the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, 621
but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two com- 476
munities might coöperate. But a number of villages usu- 619
ally participated in war expeditions and the major cere-
monies. These occasions provided the opportunity for
scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse
residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, be- 721
cause it called for a high degree of organization and co- 619
operation. When the initiative was taken by the men of
one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a
member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of [701]
particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other [575]
communities and extend invitations to take part in the
hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village ac-
cepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to
protect the women, children, and old people and to con-
tinue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervil-
lage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable
war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses
of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within 602
the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa- 628
619

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

602 trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule re-
628 sulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that
619 constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

571 Integration was furthered also by such groups as the
575 *Muchacha anyen* society, the men's ceremonial group
619 known as the *Biu ši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Darek ši anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and resi-
121 dence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart."[2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.
[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.

209 In the afternoon I nearly lost my way among the trails leading to the village. The Maué Indians who accompanied me, as well as the guide and the interpreter, had forged ahead, leaving me behind with two companions, and had already reached the maloca while I still attempted with difficulty to find my way, guided only by the sound of a horn which I could hear somewhere ahead of me.

It was a Mundurucu Indian from Necodemos, who had generously come to meet me, and who blew on his instrument to guide me.

My satisfaction was great when at nightfall I came upon this savage, who was about thirty-five or forty, and who was short, fat, dark and ugly, but so happy and cheerful that he seemed like a child. [81]

I arrived in Necodemos at seven o'clock in the evening.

I was finally realizing one of my fondest wishes, namely, to see a savage tribe in its primitive state, exactly as it must have been before the discovery of Brazil, living according to the laws of nature and lacking all contact with the ideas of other peoples that might serve to alter its beliefs and traditions.

There are thinkers who do not acknowledge biblical tradition and who hold that mankind began its earthly journey in darkness, in the state of nudity and savagery I saw before me, and guided by the light of reason and by Providence climbed to the present state of civilization. This doctrine is more comforting than the one which represents man as fallen from a paradise of light and bliss, fallen, for minor sins that were not his own, into the extreme misery of these unhappy savages.

609 When I arrived, some eighty stout Mundurucu awaited me on the village grounds and received me with a display of open curiosity.

To me, the appearance of these men was no less curious, painted as they were with such identical designs that they looked like uniformed soldiers. Dozens of fires which burned on the square lent this picture a sinister quality, casting reflections on the broad, naked, bronze-colored chests.

609 I greeted them, bidding them good evening with one of the few words in their language I had memorized for such purposes: "Chipate." They all answered: "Chipate." One of them addressed

609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
[574] I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
[591] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
[579] in Necodemde; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
[562 542] a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called çiçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with amazement at everything they saw: the spermaceti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dió."

513 Ba these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn
534 all through the night in their quarters or ehçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seu cuidado], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

the men's house. The women of each dwelling cooked equal amounts of the food to be consumed and it was then brought out for the common meal.

Although food was shared throughout the village, the same rules did not apply to personal property in material objects. This class of articles, including weapons, hammocks, ornaments, basketry, and pottery, was really the only category that corresponds with our own property concepts. These things might be loaned or manufactured especially for another person, usually a close relative, but rarely did one person claim a personal object from another as a gift. A highly desired object was occasionally asked for and, while sometimes given, was often politely denied with a suitable excuse. It was not considered polite to demand something from another. Objects were sometimes traded, but such barter was relatively uncommon. There were no differences of wealth in the aboriginal society.

Division of labor

The main features of the division of labor have already been stated in the preceding discussion of subsistence techniques. It remains to summarize these into an overall picture of the structure of the Mundurucú productive system.

In common with most tribes of the region, the basis of the division of labor was sexual. There were no specialized occupations among the women and the only one among the men, shamanism, was hereditary, done without reimbursement of any kind, and without releasing the individual from production

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–47 analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for
578 male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[59] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

81 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his
622 linearly eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

121 complex societies are a part of the same social system. Therefore, the moral values of in-groups are commonly extended outward to a considerable degree. Moreover, the ethical norms reflected in everyday social interaction are complicated by class differences and other categories of sub-cultural variation. The individual is an actor in many situations, each of which prescribes rather different modes of behavior. He may be the bearer of several standards of ethics, which become manifest according to the particular status and role context in which he is acting. Our "real," as opposed to "ideal," values are heterogeneous in the extreme.

The complexity of our ethical values arises from the very complexity of the social structure of which they are an integral part. Beyond the realm of situationally desirable behavior, the general ideal value system, or thematic moral values, in Kluckhohn's terms, shows somewhat more uniformity and internal consistency.[1] But they are frequently in conflict with sentiments, which, while less lofty, are just as strongly value charged.

577 Since it is more simple, and because
156 it is less ambivalent, the Mundurucú ethic should provide some insight into our own. It varies from our own in degree of intensity of ingroup harmony and outgroup hostility and is perhaps

[1] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: an Exploration in Definition and Classification" in *Towards a General Theory of Action* (Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, eds., Cambridge, 1952). [p 50(4)]

different in kind, for the central theme makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between desirable behavior within Mundurucú society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

The Mundurucú first came to the attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forests and savannah country east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

Mundurucú warfare represents one side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[3] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[3] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1949).

[9] non-aggression to an extent comparable to the Zuni Indians of Arizona; in this light their culture is Apollonian.

[10] The apparent disparity between these two concepts of desirable conduct towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedict and others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a central theme which pervades all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If major ethical themes are analyzed, on the other hand, as being an integrated and integrative part of the social structure, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the total culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, does not have to show ideational consistency, for its rationality lies in the structure of the society and, ultimately, of the culture.

[16] The major unifying theme of the Mundurucú view of humanity lies in the division which they make, explicitly and verbally, between those who are Mundurucú and those who are not. Only the former are called "people," while the latter are referred to categorically as "outlanders." In times [69] past, all "outlanders" were considered to be enemies and proper objects of attack.

This is not a racial or genetic concept; the name "outlander" is frequently applied today to many fellow [71] tribesmen who have adopted white men's ways to such an extent that they no longer operate within the closed circle of Mundurucú society. Further-

Ⓐ more, children were captured from
[64] other tribes and raised as Mundurucú
without prejudice. To adult "outland-
196 ers" of either sex, however, the Mun-
727 durucú gave no quarter; the enemy was
summarily dispatched and the head
severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

648 The establishment of peaceful and
177 symbiotic relations with the whites
726 added a further dimension to the
● 577 values connected with warfare, which the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The
726 means used to attain the new ends were traditional. Enemy villages were

burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual ego. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú. A young man who made great claims of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intra-group tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent aggression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

The execution of sorcerers was the only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that pro-

ple were loathe to even speak of it. Interestingly, the sorcerer was not thought to practice his art against particular individuals, but was believed to make and disperse evil spirits which might attack anyone with whom they came into contact. A general malevolence was said to pervade the sorcerer; he was simply "angry at everything."

Sorcery provides interesting insights into the mechanisms by which the Mundurucú ethic was maintained and the dangerous forces which they believed to be inherent in man and nature kept in check. While the practice of black magic may be considered as a covert channel for the latent aggressions of the sorcerer, only persons who had inherited shamanistic power were able to manipulate the evil forces. But the locus of sorcery and its punishment was social and not individual. Just as black magic was directed towards society, at large, so was the ultimate function of retribution of importance to the well-being of the social system. The universe of the Mundurucú was permeated with potentially harmful supernatural beings and forces, which could be appeased and controlled with proper techniques, and the killing of the sorcerer was a personalized means towards this important end. Furthermore, the generalized anti-social tendencies attributed to the sorcerer were a projection of similar suppressed emotions carried by the population. The destruction of the practitioner of black magic was effectively the destruction of centrifugal tendencies within the society.

Internal harmony within the house-

hold and within the village were thought to be a necessary part of social and economic life. The men of the village as a whole hunted and cleared forest for gardens in cooperation, and the women of the large, extended family-household carried out their tasks in unity. Foods were shared among house members and by all the people of the village. The individual and the biological family of man, wife, and children had no independent existence external to their roles within the extended family and the village.

Cooperation and collectivism were recognized as positive, desirable values. A Mundurucú would be ashamed to unstintingly deny goods or services to his fellows. The actual extent and mode of mutual obligations were determined in specific situations by the roles connected with kinship status, but beyond this, the central ethical theme stressed generosity, hospitality, and aid between all Mundurucú.

The suppression of individual strivings is manifest in the total lack of patterns of competition or ego-assertion within Mundurucú culture. A Mundurucú man never strove to prove himself the better of others in any situation. An individual took pride in recognition as a proficient hunter, a valiant warrior, or a repository of lore, but he did not openly and competitively seek such honors for their own sake. It is to be noted, also, that all of these goals were of value to the society which benefited by it.

Although prestige was attainable through the above accomplishments, it was not considered good for a man

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
● 577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

654 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[641] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

154 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[721] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[754] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

154 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

[5] ganization of the men's house, which
● 577 also formed a focus for male social participation. Cooperation in the econ-
[74] omy was elaborated far beyond the minimum necessary for effective exploitation of the environment; warfare
[72] was pursued beyond the requirements of security and its overt magico-religious purposes.

War and fraternity were ritualistic in nature. The relationship between them was causal in the sense that they were interdependent; intense militarism was made possible by male cohesiveness and male cohesiveness was fostered by warfare. Mundurucú society was welded by kinship and the ethic of harmony and cooperation. No
[75] commitments were owed to those outside the system; the humanity of others was recognized, but it entailed no duties. To have extended the intense moral obligations between Mundurucú to persons outside the system would have effectively vitiated and devitalized it.

Robert F. Murphy
University of California

[p. 314 (a)]

[pp. 314 (a) - end not processed for the files - Analyst]

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the mirage of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Bibel's tactics were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. He thus violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-centrically and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows.

Bibel not only misunderstood the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one to most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Bibel's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he was only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and culture through his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Bibel had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and allegiances emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role constituents. Soothsayers and latent leaders are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are usually represented requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is self-trained in disguising aggression and in preventing the latent form of hostility, but Bibel's non-socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any outsider, he had gone amok to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian outsider but not for a Mundurucú victim.

IV

Bibel's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through the role of chief of the village of Cabituba. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftainship must be understood as a hereditary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader wants increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village to trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely control the patrilineal rule of inheritance of

553 offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond
578 their endurance. Bibel refused to divorce the new wife, to show he was greatly attached, but took her to Cabruk where he left her in the care of his father. [522] The validated his polygamy by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

183 This brings us through most of the key features of Mandurukú culture and social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this
● 577 is to assume a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring must inevitably close on Bibel. He had offended all the Mandurukú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.
578

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Bibel returned to Cabruk to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabruk. This was an important collective decision by the residents of [569] Cabruk, for his execution could set off a train of repercussions that would seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruk and with the trader. Moreover, 68 Bibel did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant—that he was a perpetrator of black magic—could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Bibel's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

559 In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Bibel thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather vagrant girl; 689 whatever restraints she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruk. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations—and there were some exceptions even to this—were enjoying the favors of Bibel's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they relayed their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Bibel, for the Cabruk men, too, disliked Bibel with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered outwardly deviant. But physical sanctions against Bibel would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruk attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their sentiments, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Bibel's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Bibel soon heard of the events in Cabruk from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those

683 nude and bloody, was found in the middle of the grounds at daybreak, and there remained exposed until evening. All passed by it in silence and without a complaint.

There are many other such cases, for unfortunately executions on account of witchcraft are still frequent. It is said that in those times when Caru-Sacaebẽ lived among the Mundurucu, there existed no witchcraft and no sorcerers.

Indeed, the criminal code of the Mundurucu is based exclusively upon this.

There is no record of one Mundurucu ever being killed by another except on account of witchcraft. When violent hatred erupts between two Indians who inhabit the same village -- and this is extremely rare -- one of the two merely takes down his hammock, goes to some other village which attracts his fancy, chooses a place in the *ciçá*, and remains there as long as he pleases.

XVI

Social feelings among the Mundurucu -- The family -- The characteristic painting pattern of the tribe.

A remarkably strong social spirit, or indeed national spirit, binds the individual members and the villages of this tribe, preserving, if I may say so, the autonomy of the Mundurucu republic in a wilderness which lies beyond the contact and influence of our civilization. [112]

It is no cause for wonder that the Quechua of the Andes, herding as they did vast flocks of llama and alpaca and cultivating in large quantities the potato native to their mountains, should have founded great population centers and established a powerful monarchy. An agricultural and pastoral people, they possessed those elements necessary to live in the midst of plenty and to develop their intellectual and moral qualities under the stimulus of life in society.

726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and [634 208] they are guarded by patrols who signal with the toré (beni), a rasping cane trumpet, or with the kiohoa, a whistle. With this instrument the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the 727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger [578 846] women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
535 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
224 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

796 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants.
786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred
796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[776] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibō, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
[578] When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kaibō (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

to bathe and fetch water and firewood as a group. The latter three activities hardly demanded cooperation, but are illustrative of the fundamental division of the society on the basis of sex and of the love for sociability of the Wundurucú. The Wundurucú liked to do things together and it was a grave breach of etiquette to refuse to help in any work.

It will be noted that the village was the basic unit within which cooperation was carried out, while the extended family was of almost equal importance. Seldom did economic activities involve two or more villages. A man and wife occasionally left the village together for a few hours to plant or harvest vegetables or to gather fruits, but these occasions were of minor importance in the economy.*

Accompanying this emphasis on cooperation in the economy was a corresponding complete lack of stress on competition. Competitive economic activity was absolutely nonexistent. A lazy person lacked prestige but in this instance it was because a lazy person was a drain on the society. Prestige was sought through accomplishments in warfare and knowledge of Wundurucú lore and not by economic means. Indeed, the Wundurucú did not openly seek to better anybody even in play with the exception of one strength test game, consisting of an attempt by each of two opponents to force back the forearm of the other, indulged in by the young people. In their speech the Wundurucú did not compare people

* It should be pointed out here that these conjugal excursions are generally viewed by the Wundurucú as guises to leave the village for the true purpose of daytime sexual intercourse. Their suspicions are well founded.

497 The Mundurucú are clearly distinguishable by their
501 speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors
502 and with the lingua geral. However, their most outstanding
101 outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

726 The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare.
701 Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never
[576] between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two
519 Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Intercecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the
[122] chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Trubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Horton, 1948, p. 273.

[574] tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old men would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their counsel. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were sufficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic [575] to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was no elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

[576] Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important [577] functions of the village chief were to lead war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

561 [561] At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 3000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their isolation and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

65 The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separa-
60 tion of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

57§ While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

726 Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy,
476 warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participa-
182 tion. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

§ [i.e. The middle of the nineteenth century.—Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be
292 occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring considence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

476 Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of
423 shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either
592 possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His court functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women
[654] went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

522 There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *aypokobabat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mun-
[578] durucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

175 tional submissive attitudes, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive
438 action formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú
175 had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifica-
648 tions had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained
[178] intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigor-
ously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard
core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other
[179] Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it
was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by
them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains
to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published
sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn
now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during
this period.

22 The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered mounta-
361 ins surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essen-
tially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was impor-
tant throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity.
249 Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits,
438 and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in
Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their
most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

624 The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic
[180] aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried
out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the
[581] horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and
the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen;
each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each
Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house;
the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men sleep, eat,
worked, and relaxed within its confines.

641 The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent.
581 The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by
loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between
patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the
resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages
continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

578 Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village,
976 and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and
778 cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the
minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggres-
sion between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the or-
ganizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karuko*. Each village maintained a set of these of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilineal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supervillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazonia" (Almeida Serra 1809:1), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors, and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[3] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return
765 of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order
[616] for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *ihuwanini*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the *ihuwanini* consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's *ihuwanini* to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The *ihuwanini* member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it
[578] there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's *ihuwanini* engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society,
554 the shaman, and the *ihuwanini* of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses
784 connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was
554 referred to as *Dajebuili*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary,"
[609] an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game
[525] animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit
324 protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajebuili

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world.

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Dawáki, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads.

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe.

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house.

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt

T: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945: 240-4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

582 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for
578 male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families, beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by excluding the chief's sons from the matrilineal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current conditions of pacification.

182 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of
622 Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

?: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú there are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

7: Murphy E-9 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

CONCLUSION

721
182
578
[2]

Our analysis of the functions of Mundurucú warfare has concluded that the institution operated to preserve the integration and solidarity of Mundurucú society. These findings accord closely with Simmel's theory of conflict and are also substantiated by Fernandes' (1952:354) conclusions on the functions of Tupinambá warfare. The means by which this social end was accomplished can be viewed as a variable of the Mundurucú type of society. The latter was of a unique order; it was structured so as to ramify kinship bonds throughout the tribe, but it was extremely vulnerable to any open display of aggression within the group. This, and the ambivalent position of the men, resulted in the suppression of hostility and the emphasis upon solidarity that characterized male social relations. Such solidarity could be maintained only through the release of latent aggression in a socially valued manner upon surrogate objects. Mundurucú warfare thus corresponds to Coser's (1955:40) formulation of the "safety valve" mechanism in society:

> Social systems provide for specific institutions which serve to drain off hostile and aggressive sentiments. These safety valve institutions help to maintain the system by preventing otherwise probable conflict or by reducing its disruptive effects. They provide substitute objects upon which to displace hostile sentiments, as well as means of alleviation. Through these safety valves, hostility is prevented from turning against its original object.

The achievement of specific ends or the defeat of a particular enemy were secondary considerations in Mundurucú warfare. They fought any group and they fought for the sake of fighting. The ultimate source of their belligerency was the repressed hostility generated within the society, and the ultimate source of repression was the potential destructiveness of intrasocietal aggression.

Safety valve institutions of one kind or another are probably universal in culture. Coser (*Ibid*:41) distinguishes two means by which aggressiveness may safely be released by the members of a society. These are:

> . . . Ventilsitten, which provide a socially sanctioned framework for carrying out conflict without leading to consequences that disrupt relations within a group, and those safety-valve institutions which serve to divert hostility onto substitute objects or which function as channels for cathartic release.

Mundurucú warfare and sorcery fall into the class of "safety-valve institutions"; the structure of the society is such that Ventilsitten would be impossible insofar as the Mundurucú cannot publicly acknowledge the existence of intrasocietal hostilities. The institutionalized public arguments and wrestling matches of the Trumai Indians (Murphy and Quain 1955:57–59) and the spear throwing bouts between Upper Xingú tribes (Galvão 1950:366) are illustrations of cases in which hostility is allowed to appear in a controlled and sanctioned context and is thereby dissipated. Sides are drawn and the issue is resolved among the Upper Xingú groups; the Mundurucú cannot even afford to take sides openly.

Coser (1956:150-7) has considered the relationship between conflict and the rigidity of the social structure, which he defines as "the degree to which it disallows direct expression of antagonistic claims," and concludes:

> Our hypothesis, that the need for safety-valve institutions increases with the rigidity of the social system, may be extended to suggest that unrealistic [i.e. cathartic and not oriented toward the frustrating object] conflict may be expected to occur as a consequence of rigidity present in the social structure.

Mundurucú warfare was clearly "unrealistic" and the social structure was rigid in Coser's sense. It is possible to broaden our example to include a larger category of rigid social structures and to consider their functional concomitants. I would propose as a statistically testable hypothesis that matrilocal societies must express open aggression in order to insure cohesion and continuity. If we take any matrilocal and matrilineal or bilateral society as our model, the system of residence tends to disperse males at least throughout the local community. Thus, any male will have close ties of kinship and economic interdependence with his housemates, his natal household, the households of his maternal uncles, and the households of his brothers. The same is true of patrilocal societies from the viewpoint of the women, but males are the principal political role-players in all human societies. Any conflict involving men therefore becomes a matter of deep community concern. As among the Mundurucú, if the lines of allegiance in a conflict situation are drawn according to kinship in any matrilocal society, bonds of local contiguity will be sundered; if primary loyalty is given to bonds of residence, the ties of kinship will be broken. In short, when the residence and kin groups of the male do not coincide, he acquires multiple commitments that may come into conflict. Also, the individual male will more readily express his grievances if he cannot rely upon the full support of a solidary group.

Brief reference to the ethnographic literature suggests that the social solidarity of matrilocal groups is not restricted to my model. Writing of the Apinayé, Nimuendajú (1939:129) says:

> I have never heard of a case of rape nor witnessed anything of publicly scandalous adultery, larceny, or slander. Only when intoxicated do these natives inflict damage on property and bodily maltreatment on persons or commit manslaughter. Compared with any Serente settlement the village of Bacaba, at least, is a model of internal peace and harmony, and this would hold for Gato Preto, too, in the absence of alcohol.

The Serente and the Apinayé are Gê-speaking groups of eastern Brazil and are culturally quite similar. The principal difference between them is that the fractious Serente are patrilineal and patrilocal, while the harmonious Apinayé are matrilineal and matrilocal. Turning to North America, we have the classical example of the matrilocal and "Apollonian" Pueblosans. Ellis (1951:199) has noted of Pueblo warfare:

> Beyond protection, warfare served to provide legitimate outlet for the frustrations and aggressions arising from unpermitted competition or suspicions thereof among peoples of the same general culture.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The repression of open conflict among the Pushinaua accounts for the latent hostility that many ethnologists have seen seething below surface relations. Under modern conditions this often results in community fission, and the same process can be noted among the contemporary, nonwarring Mundurucú. Lacking adequate safety-valves for the release of aggression, the Mundurucú now tend to withdraw from the frustrating situation.

Not all matrilocal groups repress aggression to the same extent as do the Mundurucú, nor are they as warlike. The greater emphasis of the Mundurucú upon social cohesion and external aggression stems from the persistence of patrilineal clans in a matrilocal society. This factor, combined with intervillage matrilocality, made hostility even more explosive and internal release systems less workable. It oriented the group toward warfare and provided the organization for its effective pursuit. Some deviation from our model is expectable, for there is no fixed and unvarying reservoir of aggression in society; it has its roots in the social structure, as does its expression. Our thesis states only that matrilocal societies must repress the open expression of intrasocietal conflict and that this repressed hostility, variable in intensity, will be released through acceptable and nondisruptive means within the society, or through warfare, or through both. But warfare, it can be concluded, is an especially effective means of promoting social cohesion in that it provides an occasion upon which the members of the society unite and submerge their factional differences in the vigorous pursuit of a common purpose.

NOTES

[1] The field research upon which this article is based was conducted by my wife and me during 1952–53, and was supported by a Research Training Fellowship, granted by the Social Science Research Council, and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. Grateful acknowledgment is made to these institutions.

The present article was read in manuscript by David M. Schneider and profited greatly from his suggestions.

[2] This seemingly incredible sortie was still remembered by the Urubú Indians of the upper Gurupi River in the state of Maranhão, according to a personal communication from the Brazilian ethnologist, Dr. Darcy Ribeiro.

[3] A fuller description of the ceremonies held subsequent to a successful raid will be published in a forthcoming monograph (Murphy n.d.).

REFERENCES CITED

ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO
1869 Navegação do Rio Tapajós para o Pará (1770). Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro 9:1–16.

ALVES DE CASAL, MANOEL
1817 Corografia brasílica. Rio de Janeiro.

BATES, HENRY W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazons. London.

CHANDLESS, W.
1862 Notes on the rivers Arinos, Juruena, and Tapajós. Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 36:119–128.

COSER, LEWIS A.
1956 The functions of social conflict. Glencoe, The Free Press.

[illegible]

also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, India-rubber and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders on their arrival at the Cangpuas [the sparsely-populated region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucus beyond the cataracts] have first to distribute their wares--cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cachaça--amongst the minor chiefs, and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce". (1869, pp. 249-250)

When rubber became the major product of Amazonia the same pattern of trade was perpetuated among the Mundurucu. All of the rubber collected was turned over to the chief, who alone negotiated directly with the traders. The merchandise given for the rubber was, insofar as could be ascertained through contemporary informants, equitably distributed to each man in proportion to the rubber he had produced. But since chiefs were commonly more prosperous than other men, it can be assumed that they did not suffer in their role of middleman. The share taken by the chief, however, was never so great as to result in truly significant wealth differences. In fact, the traders usually managed to keep the Indians in debt, and this debt was charged against the chief as the representative of the village. Tocantins, who visited the Mundurucu in 1875, published a bill presented to one chief [Tocantins, p. 134]. If this bill is typical, the Indians' indebtedness was frequently very heavy. These debts were used to force the chief to extract greater production from his followers.

As the Mundurucu depended increasingly upon trade, the chief became more subordinate economically to the trader, who manipulated him accordingly. The trader eventually was able to appoint "chiefs" to carry on the trade. An appointed chief was usually known as the capitão, or "captain", as distinguished from the hereditary village chief, who was called aparecumaut or tuchaua. By using the "captains" as local trade representatives, the traders were able to increase their control over the villages. At the same time, by robbing the hereditary chiefs of their trade function, they weakened the entire structure of leadership. In time, the capitão displaced the hereditary chief almost entirely. To increase the prestige of the trader-appointed chief, the trader often took his protegé on his annual trip to buy supplies in Belem, where the chief's position was confirmed by the governor or some other official.

The Mundurucu dependency upon trade at first evidently increased the power-ful authority of the hereditary chief, for the villagers relied upon him to promote and secure their best interests in trading activities. The appointment of capitães undermined the native chief, and initially increased the trader's control over the village. The people became confused, however, as to whether the capitão or the aparecumaut should be regarded as "chief". Ill feeling towards and suspicion of the appointed chiefs began to develop, for the Indians were always aware of, although powerless to cope with, the sharp practices of the traders, and they usually assigned the capitão a share of the blame. Upon the latter fell the onerous task of goading the people to harder work in the rubber avenues. Since most Mundurucu do not even today consider rubber collecting a congenial occupation, the role of the capitão must have done little to increase his popularity. During the field research among the Munduruku, the young, bilingual trader-appointed "chief" of the village of Cabitutú was in danger of losing his life. Distrust of the trader, whom the "chief" represented, was centered upon this young man and threatened his position so greatly that he was on the verge of flight.

In later years, as will be described subsequently, individual Mundurucu Indians have tended increasingly to deal with the trader directly rather than through the "chief". For this reason, village political organization has been effectively shattered.

The white-appointed Mundurucu "chief", unlike his Northeastern Algonkian counterpart, mediated trade relations between a group of followers and the

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Mawtapato 1/56

to the disorganization of Upper River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the interior caused an overmanning of men on the Lower River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber centers or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucú. Over one-third of the Lower River population make their rainy season home at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

IX. Comparison Summary

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a monetaire, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by unscrupulous traders. Second, the growing time of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon become necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

[text continues on p. 349]

[24] burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

[21] It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual ego. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú. [24] A young man who made great claims [54] of prowess was pushed to the fore during [57] the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

[18] The suppression of individual inter- [57] ests in favor of those of the collectivity [57] of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intra-group tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

[75] The execution of sorcerers was the [89] only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 754 it and spend the day spearing malignant spirits and objects. At nightfall, they reenter the shaman's hut, their points covered with the blood of these beings, and the practitioner asks them what variety of supernaturals they had destroyed and how many of each there were.

After he has rid the village of the evils inhabiting it, the shaman divulges the name of the sorcerer, if he believes the situation to be sufficiently serious. The accused shaman is usually killed from ambush outside his village, although some are dispatched by direct assault within its confines. Since the sorcerer's soul is believed to be dangerous even after death, another shaman must extract and destroy it immediately after the execution. This is done by brushing it from its position in the back to the top of the head with a mutúm feather. When the soul emerges from the head, it is caught in a hollow bamboo tube and cast into a fire.

754 518 Most studies of the subject conclude that sorcery executions are conducive to social cohesion, since they constitute a mechanism for the externalization of aggression and release of tension in a socially approved way, and also because they constitute a mechanism of social control. The Mundurucú data tend partly to substantiate this thesis, for sorcery executions are the only occasions on which intrasocietal violence is sanctioned. Interpersonal tensions are rife among the Mundurucú, but during our research no Mundurucú was even heard to raise his voice against another, and the occurrence of overt violence between men was specifically denied by informants. The social structure demanded complete harmony and cooperation; the latent and suppressed aggressions inevitable in such a situation were projected into the person of the sorcerer, and his execution was cathartic for the community. It will be shown, however, that the changing nature of this community has caused sorcery to be involved in its progressive and ongoing fission.

In spite of the fact that sorcery was a perilous practice, resort to black magic served as a covert expression of generalized hostility for the shaman, as well. Although it is impossible to induce any Mundurucú to admit witchcraft, I am inclined to believe that it is actively practiced. The techniques by which *cauii* are manufactured and propagated are well known to all shamans, and some informants claimed that sorcerers have revealed their activities to them, as in the case described above.* There is no doubt that many, if not most, accused shamans are entirely innocent of the charges, but this, of course, does not alter the function of sorcerer execution as an escape valve for repressed aggression and hostility within the society.

Aside from the suspicions, fear, and personal insecurity engendered by belief in witchery among prospective victims and shamans alike, the execution of sorcerers is frequently a source of factionalism within the society. During our residence in the village of Missão Velha, the community was split by an impending sorcery execution. Two years earlier, a powerful shaman had been called to the village to destroy the malignant objects believed to have caused an outbreak of

* See pp. 44–47.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

illness. This accomplished, the shaman informed the people of the identity of the sorcerer and implied that there was one more in the village whose name he would not reveal at that time. The accused man was duly slain, in spite of the objections of his house mate and brother-in-law. Sickness continued to trouble the village, and the shaman then revealed the name of the other guilty person. The latter, a young man named Antonio, was still present in Missão Velha during our sojourn. He remained somewhat aloof from the other men, but on occasion joined and even joked with some of those most intent upon killing him. However, the latter by no means included all the villagers. The brother-in-law of the shaman who had been killed two years before, Antonio's house mate, and the men of another of the eleven dwellings of the village opposed his execution or were at least in favor of allowing him to depart in peace. The faction that favored killing him was led by the son-in-law and the sons of the chief. The chief, himself, had rather ambivalent feelings about the case. He owed his position as chief to the mission priests, and he did not wish to bring down their inevitable wrath through another killing. But he believed in Antonio's guilt and refused to live in the same village with him. For a time he planned to shift his residence, but those plans were changed when he heard that Antonio intended to leave for the Tapajós River. 754 578

We had lived in this village for several weeks before the conflict came to our attention, for there was no external indication of disturbance in the smooth flow of everyday life. Only gradually it became evident that feelings were quite bitter. The faction that favored killing Antonio regarded him with fear and loathing. Those who favored his cause did so not out of disbelief in sorcery, but because they distrusted the honesty of his persecutor's motives, and because they were weary of the interminable conflicts in the village. They knew, however, that their cause was hopeless, and all had decided to move at their earliest convenience. If all carried out their intention, the village stood to lose 36 of its 90 people. Antonio's case was not unique; sorcery was almost invariably and deeply involved in the rapid fission process that was occurring in all Mundurucú villages.

Sorcery killings probably produced such tensions even before Mundurucú society had lost its cohesiveness. But there can be little doubt that the stronger patterns of leadership and interdependency of the past were more conducive to unanimity of action within the community on these occasions. Also, where complete concurrence could not be obtained, the dissident elements undoubtedly remained passive rather than create disharmony. The individual and the family depended completely upon larger groups for their continued existence, and, in any event, there existed no alternate residence pattern.

Sorcery and executions will undoubtedly continue even after the larger social units of extended family and village have become completely fragmented. The priests of the Cururú River mission have inveighed against belief in sorcery for more than forty years with little noticeable effect. Nor were they the first to attempt to suppress the practice. In 1876, Father Pelino de Castrovalva, the 754 578 797

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754
578
797

founder of the mission of Bacabal on the Tapajós River, wrote to the governor of the province of Pará the following words:

> Now one of the greatest superstitions with which I have had to battle has been that of witchcraft. What have I not said, what have I not done to wrest this pernicious superstition from their hearts? And how many deaths have they caused with these erroneous principles before the establishment of the mission? Despite all, when I begin to think that I have persuaded them to detest such an abominable vice, the first day that the missionary is missing they do the same things.[11]

[11] Cited in Tocantins, 1877, pp. 108–109.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the clan of the man who manufactured them. If he dies or moves to another village, it is quite possible that no other man of that community will belong to the clan owning the trumpets. It is, therefore, understandable that informants were often vague when asked to explain the connection between clans and instruments. Many people believed that the trumpets had souls of their own and that these were the most important spirits resident within them. And, as has been mentioned, it was commonly thought that the playing of the instruments was pleasing to the spirit mothers of the game. 771 178

The actual function of the trumpets in present-day Mundurucú society has little to do with clanship, but much to do with the maintenance of the sharp dichotomy between the sexes. The instruments are primarily the property of the village men and are expressive of their unity and identity in the face of the women. In this connection it is significant that the villages that arose along the Cururú River have never had either the men's house or the sacred trumpets. As a corollary, the gulf between the sexes in social participation and labor that characterizes the savannah villages is lacking. On the Cururú the nuclear family is the basic social and economic unit. Men eat and sleep with their families and join their wives in tasks that would be considered degrading by a savannah dweller. But the demands of the rubber trade, combined with the covert hostility and factionalism that exist in all Mundurucú villages, are currently promoting migration from the savannah communities either to the Cururú River or to isolated residence along other streams. The end result will be the complete lapse of the sacred instruments and the men's organization.

The only other extant ceremonial is the one devoted to curing victims of soul loss. Since human souls are stolen by the spirit mothers of the game, this rite is also one of the few remaining religious acts that deals with this category of supernaturals. It is most significant that all the important means of obtaining the good will of these spirits and the increase of game have lapsed, although the Mundurucú have clung tenaciously to the technique of defending themselves against the spirits and rectifying the damage done by them. It may be said of the religion of the contemporary Mundurucú that it has retained those items that specifically protect the individual and, to a less degree the society, from harm though dropping those features that were not so immediately defensive in nature and which were more expressive of the integration and central values of the society.

To continue this line of thought, we turn to a consideration of those elements of Mundurucú religion that have maintained greatest vitality—shamanism and sorcery.[1] The two institutions are inseparable in the Mundurucú mind; the shaman cures diseases, which are invariably caused by sorcery, and the sorcerers are recruited from the ranks of the shamans. But disease, its explanation and its cure, has much greater significance than as a system of belief. Kluckhohn has shown for the Navaho that sorcery plays a vital role in the release of aggression,[1] and Beatrice Blythe Whiting's monograph *Paiute Sorcery*[2] shifts emphasis somewhat and stresses the function of sorcery as a mechanism of social control. Both of these fac- 178 771 152 754 578

[1] Kluckhohn, 1944.
[2] Whiting, 1950.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 tors, but primarily that of aggression release, play a part in Mundurucú sorcery
771 also.

In a previously published work[9] I set forth the thesis that aggression cannot be
152 tolerated in Mundurucú society because of the combination of a matrilocal resi-
754 dence rule and a patrilineal descent system. Under these social conditions each
578 man has two sets of allegiances, one to his clan and the other to the household and village of his wife. Since the two do not coincide, he occupies social roles that potentially can conflict That is, a quarrel between households or villages may well pit fellow clansmen against each other, and, correspondingly, conflict between clans can cause internal dissension within villages and even households. Open aggression is therefore avoided among the Mundurucú, and, although interpersonal and interfactional tensions abound within the group, they are generally suppressed. The feeling of horror at the outward display of hostility between men is so strong that informants were unwilling to give data upon its occurrence, although it occasionally happens.

Violence during warfare or the execution of a sorcerer, however, is thoroughly condoned. Attacks upon enemy tribes served to channel hostility upon surrogate objects outside the society and thus promoted social cohesion, but this avenue of release is no longer open. The only remaining catharsis for aggression is the practice of sorcery and the execution of suspected sorcerers. Another alternative, withdrawal from the frustrating situation, has been made possible by the general pacification of the upper Tapajós area and the consequent possibility of flight from village life. In former times it would have been most risky for an individual or family to forsake the mutual security offered by the local group, but today it is common for Mundurucú to live in the midst of the Brazilian rubber-gathering population. Even within the confines of Mundurucú territory, the tendency toward neolocal residence makes isolated or semi-isolated existence socially acceptable.

Mundurucú sorcery has a number of interesting facets. It is impossible to induce any shaman to admit the practice, but the body of detailed knowledge of witchcraft techniques suggests that it indeed exists. Granting that witchcraft is not completely a figment of the Mundurucú imagination, the practitioner undoubtedly derives considerable gratification of his antisocial inclinations. Also, the Mundurucú generally fix suspicion of sorcery upon the more deviant shamans. Thus of the two people known by me to have been suspected of witchcraft, one was a rather humorless, silent, and aloof man, and the other, although more outgoing, far outstripped the other members of the village in rubber production. The threat of sorcery accusation, it may be inferred, tends to enforce social participation and conformity.

These factors of covert release of aggression and social control are, however, applicable only to the ranks of shamans. Persons born without shamanistic powers are unable to practice witchcraft, and sorcerers do not practice on behalf of others. But the dogged persistence of belief in black magic among the members of the society at large suggests that it does perform a very vital social function. It has al-

[9] Murphy, 1957.

ready been mentioned that depopulation, the disintegration of the social structure, and the decline of such highly valued activities as warfare and the hunt have robbed the Mundurucú of much that was vital and positive in their way of life and left them disheartened and apathetic. Frustration, in the classic paradigm, normally leads to aggression, the expression of which is forbidden in this culture. Fear of sorcery among the Mundurucú is a means of embodying and phrasing in understandable terms not only the manifold anxieties of their existence but the latent aggression that nearly all members of the society carry within them. In this connection, it will be remembered that the intrusive objects made by the sorcerer are spread abroad and are not usually directed against any one person. The sorcerer is then, as the Mundurucú say, malevolent toward society in general. This is not only logically consistent with the indiscriminate ravages of epidemic disease, but it also suggests that the accusers of the sorcerer displace generalized aggression to his person and eradicate it through his execution. 178 771 152 754 578

That considerable aggression is unleashed upon the executed sorcerer can be inferred from the quality of the executions and the way in which informants report them. Many, if not most, executions take place from ambush, but some are bloody affairs in which the accused is beaten to death with clubs. And the Mundurucú enthusiastically relate these episodes with obvious hatred for the victim. The men of the village of Cabruá derived evident satisfaction by pointing to a brown smear on the posts of their men's house and saying: "That is where we wiped the blood of our last sorcerer from our hands." This emotional intensity parallels that reported by Kluckhohn among the Navaho,[4] and among both peoples this is atypical behavior.

Since aggression is related not only to real interpersonal differences but to frustration and general insecurity, it should be expected that witchcraft accusations would be most common in periods of stress. This is borne out by the Mundurucú practice of refraining from direct action against the sorcerer until illness becomes severe in the community and deaths occur. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient historical material to demonstrate conclusively, as did Kluckholn, that sorcery troubles are correlated with historical periods of crisis. The best primary source on the Mundurucú, the report of the Brazilian engineer Antonio Tocantins, in 1875, describes sorcery executions as extremely frequent and one of the major problems of the Bacabal mission.[5] But it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this data and to control all the variables in the situation without similarly complete reports from other periods. In 1875 the Mundurucú still waged war and therefore had available a means of expression of hostility which had the obvious advantage of being directed outside the society. But on the other hand, Mundurucú society was then being subjected to its greatest threat since the contact with the whites, for these were the first years of the rubber-extraction period, and the Indians themselves were becoming increasingly involved in the industry. White rubber tappers were penetrating the area in growing numbers, and the mission had just been established. In 754 756 152 578

[4] Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 56.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 107–111.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756
754
152
578

view of the complexity of the problem and the paucity of data, however, it can only be concluded that sorcery was also common in times past. Whether or not accusations and executions have increased in number or in proportion to the number of shamans cannot be positively ascertained, but it is highly significant that the institution has been perpetuated into the present, a period that has seen the disappearance of much of Mundurucú religious activity.

It has been said that the shaman occupies a most precarious role today. The source of much of the evil threatening the group, he also is the only person who can cope with the harmful forces, and his services are in great demand. The Mundurucú are deeply concerned with illness and frequently sought relief in the medicine afforded by my wife and me and by the mission and Indian Service Post. But given their theory of disease, modern medicines were inadequate for a complete cure and were believed efficacious only in healing the damage done by supernatural agencies. The removal and destruction of the latter can only be accomplished by the shaman. The role thus has a dual function; society purges itself of repressed hostility through the imputation of malevolence to the shaman, and it is also the means by which society protects itself from the believed evil.

This dual function makes shamanism a most ambivalent practice. All but the most powerful practitioners, who usually are called upon to detect sorcerers, are in great and continued danger. The general reduction of the Mundurucú population has proportionately thinned the ranks of the shaman, and executions have further reduced their numbers. Many leave the Mundurucú country in flight from execution parties or in fear of future accusation. Others refuse to practice shamanism in the hope, often vain, that they will thus shield themselves from suspicion. The result is that many villages are without shamans, and their residents accordingly lose another motive for remaining members of nucleated communities.

The involvement of sorcery in repressed conflict may be seen through an examination of a few case histories. The instance already cited in which the village of Missão Velha split on whether to kill the accused Antonio is a case in point. Antonio was the most industrious rubber tapper of the village and was much disliked by the family of the chief. The latter group was, as in most Mundurucú villages, the strongest aggregration of kinsmen in the community, since it included not only the sons-in-law of the chief, but also his sons, who are customarily exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Relations were strained between the chief's group and the men of many other households of the village, for the latter looked upon the chief as the appointee of the missionaries and resented the strength of his family. These dissidents sided with the condemned shaman. They were not, however, willing to court the possibility of open factional struggle by offering physical defense of Antonio, but resolved instead to leave the village.

Another case of sorcery, this time in the savannah village of Cabruá, saw the men of the village determined to kill the stepson of the chief. The latter, supported by his sons and sons-in-law, intervened, and the man's life was spared. In a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

third village, however, the power of the chief's family must have been weak, for both he and his son were slain as sorcerers by the other men of the village. The tendency for villages to fractionate because of sorcery fears and accusations is probably greater now than in the past. Not only is village cohesion in general much weaker, but the disappearance of such leadership activities as heading war parties and trading on behalf of the village as a whole has made it most difficult for the chief to obtain the consensus necessary to carrying out an execution. It must not be thought, however, that lack of unanimity in sorcerer killings indicates a decline in belief in black magic; it rather reflects distrust of the sincerity of the accusers and the existence of latent factionalism that may not be directly caused by witchcraft. But these occasions bring conflicts to a head and open breaches that are in many cases irreparable and can be resolved only by the removal of one party.

This analysis of the Mundurucú data indicates that although the institution of sorcery may be viewed in one light as socially integrative, so far as it acts as a cathartic for aggression, it may also be most disruptive of social cohesion, for it often aggravates tensions.[6] It would seem that shamanism and sorcery have become complementary to the central direction of social and economic change. The ecological accommodation to increased participation in rubber production calls for the dispersal of the population into ever smaller units in the vicinity of the stands of wild rubber trees. Correspondingly, sorcery conflicts tend to disintegrate larger village units while being integrative for factions within the village, which then commonly establish themselves as small local groups. This is not the only means by which social fission occurs. Latent conflicts that do not involve sorcery sometimes cause families and factions to leave villages; others leave because of the economic expediency of residence near their rubber avenues. But sorcery remains as a contributing motivation for the participants in the process. The Mundurucú example thus suggests that the institution of sorcery may promote the cohesion of a society as a whole, but only where other bases for such cohesion exist.

The close relationship of religion to the social structure can be seen quite as clearly in the context of change as in a synchronic dimension. As the society has become progressively divested of those mechanisms that integrated tribe and village, so also have group religious activities fallen into abeyance. What remains are the essentially individual practices of shamanism and sorcery. This is the same process noted for other parts of South America by Steward, and which he has phrased as part of a change in "level of sociocultural integration."[7] But beyond the scope of participation in religious activity we have seen another selective factor determining which segments of religion will persist. This, in brief, is the simple question of whether the element serves some social function in the changed setting. By this criterion, the warfare ceremonies have totally disappeared, and the ceremonies for the animal spirits have declined with the shift of a large part of the population from hunting to fishing. Similarly, the

[6] Kluckhohn (1944, p. 71) has noted the presence of disruptive elements in Navaho witchcraft also, although the analysis of these tendencies were beyond the scope of his treatise.

[7] Steward, 1951.

614 mission, who described a rather complex system of 34 patrilineal clans, some of which were linked in unnamed phratries, and which were parceled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamic moieties. This report is substantially correct, but for the minor fact that Mundurucú informants can list 38 clans, and the actual number, before depopulation set in, must have been well above 40. Actually, only 30 clans are currently extant.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

616 Although the clans are formally exogamic, their marriage-regulatory functions are superseded by the more inclusive moiety system. The moieties, called "Red" and "White" by the Mundurucú, comprehend 16 and 22 clans. In addition to their marriage-regulatory functions, the moieties partake of the characteristics of reciprocity, rivalry, and antithesis, which, as Lowie notes, are commonly found in moiety systems.[4] During many ceremonies and on all festive occasions intersexual joking between members of opposite moieties is acceptable and expected; and in the course of everyday village life, one may act with much greater levity toward a person of the complementary group. While the joking aspect of moiety relations may indicate behavior appropriate to prospective sexual partners, latent affinal antagonism is manifest in their reciprocal duties and rights. Every clan in each moiety is designated as the *iboiwatitit* of certain clans of the opposite. This mutual relationship entails the duty to bury each others' dead. The Mundurucú look upon this not only as an obligation, but as a right and a privilege, or, as they sometimes phrase it, a mode of revenge. This is not merely symbolic phraseology. During the period when raiding still occurred, it was considered necessary that every dead

[578] [764] 616 727

[4] Lowie, 1948, p. 242.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

operate to the detriment of integration within the wife's 581
household. Among the Mundurucú, however, there is no 591
matrilineage (or patrilineage), and a man s bound to his natal household primarily by affect. As his own group of brothers becomes dispersed in matrilocal residence and his parents die, such emotional ties become correspondingly attenuated. From the point of view of social structure, the process by which he is integrated into his new matrix, however loosely, is reinforced by the gradual attrition of bonds of the old; and as part of the same process, his marriage becomes more stable. We see then that Mundurucú matrilocality contributes to the brittleness of marriage in its early phase, but the lack of corporate, bounded lineages leads in time to the strengthening of the connubial tie. Later sections will explore more completely the position of the married couple and the nuclear family within the larger framework of social life.

Adultery is common and a frequent source of strife be- 684
tween mates, but generally results in divorce only when 837
the wife is promiscuous. The men regard their own adulterous escapades as highly amusing incidents, but take a far less lenient view when cuckolded. An offended husband may beat his wife or harangue her, but no direct physical action is taken against the guilty male. The woman whose husband is unfaithful has little recourse except to chastise him verbally and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself."

Adultery causes few open conflicts among the Mun- 578
durucú, but it is a chronic source of ill feeling. To a cer- 837
tain extent, latent hostility probably contributes to adultery. One of the more amusing episodes of our field trip was the plight of the trader-appointed, and thoroughly hated, chief Biboi, of the village of Cabitutú. Biboi had two wives, one in Cabitutú and the other in Cabruá. The

578 spouse who lived in Cabitutú was his first wife, and she
837 would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabitutú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.[17]

595 Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the sororal type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is
582 with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is
616 rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of
835 any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

[17] Murphy, 1958.

476 from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and sus-
183 picion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men.
578 Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

476 This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the
621 Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

562 The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But these are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the eksá only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in
345 which the sacred trumpets (karökö), are kept is absolutely
778 forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber
534 adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

562 mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male posi-
578 tion, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to
571 the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here,
[184] unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans
182 but remain functional in protecting the village from super-
534 natural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual
778 roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a soli-
562 dary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling
342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated 422
by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. 476
Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and 574
the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú prin- [183]
ciple that coöperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible.

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a 461
strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete 571
among the women, however. The household unit of fe- 578 592

571 578 592 males is extremely close knit and is probably the most cohesive group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional bond between the women of these groups that I know of [762] one who committed suicide because of alienation from her two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended family, conflicts between individual women or households are common. All women of the household generally join with a member in her antipathy for another woman or household; this, of course, follows from the fact that the housemates are closely related to each other, which complements the allegiance arising from co-residence.

521 578 Hostility between the women generally takes the form of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of most of the confidences that passed among the women, [123] which constituted one of our most valuable sources of information. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house [115] and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women. Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart. And we usually managed to learn by this means of the well-repressed hostilities in the village, of fears and accusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn, gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the exchange of female information and opinion was the shed where farinha was made. The women usually chatted animatedly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the group, the heads of the others drew together and she was thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of residence in the village, the same thing happened, as we had no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst. Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. These events provide the grist for conversation for weeks.

Relations between the women of the savannah communities are subjected to an extra, situational strain because of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages, marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern. But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured by the support given by the matrilocal extended family.

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber season, when village and extended family break up to exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy and from being even a co-resident group. And the thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers the nuclear family from any primary responsibility in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in the powers and duties of the office. Older informants said that chiefs formerly inherited the office either from their father or older brother. Lineal continuity of the chieftaincy in a village was ensured by the general exemption of most of the chief's sons from the rule of matrilocality. The chief, although never authoritarian or possessed of coercive powers among the Mundurucú, was nonetheless an important figure in the community. His was the most prominent voice in any collective decisions affecting the village as a whole; he frequently led war parties, and he represented the village in commercial or other relations with the whites. His position was reinforced in a number of ways. He was generally selected from the available and possible heirs because he had distinguished himself as a warrior through taking trophy heads and was the repository of lore and songs. And the patrilocality of the chief's family allowed him to build a strong kin group composed of sons and sons-in-law. This exemption from the normal residence rule also legitimized the line due to the genealogical continuity of the family within the village. Thus, the chieftaincy symbolized the village as a continuing entity. Furthermore, his special relations with the whites and his role of intermediary, in which he sold the trade commodities gathered by the villagers and distributed the returns among them, did much to enhance his status. 554 622

The Mundurucú look upon their contemporary village chiefs with mixed feelings. The chief is often personally respected and liked by the people, but they simultaneously feel the office to be inconsequential and of little importance today. And they quite frequently look upon their particular leader as an illegal occupant of the position. Also, the role of chief is commonly a center of latent hostility and factionalism. This change has come about through the disappearance of the more integrative aspects 178 578 554 622

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 554 578 622 of the chieftaincy and the persistence and aggravation of certain disruptive features.

First, the Mundurucú chief no longer holds the all-important position of war leader. Second, he now trades on behalf of his village in theory only. In the nineteenth century the trading function of the chief tended to bolster his traditional powers and some became well-known figures in the Tapajós valley. As the rubber trade grew in importance, the control of the chiefs became increasingly important to those traders who monopolized the Indian commerce. Since this period corresponded with the declining days of warfare, some traders were able to install their own appointees as village chiefs where the rightful holder of the office was unsuitable to them. Besides, traders occasionally took Mundurucú to Belém, where they were introduced to government functionaries and awarded the title of *capitão*. These new luminaries were sent back to their villages and assigned the task of representing the trader. Thus, legitimate lines of succession were broken, and the new chiefs owed their positions to the trader. The villagers were well aware of this.

The general patrilocality of the chief's family, no matter by what means he was selected, continued; his extended family remained the largest such unit in the village and, more important, was the only significant group of close male, patrilineal relatives. The rest of the village men were of diverse affiliations and found organization within the context of men's-house activities. But they were faced with a powerful kin group in which political authority was vested. If points of difference arose, the men of the chief's group rallied to his support, but antagonisms were aroused among the other men. In former times, the important functions served by the chieftainship undoubtedly overrode the potential factionalism inherent in this situation, but, in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the new setting, the position was stripped of legitimate succession and divested of the attributes that commanded greatest respect. The strength of the chief's group thus became a sore point in village life.

These problems are amply illustrated by the contemporary chieftaincies of the savannah villages of Cabruá and Cabitutú. Until two years before my investigation, an old Mundurucú whose Portuguese name is Caetano had been chief in the village of Cabitutú. He did not occupy the office by patrilineal succession, but was appointed by a trader who maintained exclusive dealings with the villagers. The residents of Cabitutú respected and accepted Caetano because of his age and the fact that he was not aggressive in promoting the interests of the trader. When the old chief of Cabruá, who possessed the office legitimately, died, the trader decided to shift Caetano from Cabitutú to Cabruá and to install Caetano's son in the vacancy created. The latter, a young man named Biboi, had been raised by the trader. In contrast to the usual unassertive, retiring, coöperative, and nonaggressive Mundurucú conduct, Biboi was loud and vociferous in his claim to be "the only one in Cabitutú who knows how to tell the people to work and who can deal with the trader." The villagers looked upon an older man, who was also a shaman, as the rightful possessor of the office and regarded Biboi as a usurper and tool of the trader. They were prepared to kill him, but refrained because of respect for his father, Caetano, and his family. To kill Biboi would have caused endless trouble, and the Mundurucú assiduously avoid such situations.

In the meantime, Caetano's tenure of the chieftaincy of Cabruá was somewhat uneasy. More than one-third of the men residing in the village did business with another trader than the one who had made the appointment, and

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

they felt that Caetano did not represent them. Furthermore, one of these men was the son of the former chief, and many villagers confided that he, and not Caetano, was the rightful leader. One of Caetano's sons, a stepson, and a son-in-law also lived in the village, however, and he had too much support for any effective opposition that would not develop into open conflict. That the position of the chief was not a source of open strife is due not only to the strength of the chief's family but to the contemporary weakness of the office. Large-scale joint activities, such as inter-village ceremonies and warfare, no longer exist, and situations that demand firm authority are rare. Coöperative economic endeavors among the men are freely entered into within the framework of the men's organization. Thus, Caetano seldom was compelled to issue orders and formulate policies that would affect the entire village. Also, as in Cabitutú, Caetano was respected because of his age and his cultivation of Mundurucú tradition.

Despite the relative placidity of politics in Cabruá, as contrasted to Cabitutú, there were several points of tension. Shortly after Caetano assumed the chieftaincy, the men of Cabruá accused his stepson of sorcery and planned to kill him. But the chief and his kinsmen intervened, and the man's life was spared. Relations remained strained between the two factions, although the everyday behavior of the principals showed no evidence of this.

The situation of Biboi in Cabitutú was precarious. During our stay, his father fell from a palm tree and seemed badly injured. Biboi immediately left Cabitutú to rush to Caetano's side. He was motivated partly by filial devotion, but he also knew that his life would be in jeopardy if the old man died as a result of the injuries. He explained to us that in this event, he would move to the Tapajós River. When asked why he blandly evaded his true motives and

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Biboi returned to Cabitutú.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilocal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftaincy continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

this is a valid statement. But it conveys the impression 121
that such integration is sufficient to social cohesion; actually interpenetrating modes of segmentation may make social adjustment a most delicate matter.

When considering the relation between structural integration and social solidarity, it may be well to keep in mind that life in society requires a degree of personal renunciation as a means of securing the corporate well-being. Conflicts in interest, between individuals or groups, are bound to follow in all human societies. The causes and intensity of conflict and the means by which it is resolved are, however, variables of the structure of the particular society. The open expression of hostility, we learn from the sociologist Georg Simmel,[3] may result in a readjustment of relations between groups that produces a measure of stability; the playing out of conflicts can thus promote the integration of a society through the correction of disbalances in power and by the cathartic release of aggression.[4] According to Meyer Fortes, battles between lineal groups in Tallensi society has just this effect.[5] But the Tallensi are significantly different from the Mundurucú. Both are patrilineal, but the former society has local groups based on patrilocal residence; conflict between kin groups is simultaneously conflict between local groups.

Conflict in Mundurucú society, on the other hand, can- 578
not range along such simple segmental lines. The mem- 571
berships of lineal groups and local groups do not coincide; 628
in a conflict, people cannot align themselves with clan fellows, for this may well pit them against the members of

[3] Simmel, 1955.

[4] The latter corollary to Simmel's thesis has been more fully developed by Lewis Coser (1956).

[5] Fortes, 1945, pp. 240–244. See also Gluckman (1956) for a penetrating analysis of segmentary opposition and the part played by cross-cutting loyalties in the dampening of bend.

571 the same men's house, or even the same household. Cor-
578 respondingly, if a man is to side with his co-residents, he
628 may find himself arrayed against his patrilineal kinsmen in another household or village. Mundurucú men have two primary sets of bonds, one based on co-residence and the other on patrilineal kinship. Since the persons affected in each set are generally not the same, the individual is placed in potential role conflict, if sides are to be chosen. To choose the tie of kinship may disrupt the village and household and their economies; to give primary loyalty to one's co-residents can destroy clanship.

There can be no balance of antagonisms in Mundurucú society; conflict can only destroy both social solidarity and social integration. Hostility is, for this reason, suppressed. Intervillage conflicts are unheard of, as are those between kin groups. And interpersonal grievances remain latent between individuals not only because of the disruptive effect of an open breach, but because the antagonists cannot expect uniform support from either kinsmen or co-residents. Covert factionalism may be rife among the Mundurucú, but open feud is impossible within their social system.

578 There are few means to express the aggression arising from the frustrations of normal social life. Real grievances, such as those arising from sexual rivalries or from the institution of chieftainship, do not result in direct retaliation against the objects of hostility. Aggression is instead buried and later displaced on surrogates. During the nineteenth century, the Mundurucú were able to use warfare as a displacement device and as a rallying point for social cohesion. The only acceptable means of purging latent hostility today is the projection of generalized antago-
[683] nisms to the shamans and their execution as sorcerers.

Although matrilocality is no longer as rigidly adhered

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation 578
noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships 156
is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men 571
of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; 578
it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the 182
level of village organization; coöperative endeavors 571
among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare [628]
and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism [619]
has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social 771

754 [683] shaman is said by the Mundurucú to be "angry at everybody," and he continues his practice until apprehended and executed.

The sorcerer is thus visualized as the bearer of latent and generalized aggression that is expressed by covert means, and it is possible to infer, from the beliefs surrounding the institution, the projection and expurgation of repressed hostility within the society at large. Witchcraft has particular tenacity because it serves to provide the practitioner of the art with a means of aggression release, and it provides the members of the community with a technique for displacing their own hostilities to his person and deriving further catharsis through his execution. Witchcraft also serves to explain the ills that inflict humanity, and provides a means of defense against them. The problems resolved by belief in sorcery and shamanism are almost universal in scope—disease, death, and social tensions—and are not so narrowly keyed to the variables of Mundurucú society and economy as were the defunct ceremonies. The problem of repressed antagonism is especially acute among the Mundurucú, however, because of the injunction against the open display and playing out of hostility. [578]

683 754 Ideally, the execution of a sorcerer is carried out with the consensus of nearly all members of the community. Such agreement was probably more easily obtained in the past when political controls were firmer and less subject to dispute and the bonds of mutual interdependence among villagers stronger. Today, however, sorcery accusations frequently bring factionalism perilously near the surface. In one savannah community, the chief and one of his sons were slain as sorcerers, and in another only the intervention of the chief and his family saved his stepson from the same fate. That chiefs and their families are so com-

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid. 182 476

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence. 182 592 562 [602]

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe. 182 578 [621]

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers 182 574 754 683

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 as the single permissible occasion on which violence was
578 condoned. Kluckhohn's[9] view is well founded that the
754 sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him
683 and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

Conflicts between persons and groups are not always
182 connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men com-
578 monly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of
[837] others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the
[622] numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

182 Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their
591 villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive
596 weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished
[578] size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

[9] Kluckhohn, 1944.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

622 554 182 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [758] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

all Mundurucú still believe firmly in the supernatural causation of illness. Thus, the drugs of the white man are considered efficacious in the repair of the damage caused by the sorcerer's evil objects, but this in no way circumvents the necessity for the shaman to extract them. A corollary of the continued belief in native explanations of disease is the persistence of accusations of sorcery and the occasional killing of witches. 756 [753] [754]

The only shaman in recent practice in Missão Velha was executed as a sorcerer in 1950. It is now necessary to call a shaman from another village or to bring the sick person to him. The lack of an actively practicing shaman has not prevented another case of sorcery from arising in the village, for the accused in this instance was a shaman by descent. The case will be described in some detail, for it illustrates how political factionalism, sorcery, and general disaffection have combined as fission elements in the loosely integrated Cururú River villages. 754 756

Several months before we stayed in Missão Velha, a great deal of illness caused the chief's son-in-law and sons to seek the services of Pedro, the most renowned of all Mundurucú shamans and a resident of the mission. Pedro, without the knowledge of the priests, of course, went to Missão Velha and performed the necessary acts to destroy all evil objects in the vicinity of the village. He then informed the others that the man responsible was one Antonio, a resident of Missão Velha whose father was a shaman, although he himself never practiced. The chief wanted no trouble and planned for a time to move away from the supposedly malignant Antonio, but the younger men of his family were determined to kill the sorcerer. Certain other men of the village, however, were not fully convinced of Antonio's guilt and opposed his condemnation. Their doubts were not a reflection of skepticism in 159 754 756 578

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159
578
754
756

supernatural belief, but arose from hostility to the chief's group, Antonio's most persistent persecutors. The fact that they would also doubt the accuracy and integrity of the most powerful shaman in the tribe is indicative of the intensity of this animosity. Some of the men opposed to the execution felt, on the other hand, that Antonio was in all probability guilty, but expressed revulsion at the idea of more bloodshed and would have rather preferred to let him depart in peace. In any event, no unanimous community action could be taken.

The split in the village was exactly along the lines of the two village political factions. Favoring the execution of Antonio were the chief, his two sons, his two sons-in-law, and the brother and brother-in-law of one son-in-law. The opposition consisted of the brother-in-law and former co-resident of a shaman killed at Missão Velha two years earlier, the brother-in-law and house mate of the accused Antonio, and a household whose men were related affinally to the chief's group. The position of the latter house in the dispute is of particular interest, for it included the brother-in-law, brother, and nephew of that son-in-law of the chief who was the moving spirit of the other faction. The people of this household had originally moved to Missão Velha to be near the latter kinsman.

The dilemma was finally resolved when the frightened Antonio decided to move completely out of the Mundurucú country to the relative safety of the Tapajós River. Those who defended him, however, were completely alienated from the village, and all had made plans to move. The man whose brother-in-law was killed two years ago was ready to settle permanently near his rubber avenue, the brother-in-law of the accused contemplated his departure, and the members of the third household wanted to move farther upstream. We left Missão Velha before the shifts

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

occurred. If all the planned moves took place, however, the net loss to the village would be 36 out of 90 people, the residents of three of the ten occupied houses. As a footnote to this episode, Antonio fled shortly after our departure, but he made the fatal error of settling in a Mundurucú hamlet on the lower Cururú River. His reputation was, of course, widely known, and he was slain by his new fellow-villagers.

To our knowledge the dispute never flared into an open display of aggression. On a few occasions the accused man was seen to talk to one of the men who wished to kill him and, more rarely, there was mutual visiting. Hostility between Mundurucú is generally more open on the Cururú than in the savannahs, but violence is still suppressed. Here, too, the only escape valve consists in killing suspected sorcerers; otherwise, one may move away from the object of hostility. The latter is easily done in the socioeconomic framework of the Cururú settlements, for interpersonal and interfamilial dependence is low, and individuals have correspondingly greater mobility than on the savannahs.

Although no personal violence attends these disputes, the facts of conflict and withdrawal are socially disruptive beyond their effects on village membership. In the above-described conflict, two brothers were ranged in opposite factions, because one had chosen to follow the stand in defense of the accused taken by the oldest member of his household. And the position of the latter placed him in conflict with one of his wife's brothers, who favored killing Antonio. An even more interesting split occurred in a household whose inhabitants were absent from the village during my research. The oldest man and head of the house wished to avoid strife by taking no action against the condemned man, but his son, who resided with the father, was

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 754 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, [592] most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost [574] always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 578 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative 182
isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the 578
Cururú and are found near its mouth on the Tapajós. Not all fission arises from factional splits such as that described. Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the move from one village to another or to permanent resi- [166]
dence in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal conflicts.

These disputes are frequently over women, who are 162
scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah 184
villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow 578
but continuous emigration of the more mobile young 182
males, which results in hostility and competition between the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself. At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long concealed in small villages. Extramarital sex relations are [837]
common in the savannahs also, but there are enough unmarried girls to make female adultery less frequent and competition over women less intense. Correspondingly, there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs caused by sex.

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and 182
sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land 578
near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fis- 311
sion. When one's village house gets old it is often more 166
convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals. 182 794

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mundurucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups. 182 591 602 [582]

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the non-equivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the 182 578 591

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

weak corporate character of descent and local groups. The dispersal of male patrilineal kinsmen also attenuates and weakens ties of relationship, and the men's house results in a rather marginal membership in the extended family. There is potential disruption through conflict of roles, but the loyalties imposed by the roles are somewhat weakened, and the danger to social integration accordingly mitigated.

The incongruity of descent and residence makes for a most unstable social system, and one may well ask how it persisted from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In part, of course, it may be answered that persistence has not been perfect. The clans are becoming vestigial, and unilocal residence is now weakening. Moreover, increasing numbers of people are leaving the traditional savannah villages. But the fact remains that the Mundurucú still exist as a social entity after a period of contact that witnessed the virtual extinction or absorption of nearly all tribes of the region.

It might be argued that the weakness and instability of the patrilineal and matrilocal social structure was, paradoxically, a source of its strength during the contact period. The accumulated aggressions generated, and repressed, in the social system were released in the continued pursuit of the traditional institution of warfare. Lacking any strong modes of internal segmentation, social integration was obtained by the opposition of the entire tribe against the outside world. This outward direction of antagonism functioned to demarcate rigidly the boundaries of the social system, and to provide a framework of common endeavor. The cross-cutting ties of residence and descent were the basis of a highly developed sense of tribalism among the Mundurucú males and facilitated the recruitment of war parties from a number of villages. This martial disposition and effectiveness of the Mundurucú

DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL I: WHAT MAKES BIBOI RUN

Robert F. Murphy

I

Biboi, the young chief of the Mundurucú[1] village of Cabitutú, visited the village of Cabrua with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the ten hour round-trip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Biboi was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Cabitutú, he kept a young and pretty wife in the house of his father, the chief of Cabrua. Whenever he visited his wife, his "followers" in Cabitutú busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Cabrua, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Biboi, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time we lived in Cabrua, Biboi gravitated between the two communities--to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of his fellow Mundurucú.

157 622 [578] [837]

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Biboi run. But the key questions of why the men of Cabitutú plotted against him and why those of Cabrua pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Mundurucú society and culture and of Biboi's position within it. For Biboi was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reëstablish the normal flow of social interaction. Anthropologically, this is a study in deviancy and social control. Humanistically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

578 837 183 626

II

Biboi's personality was most deviant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Mundurucú men and their chiefs. I know nothing of the socialization of Biboi, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who traded in the village headed by Biboi's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Mundurucú, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Biboi, he addressed me in backwoods Portuguese and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Biboi, son of Caetano [the chief of Cabrua] and chief of Cabitutú." This contrasted markedly to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Mundurucú addressed me, and

183 157 114 157

114 each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months
157 with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset me considerably. Bibei turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of traditional Mundurucu activity or in their relationships with the outside world.
554 He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of
555 material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this reason our mosquito boots were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate him from his barefoot Indian fellows—shortly after one of his visits, my wife discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu so brash.
157 They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Bibei would demand a cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we pointed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Bibei had other most unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal his hostility and contempt when someone faindeal to him was near. But underneath this façade, Bibei was a frightened and anxious man. He would often
158 confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be interpreted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were indeed talking about him, and Bibei had every reason to be anxious. Not only his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

157 Bibei's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucú
183 expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should behave. Mundurucu society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the principle of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are conceived
[81] to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilin-
[61] eal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an
578 extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and
181 individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the Mundurucu type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only produces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[2] Given the structure of Mundurucu society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative, unaggressive, serene, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity
183 before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Bibei presented a threat to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered and acquisitive—all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the outlaws of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material acquisitions, and, although this was slowly changing, Dibol's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. He thus violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows. 554 577 177

Dibol not only misconstrued the ends of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Dibol's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Disturbing though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Dibol had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role commitments. Hostilities and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully repressed—a requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in disguising aggression and in presenting the bland face of neutrality, but Dibol's own socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any cuckold, he had some cause to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian cuckold but not for a Mundurucú victim. 583 579

IV

Dibol's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabituto. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftainsy must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader wants increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely counter the patrilineal rule of inheritance of 622 157 554 439 622

village men are ever-watchful and jealous of the chiefly family and would be quick to resist, however passively, what they considered to be high-handedness. Dibei, however, did not have the surrounding group of relatives that may have given even minimal support to his claim to leadership. Rather, he depended upon the trader and his father and relatives in Cabrum to buttress his position. 622 554

Given his delicate status, Dibei proceeded to worsen it through a misinterpretation of the chieftaincy. He had listened to his father's nostalgic tales of the role of the chief in times past, and one might say that he had some knowledge, in a purely cognitive sense, of the traditional culture. It is highly dubious, however, that Dibei had internalized sufficient culture to make him an effective actor within the system of social relationships. Dibei knew that "in the old days, chiefs were powerful men who directed their people and bought goods for them." This view of the past may or may not have been true, but it surely did not apply to the present. Dibei, nonetheless, announced at large that he was eminently qualified to be chief, as only he knew how to deal with the trader and only he had the force to tell the people how, when and where to work. I was a special recipient of this information, for Dibei found it most important to gain stature in the eyes of a prestigeful outsider. But Dibei also told all the others of his importance, and the people of Cabitutu stated that he indeed relayed the demands of the trader in forceful terms. His "followers" saw him solely as an agent of the trader in their village, and they were certain that his only function was to promote their exploitation and defrauded. Their analysis was correct, but I doubt that Dibei thought his role to be at all special. There is no evidence to substantiate this, for only he could tell us whether he was aware of the machinations of the trader, and he did not. But I believe that Dibei saw the trader as a father figure, many of whose values he had internalized and subscribed to as legitimate. And he also saw himself to be in the position of a strong and traditional leader. [157] [578]

Dibei had learned something else about the chiefs of times past, and this was the fact that many were polygynous. Polygyny was possible only for chiefs, for the matrilocality that applied to most of the population made it most difficult to have plural wives unless they were sisters. Even for a chief, however, polygyny was a difficult and stormy relationship, and it was evidently never of very great frequency.

Dibei did not have the implicit and unconscious ability to understand the fine points of Mundurucu social structure that a man raised in a village would have, and he made some of his most serious blunders in marriage. Soon after assuming the chieftaincy of Cabitutu, he married a woman of the village, a widow several years older than himself who, through the situational variability of post-marital residence, had a strong nucleus of kin in the village. Though I have no data upon which to make a firmer statement, it is quite probable that he married the woman--frankly a crone--in order to enlist the sympathies of her relatives. But Dibei was a young, handsome and virile man, and he subsequently sought a wife more to his liking. He located a pretty girl of about sixteen years in the village of Deondyem and brought her home to Cabitutu. This enraged the first wife, who berated Dibei, assaulted the girl and complained to her brothers. The latter expressed their disapproval of the polygynous union to Dibei, and the rest of the village supported them. Dibei's general behavior and his exercise of his "chieftaincy" had already enraged them, and this [558] 515 578

595 offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond
578 their endurance. Biboi refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly
attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father.
[622] He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

183 This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurucú culture and
577 social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this
578 is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring must inevitably close on Biboi. He had offended all the Mundurucú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Biboi returned to Cabitutu to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of
[704] Cabitutu, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would
681] seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover, Biboi did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Biboi's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

554 In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Biboi
684 thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl; whatever rectitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some exceptions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Biboi's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Biboi, for the Cabruá men, too, disliked Biboi with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered unbearably deviant. But physical sanctions against Biboi would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruá attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Biboi's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Biboi soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those

who had cuckolded him. The village reacted to his charges ambivalently. They were highly amused at his discomfiture and humiliation, but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of deportment, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village even became ranged on two sides. Bihei's family supported him, but the majority of the population were ranged solidly against him. Thus, the threat of conflict had spread from Cabituka to Cabruá. And Bihei ran back and forth between Cabituka, where they plotted against his life, and Cabruá, where they took more covert measures against him through his wife.

The balance of power and of moral correctness lay with Bihei's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made most difficult by virtue of the fact that Bihei had almost ceased to be a social person--the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the curtain fell on our little drama, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was seen most clearly when, shortly before our departure, Caetano fell from a palm tree and lay seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Cabituka would kill him as soon as they were assured of his father's death, Bihei came immediately to Cabruá and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Bihei approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tapajós River." I asked his why, and, in fine Bihei style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Bihei knew that his life as a Mundurucu was finished.

NOTES

(1) Mundurucú Indians are a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1952-53 with the support of the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Mundurucú social structure and the positive evaluation of male solidarity has already been published in an article entitled "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion" (American Anthropologist 59:1018-35, 1957).

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Headhunter's Heritage (Berkeley, 1960).

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

often wanders from village to village, hanging his hammock in the men's houses and acquainting himself with available girls. If one meets his fancy, he generally enters into a casual liaison with her and then asks her father and mother for permission to marry. If they consider him to be a serious person and a good worker, permission is usually granted. The young man does not always represent himself but frequently returns home to ask his father to speak in his behalf. Marriages are occasionally contracted for the children by the parents; this practice is less common than it was in the past, as the decreased importance of the extended family has made marriage increasingly an individual affair rather than a bond between kin groups. 584

No special observances of either a ceremonial or an economic nature precede the marriage. If the young man was a resident of another village, he comes to the bride's village bearing his hammock, arms and personal possessions and installs himself in the men's house. If he is from the same village as the bride, which is less frequently the case, he makes no change at all in his living arrangements. The groom merely brings fish and game to his bride, and not to the house of his mother. The provision of the wife with food is the central symbolic act in marriage. Both mythology and real life abound with cases in which the young man who is determined to leave his wife, openly and deliberately refuses to give her his day's kill; this effectively constitutes divorce. 585 586

Mundurucú marriages become consolidated by time and children. Couples who have been married several years commonly show great devotion to each other. But the union tends to be brittle in its early period. The membership of the husband and wife in the men's house and the dwelling house, respectively, and the patterns of collectivism in consumption give the couple a degree of economic in- 581

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dependence from each other that is not conducive to marital stability. The husband may leave with little difficulty, and frequently does. The wife's lack of mobility makes it more difficult for her to break the marriage on her own initiative, but if the groom incurs the displeasure of the father-in-law, he is often told to leave. The divorced man either returns to his native village or wanders in search of another wife.

That the stability of Mundurucú marriages depends primarily upon the growth of affective bonds between the mates and a common interest in their children gives us a certain insight into the workings of the social system. There has recently been some discussion on the relation of marital stability to mode of descent and types of social unit, as revealed by comparative analysis of some selected African societies.[16] These have shown that marriage tends to be more enduring in patrilineal than in matrilineal groups and that this tendency is even more pronounced when the bride is incorporated into the membership of her husband's kin group. The Mundurucú are interesting just because they do not conform typologically to the African examples. Despite formal patrilineality, marriage is matrilocal and the man is thrust into affiliation with a cohesive unit of related kinswomen. His wife's primary loyalties are to her household; the husband's remain with the relatives of his natal household. The husband initially has no deep commitment to the wife's household and is under no strong influence to remain if he experiences difficulties with his wife or her kin. Thus far, the Mundurucú approximate the Hopi, for example, with the important exception that the latter are matrilineal also. In matrilineal-matrilocal societies of the Hopi type, every man maintains continuing rights and duties within his matrilineage, and these ties

[16] *Cf.* Gluckman, 1950; Schneider, 1953; Fallers, 1957.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

operate to the detriment of integration within the wife's 581
household. Among the Mundurucú, however, there is no 591
matrilineage (or patrilineage), and a man is bound to his natal household primarily by affect. As his own group of brothers becomes dispersed in matrilocal residence and his parents die, such emotional ties become correspondingly attenuated. From the point of view of social structure, the process by which he is integrated into his new matrix, however loosely, is reinforced by the gradual attrition of bonds of the old; and as part of the same process, his marriage becomes more stable. We see then that Mundurucú matrilocality contributes to the brittleness of marriage in its early phase, but the lack of corporate, bounded lineages leads in time to the strengthening of the connubial tie. Later sections will explore more completely the position of the married couple and the nuclear family within the larger framework of social life.

Adultery is common and a frequent source of strife be- 684
tween mates, but generally results in divorce only when 837
the wife is promiscuous. The men regard their own adulterous escapades as highly amusing incidents, but take a far less lenient view when cuckolded. An offended husband may beat his wife or harangue her, but no direct physical action is taken against the guilty male. The woman whose husband is unfaithful has little recourse except to chastise him verbally and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself."

Adultery causes few open conflicts among the Mun- 578
durucú, but it is a chronic source of ill feeling. To a cer- 837
tain extent, latent hostility probably contributes to adultery. One of the more amusing episodes of our field trip was the plight of the trader-appointed, and thoroughly hated, chief Biboi, of the village of Cabitutú. Biboi had two wives, one in Cabitutú and the other in Cabruá. The

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
[833] digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. How-
[855] ever, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended
[866] families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
868 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

[562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 797 the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in en-
177 couraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and
461 in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than
[562] the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and there-
[556] fore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and
[581] especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the
439 mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the
797 Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives up-
648 stream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater
[177] Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the In-
[437] dians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the
child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened
to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is
changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the
bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the
same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already de-
termined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband
dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take
her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage,
for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons
888

*The hopelessly degenerate Camês, Voturôes, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do
this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a
service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[101] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tame-
puyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to
this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old peo-
ple" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
[302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside
the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
[175] Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
000 the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were aban-
428 doned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as
[423] such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The
[585] only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage
[586] with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

614 The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these
616 patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan
[835] and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasion-
[587] ally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices.
[588] Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tubö*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[2] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tubö* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

614 The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú in-
[773] formants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibö, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *diwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

592 their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected [582] to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

476 The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

241 476 Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing [631] was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

476 [423] Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

476 621 Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous."[28] Contact 175
between the two regions has completely terminated since 648
that time, and the modern Mundurucú of the upper Ta- 182
pajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only
by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but ver-
bal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area in- [177]
dicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

The assimilation of these Mundurucú has been made 582
complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the com- 648
mon-law type, between Mundurucú and caboclos. These unions are almost always between Brazilian men and Indian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it degrading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also, there has historically been a shortage of women in the Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have generally been unmarried men. The children of such marriages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer considered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically, the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the Tapajós is partly Mundurucú. The mother of the mayor of the municipality of Itaituba was Mundurucú, and he is quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the Tapajós agree that the Mundurucú are "good people and hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive con- 175
tact between Brazilians and Mundurucú in the region ad- 648
jacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the century these Mundurucú merged progressively with caboclo society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their homeland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 425.

578 spouse who lived in Cabitutú was his first wife, and she
837 would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabitutú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.[17]

Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the
595 modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the sororal type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is
582 with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is
616 rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of
835 any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

[17] Murphy, 1958.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

good taste and decency, although the seriousness of the 835
delict depends on distance of relationship in the paternal line. Thus, incest within the nuclear family is considered absolutely unthinkable by the Mundurucú, but they frown in decreasing degree upon sexual relations within clan, phratry, and moiety. There is no defined punishment, [684]
however, for incest with any category of relative; the Mundurucú say only that people would be "ashamed" to commit such a breach.

In a society in which all people are believed to be re- 582
lated, moiety exogamy implies that any union with a per- 616
son of the same generation and of the opposite group will be with a cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. Marriage with first degree cross-cousins is said by the Mundurucú to have been a highly preferred union at some time in the past, and it is still regarded as a most suitable match. I found only three cross-cousin marriages during the course of my field work, however, and it no longer occurs frequently. The levirate and sororate are, of course, 587
permissible within the moiety system and occasionally [616]
occur, but persons are not and, within the memory of informants, were not formerly under any compulsion to enter such a marriage. Martius's report of the levirate [18] suggests that it may have been more prevalent during the period when partrilocality was still the residence rule. The levirate is a simple recognition of the right of the man's kin group, as a whole, to the woman. It may be hypothesized that the fractionation of the sibling group after the change to matrilocality dispersed the unit that formerly exercised corporate rights over the girl and made the levirate unworkable. And, since leviritic marriages are frequently polygynous, matrilocality imposed the same inhibitions as discussed above.

[18] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

582 604 Mundurucú kinship terminology indicates the custom of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter.[19] This avuncular form of union was frequently reported by early chroniclers in South America,[20] and is said by Oberg to exist among the contemporary Kamayurá of the upper Xingú River.[21] Martius specifically reported it to be practiced by the Mundurucú when the sister's daughter had no other prospective husband.[22] Avuncular marriage is nowhere in evidence among the contemporary Mun-
[835] durucú, however, and its practice, past or present, is vigorously denied. Informants regarded such a union as incestuous, despite the obvious fact that a sister's daughter is always of the opposite moiety from that of her uncle.

Since there is no reason to doubt the mutually corroborating distributional, documentary, and kinship-terminological evidence for sister's daughter marriage, we must assume that it has not only disappeared but has lapsed under such circumstances as to be absolutely proscribed. James Watson has noted a similar disappearance and taboo of sister's daughter marriage among the Cayuá Indians of southern Mato Grosso.[23] Although his evidence for its former practice is rather tenuous, he assumes it to have existed and to have fallen into abeyance due to the breakdown of the patrilineal extended family organization, and the union's consequent loss of function as a means of cementing relations between such units. Also, he assumes that marriages with the sister's daughter were commonly second unions, and the contemporary absence of polygyny would militate against the practice. Such rea-

174 582 604 171

[19] *See* pp. 93–94.

[20] Kirchoff (1932) presents the most complete discussion of this practice and contends that it was a common means of avoiding bride service.

[21] Oberg, 1953, p. 44.

[22] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

[23] Watson, 1952, pp. 118–121.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

soning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom 174
of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential 582
union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the 604
subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the 171
sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general
Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has
obviously no relevance to the Mundurucú situation, for
no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional
cross-cousin union indicates.

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for 174
the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often 582
an incest taboo beween co-residents, whatever their 604
genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in resi- 835
dence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother
and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until
the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be
endogamous to the household and would not only be
disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, follow-
ing Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household
from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among
others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is
congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it
might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the
Mundurucú are patrilocal.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social 601
relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person 602
in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every
other and is known to him and addressed by him by a
kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by
males indicates how these relations are structured.

[24] *Cf.* Titiev, 1943, p. 516.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.
[26] White, 1948, p. 25.

we šit sister; father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters 601
da ũ ũ father's sister's daughter
we ši mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
o pöt son; brother's son
o ra šit daughter; brother's daughter
rašenyebit grandchildren (all categories)

582 601 [171]

The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, bears certain points of resemblance to the Tupí-Guaraní type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão.* It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both of whom are subsumed under the term *adjung*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, can be the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this view comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *we ši*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To classify

* Wagley and Galvão, 1948.

582 601 further the brother's wife as *we ñi* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The application of the term *we ñi* to the mother's brother's children and not to those of the father's sister indicates that cross-cousin marriage was matrilateral. This possible preference is consistent with Homan's and Schneider's thesis that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is congruent with patrilineal systems.* Contemporary informants claim, however, that either cousin is now a suitable mate.

Following the terminological system, the equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of union with the sister's daughter. Thus, the analysis of nomenclature presents strong evidence for the past practice of avuncular marriage; the disparity between the kinship terms and current practice is probably an instance of the conservatism of terminology relative to the social relations they categorize.

The method of analysis employed above seems to be in 114 violation of Murdock's dictum that marriage customs are 582 likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only 601 "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society."* It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate alone, but by all three practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework. In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock, himself, states the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following: "Since

* Homans and Schneider, 1955, p. 51.
* Murdock, 1949, p. 123.

multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."*

114 582 601

That the patrilineality of Mundurucú society has been of some significance in structuring the terminological system may be inferred from the fact that the identical marriage practices have been found in South America in societies lacking unilineal descent groups and having ordinary bifurcate merging kinship systems.* Thus, the classification of the mother's brother's and sister's children as we ll follows in part from their membership in the moiety opposite to that of Ego. Similarly, the application of the referential term *o djorit* to the sons of the father's sister and the mother's mother recognizes their moiety affiliation and, also, the fact that both are sons of women classified as *adjung*. The latter term, it will be noted, is applied to all older women of Ego's own moiety.

601 606 [171]

Extension of kin terms is complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety are addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*but*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation are either "older" (*uxu yü*) or "younger (*o kôt*) brother." On the descending generations there are only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*tapö*). Females of one's own moiety are called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety are addressed as "daughter" (*da ö*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú have "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapö*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety are addressed as

* *Ibid.*, p. 128.
* *Cf.* Oberg, 1953, pp. 44, 90; Gillin, 1936, pp. 92-98.

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the 857
men's house, have very loose ties with their households. 868
Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine [591]
where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only [593]
by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as com- 562
pared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented 462
about any household economy, and the boys take little 867
part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since [596]
the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social struc- 857
tural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys 868
cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When 883
the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown [868]
sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old [582]
enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village, [584]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals. 182 994

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mundurucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups. 182 591 602 [582]

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the nonequivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the 182 578 591

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7] 121 174 591 614

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12] 174 591 614 [583] [586]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214–215.
[7] Smith, 1903, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 209.
[9] Steward, 1936, pp. 343–344.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 393.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 393.

224 But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude
221 husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadereri.

361 In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly
621 united although divided into twenty villages.
619 It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

585 Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

584 Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond
[595] between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

562 The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the ekça or warriors' quarters.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and naming.—According to Martius, the father keeps to his hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

Puberty and marriage.—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents. 584

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the fatally ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Mundurucú* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes. 888 734

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars. 764

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (kaduké). The ceremony is repeated at yearly intervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finally buried in the house of the deceased. 766

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Mundurucú* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes success in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic dialogue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc. 796 756

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in holding off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes. 796 535 224

1 [Martius (source #3) says this was done by the children -- Analyst]
2 [Martius says female rather than maternal - Analy.]

000 855 the village. The children were reared in a stable group that provided a large degree of emotional and economic security. The Mundurucú were and are devoted parents, and there was great affection between parents and children. However, the sudden death of both parents would have caused no great change in the social and economic life of the child.

Marriage

584 Marriages were sometimes arranged for the children by the parents when the children were still very young. Most of these arrangements were made between brothers and sisters for their children and were within the pattern of intermoiety, cross-cousin marriage. The parents of either the boy or girl could take the initiative. In many cases, a young man who had developed a desire for a girl either asked her father and mother for her directly or used the intermediary of his own parents or older relatives. There was no gift exchange or bride price or service involved. If 585 the match was found suitable by both families, the young man 591 merely moved to the girl's village and took up residence in the men's house there. If he married a girl of his own village, as was often the case, he merely changed his household affiliation. He had socially recognized sexual rights to her and became a part of the economy of her household. [836] In most cases, the man and woman had entered into sexual relations with each other before the marriage. If the young man had lived in the same village as his wife, the social recognition of the bond caused little change in the life of the couple or their families. The man began to bring

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Mundurucú is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of [619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Mundurucú tribal integration in times past.

611 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary 622 significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the oldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also, 611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain 756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important in- 768 heritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Mundurucú. A young man in search of a mate

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

often wanders from village to village, hanging his hammock in the men's houses and acquainting himself with available girls. If one meets his fancy, he generally enters into a casual liaison with her and then asks her father and mother for permission to marry. If they consider him to be a serious person and a good worker, permission is usually granted. The young man does not always represent himself but frequently returns home to ask his father to speak in his behalf. Marriages are occasionally contracted for the children by the parents; this practice is less common than it was in the past, as the decreased importance of the extended family has made marriage increasingly an individual affair rather than a bond between kin groups. 584

No special observances of either a ceremonial or an economic nature precede the marriage. If the young man was a resident of another village, he comes to the bride's village bearing his hammock, arms and personal possessions and installs himself in the men's house. If he is from the same village as the bride, which is less frequently the case, he makes no change at all in his living arrangements. The groom merely brings fish and game to his bride, and not to the house of his mother. The provision of the wife with food is the central symbolic act in marriage. Both mythology and real life abound with cases in which the young man who is determined to leave his wife, openly and deliberately refuses to give her his day's kill; this effectively constitutes divorce. 585 586

Mundurucú marriages become consolidated by time and children. Couples who have been married several years commonly show great devotion to each other. But the union tends to be brittle in its early period. The membership of the husband and wife in the men's house and the dwelling house, respectively, and the patterns of collectivism in consumption give the couple a degree of economic in- 581

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the 857
men's house, have very loose ties with their households. 868
Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine [591]
where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only [593]
by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as com- 562
pared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented 462
about any household economy, and the boys take little 867
part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since [596]
the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social struc- 857
tural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys 868
cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When 883
the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown [868]
sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old [582]
enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village [584]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

883 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[584] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his pri-
[882] mary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[756] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

224 But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude
221 husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadereri.

361 In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly
621 united although divided into twenty villages.
619 It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

585 Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

584 Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond
[595] between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

562 The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the ekçã or warriors' quarters.

000 the village. The children were reared in a stable group
855 that provided a large degree of emotional and economic security. The Mundurucú were and are devoted parents, and there was great affection between parents and children. However, the sudden death of both parents would have caused no great change in the social and economic life of the child.

Marriage

584 Marriages were sometimes arranged for the children by the parents when the children were still very young. Most of these arrangements were made between brothers and sisters for their children and were within the pattern of intermediary, cross-cousin marriage. The parents of either the boy or girl could take the initiative. In many cases, a young man who had developed a desire for a girl either asked her father and mother for her directly or used the intermediary of his own parents or older relatives. There was no gift exchange or bride price or service involved. If
585 the match was found suitable by both families, the young man
591 merely moved to the girl's village and took up residence in the men's house there. If he married a girl of his own village, as was often the case, he merely changed his household affiliation. He had socially recognized sexual rights to her and became a part of the economy of her household.
[836] In most cases, the man and woman had entered into sexual relations with each other before the marriage. If the young man had lived in the same village as his wife, the social recognition of the bond caused little change in the life of the couple or their families. The man began to bring

585 his game to the house of his bride and the products of his
591 garden went to the new household. He didn't even have to
596 move his hammock. Marriage was unstable especially in its early years before children were born to the couple. However, separation frequently occurred even between couples with two or three children. In these cases, the man went back to his old village or house affiliation and the children stayed with the mother. The commonest causes of marital breakup were laziness or infidelity on the part of the wife, in which case the husband might simply gather his hammock, weapons, and personal belongings together and leave. The same reasons on the part of the husband might cause the girl's family to turn the husband out of the household. Her relative lack of mobility made it difficult for the female to take the initiative in these cases.

695 Polygamy was not commonly practiced among the Mundurucú and the number of wives in such unions never exceeded two. It was generally confined to the chief of the [622] village since the chief and his sons were exempt from the rules of matrilocality. The sons of the chief remained members of the father's household and their brides were incorporated into it. Usually the second wife was taken at some considerable time after the first marriage and often only when the first wife grew too old to fulfill her economic functions. A situation akin to polygamy often existed when a man took a new wife before taking his leave of the old one. These episodes were usually stormy. There was frequently bitter hostility between the two wives if they shared

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in each village, and informants say that villages of four or five houses were 621
common in the last century.

The men's house was of square floor plan, but had an unusual silhouette. 344
Although a semipermanent structure, it was built in the form of a huge lean-to, open on three sides. At the southwest corner was a small, completely enclosed chamber which housed the sacred trumpets. Running from back to front of the men's house at an elevation of five feet above the ground were three long, horizontal poles. One pole ran down the middle and the other two were on the outer edges of the structure. From these poles the men hung their hammocks in two separate rows. The men of Red moiety slept in the south row, and the men of White moiety occupied the north row.

The Mundurucú men's house was unlike most such institutions in the de- 344
gree to which it divided the everyday life of the men from that of the women. 621
Here the division was complete. The men neither ate, slept, worked nor relaxed with their women. Every male, from the age at which his tattooing was completed and he became a full-fledged warrior, slept in the men's house. His bows and arrows were kept in the thatch above his hammock. The hammock arrangement followed moiety lines in the north-south separation of the hammock rows, and clan comembers slept adjacent to each other. They, in turn, were adjoined by members of other clans of the same phratry. Due to the fragmentation caused by matrilocal residence, several clans were represented in most men's houses. The contemporary village of Cabruá, for example, has a population of only seventy, but men of ten different clans were present.

When a Mundurucú married, there was no ceremony of any sort, and a 585
minimum of formalities were observed. The young man or his parents went to the girl's parents and requested her hand. The request was usually granted except when the young man was for some reason undesirable to the girl's family. Prearranged marriages were common and were often the means by which cross-cousins were united. The actual event of marriage was little more than a public recognition of the alliance. The bridegroom moved to the wife's village and took up residence in the men's house there. He brought his daily kill of game to his bride's house, and his exclusive sexual rights to the girl were recognized.

In most other respects he had remarkably loose bonds with the household 264
of his wife's family. He frequently went there for a between-meal snack or to 592
play with the children. However, the large meals which he ate before and after the day's hunt at morning and at nightfall were taken in the company of the other men immediately outside of the men's house. The women of each household prepared an equal part of the food consumed there, and all of the men squatted around the common pots to eat. The separation of men and women was made complete by the fact that male craftwork, such as the manufacture of arms and baskets, was done in the men's house, and the men whiled away their idle hours there.

Even when it involved a move to a new village, matrilocality imposed no 592
great burden on the men. They did not shift from one dwelling or household to another, but from one men's house to another. The internal arrangement of

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

often wanders from village to village, hanging his hammock in the men's houses and acquainting himself with available girls. If one meets his fancy, he generally enters into a casual liaison with her and then asks her father and mother for permission to marry. If they consider him to be a serious person and a good worker, permission is usually granted. The young man does not always represent himself but frequently returns home to ask his father to speak in his behalf. Marriages are occasionally contracted for the children by the parents; this practice is less common than it was in the past, as the decreased importance of the extended family has made marriage increasingly an individual affair rather than a bond between kin groups. 584

No special observances of either a ceremonial or an economic nature precede the marriage. If the young man was a resident of another village, he comes to the bride's village bearing his hammock, arms and personal possessions and installs himself in the men's house. If he is from the same village as the bride, which is less frequently the case, he makes no change at all in his living arrangements. The groom merely brings fish and game to his bride, and not to the house of his mother. The provision of the wife with food is the central symbolic act in marriage. Both mythology and real life abound with cases in which the young man who is determined to leave his wife, openly and deliberately refuses to give her his day's kill; this effectively constitutes divorce. 585 586

Mundurucú marriages become consolidated by time and children. Couples who have been married several years commonly show great devotion to each other. But the union tends to be brittle in its early period. The membership of the husband and wife in the men's house and the dwelling house, respectively, and the patterns of collectivism in consumption give the couple a degree of economic in- 581

village men are ever-watchful and jealous of the chiefly family and would be quick to resist, however passively, what they considered to be high-handedness. Biboi, however, did not have the surrounding group of relatives that may have given some minimal support to his claim to leadership. Rather, he depended upon the trader and his father and relatives in Cabrum to buttress his position. 622 584

Given his delicate status, Biboi proceeded to secure it through a reinterpretation of the chieftaincy. He had listened to his father's nostalgic tales of the role of the chief in times past, and one might say that he had some knowledge, in a purely cognitive sense, of the traditional culture. It is highly dubious, however, that Biboi had internalized sufficient culture to make him an effective actor within the system of social relationships. Biboi knew that "in the old days, chiefs were powerful men who directed their people and bought goods for them." This view of the past may or may not have been true, but it surely did not apply to the present. Biboi, nonetheless, announced at large that he was eminently qualified to be chief, as only he knew how to deal with the trader and only he had the force to tell the people how, when and where to work. I was a special recipient of this information, for Biboi found it most important to gain stature in the eyes of a prestigeful outsider. But Biboi also told all the others of his importance, and the people of Cabitutú stated that he indeed relayed the demands of the trader in forceful terms. His "followers" saw him solely as an agent of the trader in their village, and they were certain that his only function was to promote their exploitation and defraudment. Their analysis was correct, but I doubt that Biboi thought his role to be at all asocial. There is no evidence to substantiate this, for only he could tell me whether he was aware of the machinations of the trader, and he did not. But I believe that Biboi saw the trader as a father figure, many of whose values he had internalized and subscribed to as legitimate. And he also saw himself to be in the position of a strong and traditional leader. [57] [578]

Biboi had learned something else about the chiefs of times past, and this was the fact that many were polygynous. Polygyny was possible only for chiefs, for the matrilocality that applied to most of the population made it most difficult to have plural wives unless they were sisters. Even for a chief, however, polygyny was a difficult and stormy relationship, and it was evidently never of very great frequency.

Biboi did not have the implicit and unconscious ability to understand the fine points of Mundurucú social structure that a man raised in a village would have, and he made some of his most serious blunders in marriage. Soon after assuming the chieftaincy of Cabitutú, he married a woman of the village, a widow several years older than himself who, through the situational variability of post-marital residence, had a strong nucleus of kin in the village. Though I have no data upon which to make a firmer statement, it is quite probable that he married the woman--frankly a crone--in order to enlist the sympathies of her relatives. But Biboi was a young, handsome and virile man, and he subsequently sought a wife more to his liking. He located a pretty girl of about sixteen years in the village of Decodyem and brought her home to Cabitutú. This enraged the first wife, who berated Biboi, assaulted the girl and complained to her brothers. The latter expressed their disapproval of the polygynous union to Biboi, and the rest of the village supported them. Biboi's general behavior and his exercise of his "chieftaincy" had already outraged them, and this [585] 575 578

585 his game to the house of his bride and the products of his
591 garden went to the new household. He didn't even have to
586 move his hammock. Marriage was unstable especially in its early years before children were born to the couple. However, separation frequently occurred even between couples with two or three children. In these cases, the man went back to his old village or house affiliation and the children stayed with the mother. The commonest causes of marital breakup were laziness or infidelity on the part of the wife, in which case the husband might simply gather his hammock, weapons, and personal belongings together and leave. The same reasons on the part of the husband might cause the girl's family to turn the husband out of the household. Her relative lack of mobility made it difficult for the female to take the initiative in these cases.

595 Polygamy was not commonly practiced among the Mundurucú and the number of wives in such unions never ex-
[622] ceeded two. It was generally confined to the chief of the village since the chief and his sons were exempt from the rules of matrilocality. The sons of the chief remained members of the father's household and their brides were incorporated into it. Usually the second wife was taken at some considerable time after the first marriage and often only when the first wife grew too old to fulfill her economic functions. A situation akin to polygamy often existed when a man took a new wife before taking his leave of the old one. These episodes were usually stormy. There was frequently bitter hostility between the two wives if they shared

585 the same residence or village. There is no evidence that polygamy was ordinarily covered nor did the sororate and levirate have significant occurrence. None of these traits, so common in many primitive societies, was felt to be obligatory or even especially desirable.

684 Adultery was common and a frequent source of strife in the village. The men regarded their own adulterous escapades as highly diverting, harmless adventures. However, they did not take so lenient a view towards those of their wives. A husband whose wife was unfaithful usually beat her and verbally harangued her. No physical action was taken against the offending male, although an argument might ensue. [596] When the wife became so promiscuous that she lowered her husband in the eyes of the community, he left her. The woman whose husband was unfaithful had little recourse except to fight with him and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself." If the husband's behavior became outrageous to the wife's family he might be invited to leave. The problems of sex caused few open ruptures in the Mundurucú village, but they were always a source of ill feeling.

614 The sib-moiety system

The Mundurucú social organization is rather complex for a Tupian group. They had thirty eight sibs divided into red and white moieties. The red moiety had sixteen sibs while the white had twentytwo. Of these thirty eight, eight are already extinct and my informants indicated that there were several more old sibs that they could no longer remember.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tabó*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[9] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tabó* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibó, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *dawé*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *dawé* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudawé, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. This thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 543

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the men's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [586] [462]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by wave and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224 226]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 282 [434]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the households in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [622]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the scale in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce: 439

"They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 3000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7] 121 174 591 614

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12] 174 591 614 [583] [586]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214-215.
[7] Smith, 1903, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 209.
[9] Steward, 1938, pp. 343-344.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 365.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 383.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

often wanders from village to village, hanging his hammock in the men's houses and acquainting himself with available girls. If one meets his fancy, he generally enters into a casual liaison with her and then asks her father and mother for permission to marry. If they consider him to be a serious person and a good worker, permission is usually granted. The young man does not always represent himself but frequently returns home to ask his father to speak in his behalf. Marriages are occasionally contracted for the children by the parents; this practice is less common than it was in the past, as the decreased importance of the extended family has made marriage increasingly an individual affair rather than a bond between kin groups. 584

No special observances of either a ceremonial or an economic nature precede the marriage. If the young man was a resident of another village, he comes to the bride's village bearing his hammock, arms and personal possessions and installs himself in the men's house. If he is from the same village as the bride, which is less frequently the case, he makes no change at all in his living arrangements. The groom merely brings fish and game to his bride, and not to the house of his mother. The provision of the wife with food is the central symbolic act in marriage. Both mythology and reallife abound with cases in which the young man who is determined to leave his wife, openly and deliberately refuses to give her his day's kill; this effectively constitutes divorce. 585 586

Mundurucú marriages become consolidated by time and children. Couples who have been married several years commonly show great devotion to each other. But the union tends to be brittle in its early period. The membership of the husband and wife in the men's house and the dwelling house, respectively, and the patterns of collectivism in consumption give the couple a degree of economic in- 581

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dependence from each other that is not conducive to marital stability. The husband may leave with little difficulty, and frequently does. The wife's lack of mobility makes it more difficult for her to break the marriage on her own initiative, but if the groom incurs the displeasure of the father-in-law, he is often told to leave. The divorced man either returns to his native village or wanders in search of another wife.

That the stability of Mundurucú marriages depends primarily upon the growth of affective bonds between the mates and a common interest in their children gives us a certain insight into the workings of the social system. There has recently been some discussion on the relation of marital stability to mode of descent and types of social unit, as revealed by comparative analysis of some selected African societies.[16] These have shown that marriage tends to be more enduring in patrilineal than in matrilineal groups and that this tendency is even more pronounced when the bride is incorporated into the membership of her husband's kin group. The Mundurucú are interesting just because they do not conform typologically to the African examples. Despite formal patrilineality, marriage is matrilocal and the man is thrust into affiliation with a cohesive unit of related kinswomen. His wife's primary loyalties are to her household; the husband's remain with the relatives of his natal household. The husband initially has no deep commitment to the wife's household and is under no strong influence to remain if he experiences difficulties with his wife or her kin. Thus far, the Mundurucú approximate the Hopi, for example, with the important exception that the latter are matrilineal also. In matrilineal-matrilocal societies of the Hopi type, every man maintains continuing rights and duties within his matrilineage, and these ties

[16] *Cf.* Gluckman, 1950; Schneider, 1953; Fallers, 1957.

846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the
child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened
to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is
changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the
bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the
same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already de-
termined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
● 587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband
dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take
her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage,
for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons
888

*The hopelessly degenerate Camés, Voturôes, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do
this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a
service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[101] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tame-
puyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to
this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old peo-
ple" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
[302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside
the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
[175] Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related." but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

1 [Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tubö*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[2] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tubö* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibö, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *diwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

good taste and decency, although the seriousness of the 835
delict depends on distance of relationship in the paternal line. Thus, incest within the nuclear family is considered absolutely unthinkable by the Mundurucú, but they frown in decreasing degree upon sexual relations within clan, phratry, and moiety. There is no defined punishment, [684]
however, for incest with any category of relative; the Mundurucú say only that people would be "ashamed" to commit such a breach.

In a society in which all people are believed to be re- 582
lated, moiety exogamy implies that any union with a per- 616
son of the same generation and of the opposite group will be with a cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. Marriage with first degree cross-cousins is said by the Mundurucú to have been a highly preferred union at some time in the past, and it is still regarded as a most suitable match. I found only three cross-cousin marriages during the course of my field work, however, and it no longer occurs frequently. The levirate and sororate are, of course, 587
permissible within the moiety system and occasionally [616]
occur, but persons are not and, within the memory of informants, were not formerly under any compulsion to enter such a marriage. Martius's report of the levirate [18] suggests that it may have been more prevalent during the period when partrilocality was still the residence rule. The levirate is a simple recognition of the right of the man's kin group, as a whole, to the woman. It may be hypothesized that the fractionation of the sibling group after the change to matrilocality dispersed the unit that formerly exercised corporate rights over the girl and made the levirate unworkable. And, since leviritic marriages are frequently polygynous, matrilocality imposed the same inhibitions as discussed above.

[18] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
[576] I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
[591] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
[574] in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
[562 a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female
342] sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ekçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermacetti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhẽ."

513 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn
534 all through the night in their quarters or ekçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related." but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

[1] [Martius (Source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time.-- Analyst]

554 and, even among the more acculturated Mundurucú, it is difficult to find out who collects the most rubber. This is [157] linked with lack of ego assertiveness, an important aspect of the Mundurucú modal personality.

Socio-Political Organization

Tribal integration

619 621 Mundurucú society was integrated on a tribal as well as village level. The foregoing section on the subsistence economy has demonstrated some of the economic bases of local cohesion and a further analysis of village socio-political controls will follow. However, to place the village in proper context it would be well to first outline those factors that unified the various Mundurucú villages.

It should be stated first that no permanent tribal or multi-village political controls existed. Each village was an autonomous political unit. However, warfare, patri- [59] lineal sibs, and matrilocal residence combined to unite the villages very closely. The self-conscious cultural unity of the Mundurucú was recognized and described by Tocantins who referred to the Mundurucú as a "republic."9 The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unit as opposed to the outside world. When speaking of another Mundurucú they said "one of us" or "person" or when referring to themselves as a groups they said "we are many." Everybody else was an "outlander," a category into which were lumped other Indians and white men alike.

9. Tocantins, 1877, p. 85.

344 562 ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the man's life was the men's house and that of the women the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Mundurucú culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their new village.

342 [598] 254 The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the griddle on which the beijú was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large babricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the 264 men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

000 the village. The children were reared in a stable group
855 that provided a large degree of emotional and economic security. The Mundurucú were and are devoted parents, and there was great affection between parents and children. However, the sudden death of both parents would have caused no great change in the social and economic life of the child.

Marriage

584 Marriages were sometimes arranged for the children by the parents when the children were still very young. Most of these arrangements were made between brothers and sisters for their children and were within the pattern of intermoiety, cross-cousin marriage. The parents of either the boy or girl could take the initiative. In many cases, a young man who had developed a desire for a girl either asked her father and mother for her directly or used the intermediary of his own parents or older relatives. There was no gift exchange or bride price or service involved. If
585 the match was found suitable by both families, the young man
591 merely moved to the girl's village and took up residence in the man's house there. If he married a girl of his own village, as was often the case, he merely changed his household affiliation. He had socially recognized sexual rights to her and became a part of the economy of her household.
[836] In most cases, the man and woman had entered into sexual relations with each other before the marriage. If the young man had lived in the same village as his wife, the social recognition of the bond caused little change in the life of the couple or their families. The man began to bring

585 his game to the house of his bride and the products of his
591 garden went to the new household. He didn't even have to
586 move his hammock. Marriage was unstable especially in its early years before children were born to the couple. However, separation frequently occurred even between couples with two or three children. In these cases, the man went back to his old village or house affiliation and the children stayed with the mother. The commonest causes of marital breakup were laziness or infidelity on the part of the wife, in which case the husband might simply gather his hammock, weapons, and personal belongings together and leave. The same reasons on the part of the husband might cause the girl's family to turn the husband out of the household. Her relative lack of mobility made it difficult for the female to take the initiative in these cases.

595 Polygamy was not commonly practiced among the Mundurucú and the number of wives in such unions never ex-
[622] ceeded two. It was generally confined to the chief of the village since the chief and his sons were exempt from the rules of matrilocality. The sons of the chief remained members of the father's household and their brides were incorporated into it. Usually the second wife was taken at some considerable time after the first marriage and often only when the first wife grew too old to fulfill her economic functions. A situation akin to polygamy often existed when a man took a new wife before taking his leave of the old one. These episodes were usually stormy. There was frequently bitter hostility between the two wives if they shared

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society

ROBERT F. MURPHY
University of California, Berkeley

121 114 UNILINEAL descent and unilocal residence, by definition, follow one of but two possible lines, the male or the female. Simple arithmetic would therefore dictate that there are four possible combinations of common descent and residence. Only three of the combinations, however, are found to have any frequent and reliable occurrence. Kroeber (1952:213) noted the single lapse in the following observation:

> "Logically the possibility arises of a fourth plan of society: matrilocal but patrilineal . . . I do not know of such a society, and should expect its occurrence to be rare."

This combination is certainly unusual, and ethnographic literature yields practically no descriptions of its unequivocal occurrence. In most cases, the unilocality or unilineality of the group is questionable. For example, Loeb and Broek (1947:418) claim the Karen people of Burma to have patrilineal clans and matrilocal residence. However, the sources which they cite in support of this contention (Marshall 1922; Heine-Geldern 1923) do not warrant such positive affirmations as to the rule of descent. This conclusion with regard to the Karen is verified by Murdock (1954). Residence rules are likewise subject to misinterpretation, for in many cultures matrilocality is frequently a temporary state followed by permanent patrilocality.

561 613 [131] In 1952 the writer discovered the co-existence of matrilocality and patrilineality among the Mundurucú Indians of the upper Tapajós River in central Brazil.[1] Existing information on the Mundurucú had led me to believe, before field research, that the group was patrilocal. Subsequent field investigation proved the contrary to be true, and gives us one of our few authenticated accounts of a patrilineal group in which postmarital residence is permanently matrilocal.

121 The purpose of this paper is to present the pertinent data for the use of students of social organization, to describe how such a system functions, and to discuss its significance in terms of the evolution of social structure. Consideration of the latter problem will be reserved until the conclusions of this paper, for much of the discussion will hinge upon what seems incongruous, nonfunctional, or dysfunctional in Mundurucú society. This material, when analyzed [178] with reference to the limited amount of historical data available, suggests strongly that the Mundurucú shifted from patrilocality to matrilocality in the first half of the nineteenth century. The bearing of such a change upon Murdock's observations (1949:190) on the difficulty of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent becomes immediately apparent when it is considered that much of Murdock's position depends upon his persuasive argument that a patrilineal society can change from patrilocality to matrilocality only with great difficulty. It would seem that this shift in residence patterns is possible under certain conditions which will be analyzed functionally among the Mundurucú. Matrilocality, following Murdock's use of residence as a determinant

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path. 726 476 182

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protest and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú. [591]

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole. 727 796

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society: 591 614

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason 614 428

The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[6]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Those of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Waro* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

6: Murphy E-S (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

591 tems, despite combining matrilocality and patrilocality. Contemporary in-
179 formants claim matrilocality to be the normal rule since ancient times, but historical data suggestive of antecedent patrilocality among the Mundurucú comes from the German explorers Spix and Martius, who encountered elements of the tribe near the lower Madeira River in 1819. The reader should be warned that these observers are not completely reliable, and several obvious errors were encountered in their works. We can only verify their information by comparing it with what is reliably known of the structure of Mundurucú society.

According to Martius (1867:893), the Mundurucú were apparently patrilocal, for a man could eject his wife from the household. Every young man, however, had to go through a period of bride service lasting several years (ibid.:893). The same writer claimed that when there was no other potential husband available for a young woman, the mother's brother could marry her (ibid.:893). This is of some significance, not only because it gives historical confirmation for the previous analysis from kinship terminology (and Martius was not aware of the "sociological" interpretation of kin terms), but also because it tends to bolster the hypothesis of antecedent patrilocality. The practice of avuncular marriage is quite widespread in the Amazon basin and in northeastern South America and the Islands (Lowie 1949:317). In all cases, it is correlated with a period of bride service followed by permanent patrilocality. Both Kirchoff (1932:58) and Métraux (1946:111-12) state that avuncular marriage serves to liberate men from the period of temporary matrilocal residence. Whether or not avuncular marriage had this function among the Mundurucú is not known, but its wide distribution in the Tropical Forest region in combination with initial bride service and patrilocality argues for its former existence among the Mundurucú where, according to Martius, the same pattern was in existence.

The reader will remember that contemporary Mundurucú informants emphatically and vehemently deny the contemporary or past practice of avuncular marriage, and this form of marriage was not reflected in genealogies. This is understandable in the matrilocal framework because, although the mother's brother was a member of the opposite moiety to that of his sister's daughter, he was nonetheless a member of the same household until his marriage. In a patrilocal society, the sister's daughter would not reside in the same household and might not even be a resident of her uncle's village. The disappearance of avuncular marriage due to a change from patrilocality to matrilocality would be consistent with much anthropological theorization on the origins of incest prohibitions, whether explained as a result of the necessity to deny sexual access to one's familial intimates, which would disrupt the household (Malinowski 1930:a.80), or as a result of the need to marry out of the ingroup in order to extend its ties with the larger society (White 1948:423). Titiev (1943:316) has noted the importance of residence in the definition of incest in other cultures:

"... there are numerous cases in which exogamy is enforced among co-residents even when there is no demonstrable or putative genealogical connection."

Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society. [21]

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:526-25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Mundurucú Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located. [174]

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs. [174-21]

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[74 621 tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

[34 If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and permatrilocal stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1956) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring clanless groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

[77 439 During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group.[4] This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

adjustment of the male to a new village was and is not difficult. He was not integrated into a new household but into a men's house in which he would find fellow lan and moiety members from his own and other villages.

Matrilocality, once achieved, sets the residential basis for matrilineality. Murdock (ibid:218) admits the possibility of change from patrilineality to matrilineality only with an intervening stage of bilaterality, but then says (ibid:212) tat such a stage is also "probable" in the transition from matrilineality to atrilineality. It seems obvious that all aspects of descent will not reverse at oce. Thus, if the pressures that produced matrilocality eventuated in matrilinality, it would be academic to debate whether or not it was a "direct transition," despite an intervening period of bilaterality. The question would merey be which mode of change can be accomplished most rapidly and with least ress. I have previously pointed to the ownership of the child by the wife's imily and the taboo on avuncular marriage as matrilineal features in Mundurucú society which probably evolved shortly after the change to matrilocaly. Whether or not the Mundurucú would have become matrilineal but for thinroads of the rubber trade, I leave as an open question. It is clear that matrineal influences from other groups might easily have caused such a change and it is also apparent that the patrilineal clans underwent a change an no doubt a diminution of function due to loss of their local nuclei. By te same token, patrilineality as a mode of reckoning kinship was weakenedby loss of its residential basis.

If the Mundurucú were indeed transitional, the very rarity of the case argues in fvor of Murdock's hypothesis, especially since he "makes no assumptions abou ultimate origins or overall priorities among the several types of social structure" (ibid:219). If, however, assumptions of priorities are taken into consideration, the Mundurucú fit into a developmental framework which can be tried in terms of more clearly deducible priorities of cultural evolution. This ontinuum would range from the patrilineal hunting band (Steward 1936) through the emergence of the localized clan from such bands (Goldschmidt 1948; Steward 1937) to, perhaps, the nonlocalized patrilineal clan (Titieu 1943). Although there is no proof that the Mundurucú went through the latter tage, it may have occurred as a consequence of population increase due tearly horticulture. With intensified horticulture, as among the Mundurucú, matrilocal pressures and eventual matrilineality would result. This evolutionaryscheme is a model and not an invariant sequence, for local historical and eclogical situations influence particular culture continua, as is evidenced by Mudurucú history. The latter variables operate as codeterminants with the facors introduced by the evolution of technology and economy to produce sequenes which are multilinear in nature. The very pluralism of the causal processrenders any over-all generalizations on the evolution of social structure stiements of probability. The Mundurucú example by itself cannot show what iprobable, but it does indicate the possible. A change from patrilocality to matlocality probably occurred in this typical patrilineal, patrilocal society, and a irther transition to the matrilineate was therefore possible. More field work, qecially in South America, and re-examination of the existing sources with th hypothesis in mind might well uncover additional examples.

175 tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive
439 sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú
175 had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifica-
648 tions had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained
[178] intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other
[177] Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

22 The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savan-
361 nahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity.
241 Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits,
439 and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

621 The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic
[462] aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing while the women did the rest of the
[591] horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

611 The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent.
591 The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

578 Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village,
476 and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the
778 minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world. 721 182

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Darekši, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads. 701 182

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe. 619 621 182

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men, which was enabled through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house. 621 562 591 182

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt 621 182 578

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the
578 women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[591] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

182 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his
622 lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated-village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intensive warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Coser (1956:156–7) has considered the relationship between conflict and the rigidity of the social structure, which he defines as "the degree to which it disallows direct expression of antagonistic claims," and concludes:

> Our hypothesis, that the need for safety-valve institutions increases with the rigidity of the social system, may be extended to suggest that unrealistic [i.e. cathartic and not oriented toward the frustrating object] conflict may be expected to occur as a consequence of rigidity present in the social structure.

Mundurucú warfare was clearly "unrealistic" and the social structure was rigid in Coser's sense. It is possible to broaden our example to include a larger category of rigid social structures and to consider their functional concomitants. I would propose as a statistically testable hypothesis that matrilocal societies must repress open aggression in order to insure cohesion and continuity. If we take any matrilocal and matrilineal or bilateral society as our model, the system of residence tends to disperse males at least throughout the local community. Thus, any male will have close ties of kinship and economic interdependence with his housemates, his natal household, the households of his maternal uncles, and the households of his brothers. The same is true of patrilocal societies from the viewpoint of the women but males are the principal political role-players in all human societies. Any conflict involving men therefore becomes a matter of deep community concern. As among the Mundurucú, if the lines of allegiance in a conflict situation are drawn according to kinship in any matrilocal society, bonds of local contiguity will be sundered; if primary loyalty is given to bonds of residence, the ties of kinship will be broken. In short, when the residence and kin groups of the male do not coincide, he acquires multiple commitments that may come into conflict. Also, the individual male will more readily repress his grievances if he cannot rely upon the full support of a solidary group.

Brief reference to the ethnographic literature suggests that the social solidarity of matrilocal groups is not restricted to my model. Writing of the Apinayé, Nimuendaiú (1939:129) says:

> I have never heard of a case of rape nor witnessed [illegible] anything of publicly scandalous adultery, larceny, or slander. Only when intoxicated do [illegible] the natives inflict damage on property and bodily maltreatment on persons or commit [illegible]

with any Šerente settlement the village of Bacaba, at least, is a model of internal peace and harmony, and this would hold for Gato Preto, too, in the absence of alcohol.

The Šerente and the Apinayé are Gê-speaking groups of eastern Brazil and are culturally quite similar. The principal difference between them is that the fractious Šerente are patrilineal and patrilocal, while the harmonious Apinayé are matrilineal and matrilocal. Turning to North America, we have the classical example of the matrilocal and "Apollonian" Pueblo. Ellis (1951:190) has noted of Pueblo warfare:

> Beyond protection, warfare served to provide legitimate outlet for the frustrations and aggressions arising from unpermitted competition or suspicions thereof among peoples of the same general culture.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Mun-
713 durucú. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaibö divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This belief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to
[114] which the Mundurucú were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaibö through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[8] The latter account and the previously
614 mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *diuet*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*di* = river, *uet* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Paruadiuet* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would
614 contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the
591 Mundurucú are—and this is important—predominantly matrilocal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brides; fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patriloculity, and we are here presented with the possibility that the Mundurucú underwent a basic change in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than the conjecture raised by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued in the following discussion of the ritual prerogatives of clanship.

614 Each savannah village has a men's house, which is the
[345] dormitory and club house for all post-pubescent males.

[8] Kruse, 1934, pp. 56–57.

614 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to
534 be placated by playing the instruments and presenting
778 them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karökö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 Clan ownership of the karökö and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal
[591] rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent
614 that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions
615 of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several
776 "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Witum*, *Wakú*, and *Karú* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *werémop*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *ucheím*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karú* subclan, *Kabá*, *Arú*, *Yurí*, and *Iší* clans of the Red moiety. *Yurí* and *Iší* are linked by common recognition of *apat*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karú* subclan and *Arú* are affiliated through common recognition of the yarökpökpökpöka, a bird; *Kabá* and *Arú* are affiliated through

614 then it may be surmised that Mundurucú clans have un-
174 dergone a basic process of segmentation. That such a
615 process continued into recent centuries is indicated by the incomplete differentiation of these four clans. If it can be supposed that the four subclans would in time become increasingly independent of the parent group and would eventually assume their own names and tubö while maintaining a more nebulous bond through the common "companion" spirits, the end result would be a phratric alliance. There is no definitive proof for this hypothesis, but such a process is the only unitary explanation of the phenomena of phratries and subclans. The data given by informants on the relation between clans, phratries, and the spirit "companions of the trumpets" are irregular. Certain clans that should logically be linked by common spirits were said by informants to be unaffiliated; others were placed within the same phratry where no grounds for such linkage exist. This unevenness is reminiscent of the problems encountered by students of Pueblo clan and phratry organization. Depopulation and the weakening of broader kin groupings have obscured the intricacies of the system, making reconstruction most difficult. But the Mundurucú data do show a pronounced tendency toward consistency between phratric affiliation and shared "companion" spirits.

The creation of new clans by the internal segmentation
121 of old ones has numerous parallels in other societies. Pat-
591 rilineal clans frequently segment under conditions of an
614 expanding population, which causes lineages to break off
174 and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. The offshoot group in time becomes differentiated from the parent unit and may establish itself as a new clan, although maintaining some symbolic representation of its former connection. Such a budding proc-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7]

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214-215.
[7] Smith, 1903, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 208.
[9] Steward, 1938, pp. 243-244.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 383.
[12] *Ibid.*, p. 383.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu S213

174 591 614

tain, but it probably took place during the mid-nineteenth century. Matrilocality was the only mode of residence that even the oldest Mundurucú could remember and they had no traditional memory of previous patrilocality. Also, Tocantins reported that, in 1875, quarrels between men were resolved by the departure of one of the parties from the village,[13] suggesting the absence of a local lineage and the high male mobility characteristic of Mundurucú matrilocality.

174 439 178 591 614

The reasons for the shift in post-marital residence rule are far less certain, and no final conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of available data. Certain known changes in productive relations, however, yield inference to the possible processes at work. It will be remembered that before their deep involvement in rubber production, the Mundurucú traded extensively in farinha or manioc flour. This must have caused a substantial increase in the amount of land under cultivation and a great expansion of production of bitter manioc.[14] The roles of the male and female did not undergo any important shift. Men cleared the forest land for gardens, as they do today, and the women cared for the crops, harvested them and manufactured the farinha. Women thus became of greater economic importance, because of the increase in the amount

[13] Tocantins, 1877, p. 111.

[14] The extent of this early trade in manioc flour may be inferred from Martius's account (1867, p. 385 n.): "This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the settlements on the Topajós prepare 6000 pecks [3.12 litres each] of manioc flour annually, those of the Maués 1500 and those of the Cururú 800, which, for the most part is exported to Santarem and neighboring locales. They readily give abundantly therefrom to the priests as a gift. In the year 1819 the Mundrucús of the Cururú collected and brought to market 900 arrobas [32 pounds each] of cinnamon clove and an equal amount of sarsaparilla. Through such a disposition to homely diligence, the speedy settlement of all the Mundrucús among the whites is to be expected."

of work performed and the added importance of the co- 174
operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This 178
process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks 59
and a degree of organization among the women of a house- 989
hold. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of 614
the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preestablished ties of mutual accommodation and cooperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[10]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú 105
clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of 174
the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized 614
that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Val- 105
ley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the 174
whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured 562
articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female 614

[illegible] despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two [illegible] support each other.

dependence from each other that is not conducive to marital stability. The husband may leave with little difficulty, and frequently does. The wife's lack of mobility makes it more difficult for her to break the marriage on her own initiative, but if the groom incurs the displeasure of the father-in-law, he is often told to leave. The divorced man either returns to his native village or wanders in search of another wife.

That the stability of Mundurucú marriages depends primarily upon the growth of affective bonds between the mates and a common interest in their children gives us a certain insight into the workings of the social system. There has recently been some discussion on the relation of marital stability to mode of descent and types of social unit, as revealed by comparative analysis of some selected African societies.* These have shown that marriage tends to be more enduring in patrilineal than in matrilineal groups and that this tendency is even more pronounced when the bride is incorporated into the membership of her husband's kin group. The Mundurucú are interesting just because they do not conform typologically to the African examples. Despite formal patrilineality, marriage is matrilocal and the man is thrust into affiliation with a cohesive unit of related kinswomen. His wife's primary loyalties are to her household; the husband's remain with the relatives of his natal household. The husband initially has no deep commitment to the wife's household and is under no strong influence to remain if he experiences difficulties with his wife or her kin. Thus far, the Mundurucú approximate the Hopi, for example, with the important exception that the latter are matrilineal also. In matrilineal-matrilocal societies of the Hopi type, every man maintains continuing rights and duties within his matrilineage, and these ties

* Cf. Gluckman, 1950; Schneider, 1953; Fallers, 1957.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

operate to the detriment of integration within the wife's household. Among the Mundurucú, however, there is no matrilineage (or patrilineage), and a man is bound to his natal household primarily by affect. As his own group of brothers becomes dispersed in matrilocal residence and his parents die, such emotional ties become correspondingly attenuated. From the point of view of social structure, the process by which he is integrated into his new matrix, however loosely, is reinforced by the gradual attrition of bonds of the old; and as part of the same process, his marriage becomes more stable. We see then that Mundurucú matrilocality contributes to the brittleness of marriage in its early phase, but the lack of corporate, bounded lineages leads in time to the strengthening of the connubial tie. Later sections will explore more completely the position of the married couple and the nuclear family within the larger framework of social life.

Adultery is common and a frequent source of strife between mates, but generally results in divorce only when the wife is promiscuous. The men regard their own adulterous escapades as highly amusing incidents, but take a far less lenient view when cuckolded. An offended husband may beat his wife or harangue her, but no direct physical action is taken against the guilty male. The woman whose husband is unfaithful has little recourse except to chastise him verbally and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself."

Adultery causes few open conflicts among the Mundurucú, but it is a chronic source of ill feeling. To a certain extent, latent hostility probably contributes to adultery. One of the more amusing episodes of our field trip was the plight of the trader-appointed, and thoroughly hated, chief Biboi, of the village of Cabitutú. Biboi had two wives, one in Cabitutú and the other in Cabruá. The

but it is equally possible that the former reporter was correct and that the present composition of the men's house represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceeding from Martius's data on other aspects of Mundurucú social structure, if the men's house was the residence of bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality would have kept the latter in the village. They would then have been faced with either permanent residence in the men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incorporation into the household economy and authority structure. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocality by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such easement is important, for, in contrast to the local exogamy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[7] the Mundurucú male commonly comes from another village and does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts prerogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans undoubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from another community. The young man caught in the process of change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate himself to permanent residence in a village in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female, the male plays the main role in the structure of authority and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

[7] Cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion of clan and lineage has made the social adjustment of 562 the Mundurucú most delicate, as will be seen presently, 591 but the problem of the integration of the male into a 621 household group far from his native village would have imposed a formidable obstacle to the change to matrilocality. It is possibly for this reason that a combination of patrilineality and matrilocality is most rare. The Mundurucú men's house provided a means to accommodate such a change and to make matrilocality more acceptable to a people who reckon their closest kinsmen patrilineally. The man who marries a woman of another village becomes integrated into the men's house, where he finds a large group of men of the same moiety and perhaps some fellow clansmen and natives of his own village. His relations with his new household are, in the beginning, tenuous.

The means by which the men accommodate themselves 476 to matrilocality may be seen in operation today. The earlier 591 discussion on marriage indicated that the male has great 621 mobility; if his affinal relatives trouble him, he may gather [562] up his belongings and leave. But the organization of village life relieves him of many such pressures. He is expected to bring game and fish to his wife, and this constitutes his main responsibility in the household economy. After he turns over the food, the wife keeps a share for the general household larder and, if there is enough, distributes the rest to the women of the other houses in the village; the food is cooked, and the women of each house bring a portion to the men's house, whereupon the males partake of a communal meal. The provision of his wife with the day's kill is thus primarily a symbolic act, except when there is only enough to feed his wife's household or his nuclear family. Each family head has a garden, but the man clears the garden with the aid of all other village men, and his wife is joined in weeding and the harvest by

476 the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more
591 men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, al-
621 though this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, def-
[606] erence, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from
591 the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently re-
593 lax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And,
621 as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

345 In the eksá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleep-
513 ing arrangements. On each side of the men's house and
61 down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

hammocks and the middle is left open. The communal 542
hearth that serves the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms in the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants draw freely from it.

Only females and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwelling house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining 592 594
hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended family leads a most communal existence.

Matriloculity, it has been said, has resulted in highly 592
diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's 591
house. Despite the generational continuity of the females 611
and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them also. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Mundurucú, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and clans of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal status. This conflict does not prevent the women from 611
placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their 591
co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, named matrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes is reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de-

591 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineal-
611 ity, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591 Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the
178 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

Although the Mundurucú extended family is much
5% smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way
592 to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the
[422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to
[229] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the men's house, have very loose ties with their households. Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as compared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented about any household economy, and the boys take little part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since the extended family has its core in a group of related and cooperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social structural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

as the single permissible occasion on which violence was condoned. Kluckhohn's* view is well founded that the sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

Conflicts between persons and groups are not always connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men commonly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

* Kluckhohn, 1944.

12:Mrphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that dicite other choices of residence. Most savannah marriage are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronouned trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ulmate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of relate females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, th extended family in its reduced circumstances may incide few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateraparallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effec of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship i the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives.

The tihness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nucur family has gained greater importance because it is thconsumption unit in the trade economy, and the extendefamily has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber seas, the nuclour family is frequently the basic social an economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continue to be a primary means by which the relations of the fleances are structured. But the clans long ago lost mostf their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted aer this loss through large-scale enterprises in which ney villages participated and which afforded clansme the opportunity to coöperate and associate. But these aivities too have declined, and the significant group obstensively interacting klsmen is now restricted to the realtiveship of individual villages. Relations between sttered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activate. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as villae co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure.

The net important force in the process of stripping the

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule, [591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family [594] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements [476] the previously described loss of cooperative patterns in [594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
459 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the cooperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully cooperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[3] He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant cooperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[3] Murdock, 1949, pp. 218-219.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

structure of authority must have followed closely along lines of patrilineal kinship in patrilocal times. Under the new conditions, the man was not only assigned to permanent proximity to the father-in-law and his house, but was left with no unit in which he could exercise a political role. The Hopi man, for example, may move to his wife's household upon marriage, but he rarely moves out of the village; and he maintains an important position in his own lineage. But, on the other hand, the rule of matrilocality in a patrilineal society leaves a man without a lineage in which he may hold membership or play a political role. That the man had no important rights and duties in his natal household undoubtedly contributed to the persistence of intervillage marriages despite his consequent departure for a new locality. But this raised other problems, for life in a new village placed the man under different leadership and away from a solidary group of kinsmen. The situation was partly resolved by allowing the men to continue residence in the men's house beyond the normal period of bride service. Thus, young married men remained independent of the households of their wives during the early years of marriage and became more fully integrated into them after they had been married for several years. By this time, age and seniority allowed them to become significant figures in the extended family; they were no longer potentially at the mercy of the father-in-law. Matrilocality did not bring the man into another patrilineage under the new circumstances, because the father-in-law was also an outsider. The man's ultimate increased participation in the life of the household was correspondingly eased.

That Mundurucú society gave all members free access to natural resources and had a preexistent men's-house organization are important to an understanding of the change in residence rules. The two factors were stru-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence may well have caused the Mundurucú to adapt to increased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Mundurucú certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.* Mundurucú "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs; and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied cooperating, interacting groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior.

The impact of the change was felt throughout the social structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors became a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with those supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

*It has been suggested that I use the term duolocality to describe Mundurucú residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals. 182 794

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mundurucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups. 182 591 602 [582]

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the non-equivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the 182 578 591

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 weak corporate character of descent and local groups. The
578 dispersal of male patrilineal kinsmen also attenuates and
591 weakens ties of relationship, and the men's house results in a rather marginal membership in the extended family. There is potential disruption through conflict of roles, but the loyalties imposed by the roles are somewhat weakened, and the danger to social integration accordingly mitigated.

The incongruity of descent and residence makes for a
182 most unstable social system, and one may well ask how it persisted from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In part, of course, it may be answered that persistence has not been perfect. The clans are becoming vestigial, and unilocal residence is now weakening. Moreover, increasing numbers of people are leaving the traditional savannah villages. But the fact remains that the Mundurucú still exist as a social entity after a period of contact that witnessed the virtual extinction or absorption of nearly all tribes of the region.

174 It might be argued that the weakness and instability of
182 the patrilineal and matrilocal social structure was, paradoxically, a source of its strength during the contact period. The accumulated aggressions generated, and repressed, in the social system were released in the continued pursuit of the traditional institution of warfare. Lacking any strong modes of internal segmentation, social integration was obtained by the opposition of the entire tribe against the outside world. This outward direction of antagonism functioned to demarcate rigidly the boundaries of the social system, and to provide a framework of common endeavor. The cross-cutting ties of residence and descent were the basis of a highly developed sense of tribalism among the Mundurucú males and facilitated the recruitment of war parties from a number of villages. This martial disposition and effectiveness of the Mundurucú

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study, for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock* is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

* Ibid., pp. 316-318.

the chieftainship. It is common practice to select one or two possible heirs and raise them in his household; this is what happened to Bikel. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favor of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, as he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his wishes, even at the expense of the Ambarum villagers.

The contemporary Ambarum chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both ends have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by mutual adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and without acquiescence to the demands of the traders. Bikel's father, Cartman, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Cartman could communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubber; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He also sincerely sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

Cartman embodied many characteristics of the traditional chief. As elder man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and cajoled, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Cartman knew Ambarum traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

Bikel's position was very different from that of his father, for he was the prototype of the Indian boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he would recognize only Bikel in dealings with Cartman. The residents grudgingly assented, but they regarded him as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was, in reality, a renowned shaman who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office.

Bikel's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To compliments matters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Cartman. Patrilocality, I have said, is the normal mode of residence among the Ambarum, but the sons of chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of conscious motivation, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters in them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilocality of the chief's family is tenfold. By keeping the sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the discontinuity that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilocally related his, a small and military patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Such an idiom may reinforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise collateral authority, for the rest of the

/31 cont./

241 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these
192 two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko
462 as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does this but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "ben" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

241 It is plain that this complex of agricultural manners is reflected
621 in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Munduruku who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those
[178] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate
[599] nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Munduruku Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Munduruku who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Teles, etc., rivers.

/32/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or
241 less the primitive or traditional form of the Munduruku agricultural
476 system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance.
621 Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Munduruku/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1949

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kuhuk," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the older wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Steinen's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tape).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting.

§ [Martius (Source No. 2) says this occurred before head, in peace time. -- Anderson]

into the men's house. A loud whoop signalled to the other men that the food was ready. Due to their hunting activities, the men usually ate in the morning and at night. The women and children ate small portions all day long if there was food in the village. When the men were in the village they often joined in these small repasts between the meals taken in the men's house.

3.2 The dwelling house

Whereas the primary locus of male social life was the village men's house, that of the female was the dwelling. Each dwelling had a headman, the husband of the oldest woman in the female line represented in the house. However, the focus of his activities was the men's house and the coordination of female activity was in the hands of his wife. He was a man of prestige and influence in the house and village, but his wife always insisted that it was she who told the other women what to do and not her husband. In general, the Mundurucú woman worked harder than the man, but she was by no means dominated by them. She had certain duties that she knew were those of the women and she knew how to do them and when to do them. It was not the place of the male to interfere except if she was lazy.

The interior of the house was completely unpartitioned. Each woman and her children occupied a given section of the house where her belongings were kept. Closer relatives, such as true sisters, usually hung their family's hammocks adjacent to each other. Only if the husband was sick and

[56] [illegible]ested the attention of his wife did he hang his hammock in the house.

[57] The nuclear family within this context was clearly a less important social unit than the extended family. Its most important functions were, of course, procreation and the raising of children. The man always brought his game to his wife, but unless it was only enough for a few people, it was cooked and shared by the whole household and even the village. Man and wife performed small personal services for each other, but these could easily have been done by any other member of the opposite sex. Since the children grew up in a large family, a great deal of their upbringing was entrusted to other members of the household. By the age of five years the boys were already incorporated into groups [58] of their age mates. The younger children usually played in the village, but the groups of boys over eight years of age began to range out on the savannahs and in the smaller stretches of gallery forest, shooting small birds, gathering fruit, and bathing in the streams. The boys had great freedom and a minimum of parental supervision. Only when they were about twelve years of age did they begin to become a part of the adult economy and even this was only in certain tasks such as garden clearing, planting, and fishing. After they were married and had achieved warrior status they became fully functioning members of the community.

Girls began to help their mothers in all of the female chores at an early age, but served especially to tend the smaller children when the mothers had to work outside the village.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in each village, and informants say that villages of four or five houses were 621
common in the last century.

The men's house was of square floor plan, but had an unusual silhouette. 344
Although a semipermanent structure, it was built in the form of a huge lean-to, open on three sides. At the southwest corner was a small, completely enclosed chamber which housed the sacred trumpets. Running from back to front of the men's house at an elevation of five feet above the ground were three long, horizontal poles. One pole ran down the middle and the other two were on the outer edges of the structure. From these poles the men hung their hammocks in two separate rows. The men of Red moiety slept in the south row, and the men of White moiety occupied the north row.

The Mundurucú men's house was unlike most such institutions in the de- 344
gree to which it divided the everyday life of the men from that of the women. 621
Here the division was complete. The men neither ate, slept, worked nor relaxed with their women. Every male, from the age at which his tattooing was completed and he became a full-fledged warrior, slept in the men's house. His bows and arrows were kept in the thatch above his hammock. The hammock arrangement followed moiety lines in the north-south separation of the hammock rows, and clan comembers slept adjacent to each other. They, in turn, were adjoined by members of other clans of the same phratry. Due to the fragmentation caused by matrilocal residence, several clans were represented in most men's houses. The contemporary village of Cabruá, for example, has a population of only seventy, but men of ten different clans were present.

When a Mundurucú married, there was no ceremony of any sort, and a 585
minimum of formalities were observed. The young man or his parents went to the girl's parents and requested her hand. The request was usually granted except when the young man was for some reason undesirable to the girl's family. Prearranged marriages were common and were often the means by which cross-cousins were united. The actual event of marriage was little more than a public recognition of the alliance. The bridegroom moved to the wife's village and took up residence in the men's house there. He brought his daily kill of game to his bride's house, and his exclusive sexual rights to the girl were recognized.

In most other respects he had remarkably loose bonds with the household 264
of his wife's family. He frequently went there for a between-meal snack or to 592
play with the children. However, the large meals which he ate before and after the day's hunt at morning and at nightfall were taken in the company of the other men immediately outside of the men's house. The women of each household prepared an equal part of the food consumed there, and all of the men squatted around the common pots to eat. The separation of men and women was made complete by the fact that male craftwork, such as the manufacture of arms and baskets, was done in the men's house, and the men whiled away their idle hours there.

Even when it involved a move to a new village, matrilocality imposed no 592
great burden on the men. They did not shift from one dwelling or household to another, but from one men's house to another. The internal arrangement of

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

o: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the same as in his native community, and he also did not come under the direct 476
supervision of his father-in-law. Any difficulties that might arise due to lack of 621
familiarity with his new territory were mitigated by the fact that nearly all of his activities outside the village were carried out in the company of men who had been in residence for a longer period of time.

Whereas the men's house was the locus of male activity, the life of the female 72a
revolved around the dwelling. The result of matrilocal residence was that each 621
dwelling housed an extended family of related females, a rather unusual arrangement in a strongly patrilineal society. This can hardly be called a matrilinage for lineal descent among the Mundurucú was reckoned in the father's line, whereas the members of the household were related through their mothers. In terms of lineal institutions, each generation of females was of the opposite moiety from the women of the generation preceding and following it. The husbands of the women also belonged to the moiety opposite to that of their wives. They could come from any clan within the moiety, with the result that the men of any one household represented a number of clans. Under this system, there was no residential basis even for lineages, and the clans were scattered throughout the Mundurucú villages. Local nuclei, such as are found in most patrilineal clan systems, could consist of no more than a man, his daughters and his unmarried sons, except in the case of the chief's family as described further in this paper.

The internal order of the household is indicative of its organization. Each 592
woman hung her hammock in close proximity to her children and her closest female relatives. The personal possessions of the women were stored near their own hammocks. There was, however, but one food larder and one fireplace. Garden produce, regardless of its origin, was shared by the extended family, and although the husband formally presented his kill of game to his wife, it was butchered, cooked and eaten by the women of the household, and a portion was sent to the men's house and the other dwellings. Only in the case of very small game such as the *cutia* and the parrot was the food cooked and eaten by the nuclear family. Otherwise, the nuclear family had no household economy whatsoever.

It has already been stated that gardens were considered to be owned by 476
individual men but that the labor performed on them was predominantly col- 252
lective. Except for manioc planting, the unit of female collective labor was the household. This pattern extended to the hard and time-consuming work of manioc processing, in which a true division of tasks was practiced. The manioc had to be dug out of the ground, carried back to the village, grated, the prussic acid extracted and, finally, toasted into the flat cakes known throughout the Amazon as *beijú* or made into manioc flour for the trader. Since all of these steps in the process could be done concurrently, the oldest woman of the household delegated certain tasks to the others. While some women were tending the fire and taking the completed product from the griddle, others were loading, unloading, and operating the *tipiti*, or manioc press. The latter women, in turn, were given a constant supply of unsqueezed manioc pulp by the

women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exertion of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the sons of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *aeyokobadat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mundurucú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

Many Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[30] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Batauaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[31] All these scattered Mundurucú were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[30] Ibid., p. 148.
[31] Coudreau, 1897, p. 168.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the [311] more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking [166] ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

166 361 The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabituti rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this [688] was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

622 The household of the chief included 17 people, and the 592 largest house unit of the village had a population of 28. 621 The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

hammocks as the middle is left open. The communal 592
hearth that sees the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms, the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants raw freely from it.

Only female and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwelling house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining 592 594
hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended family leads a most communal existence.

Matrilocality, it has been said, has resulted in highly 592
diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's 591
house. Despite the generational continuity of the females 611
and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them as. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Mundurucú, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and ses of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal status. This conflict does not prevent the women from 611
placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their 59
co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, nameumatrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de-

THE LOCAL GROUP

591/ 611 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineality, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591/ 178 Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

5% 592 Although the Mundurucú extended family is much smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the [422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to [224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Cooperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and participates most intensively in the labor is illustrated 422
by the example of two visitors in the village of Cabruá. 476
Two elderly Mundurucú, one from the Tropas River and 579
the other from the Cururú, arrived in the village to visit kinsmen. Both were excellent informants, and they stayed at our request longer than they had planned. They required a few trade articles that we were unable to supply and, accordingly, arranged to sell farinha to a trader. Neither had a garden in the village, and they harvested from those of relatives. Although each of the two men helped his wife in the process, other women of the village gave aid. Their coöperation was not as great as it would have been if these had been regular residents of the village, but it was still significant and given ungrudgingly. And although the wives of the two men worked with the other women throughout their stay in the village, none of the households could expect reciprocal labor from the two couples equal to that which had been extended. The people of Cabruá had simply followed the Mundurucú principle that coöperation should be given in any task in which joint effort is possible. [83]

Mutual interdependence in manioc processing is a 461
strong integrating factor among the women. But the farinha shed offers other gratifications than the purely economic. The women talk and joke as they work there, and those not immediately engaged in the labor sit about and join the conversation. Clusters of women often congregate in the farinha shed for purely social purposes when no farinha is being manufactured. As a forum and a point of social interaction, the farinha shed serves somewhat the same function for the females as the men's house for the males.

Harmony, so obvious among the men, is not as complete 571
among the women, however. The household unit of fe- 578
592

571/ 578 592 [162] males is extremely close knit and is probably the most co-hesive group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional bond between the women of these groups that I know of one who committed suicide because of alienation from her two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended family, conflicts between individual women or households are common. All women of the household generally join with a member in her antipathy for another woman or household; this, of course, follows from the fact that the housemates are closely related to each other, which complements the allegiance arising from co-residence.

521 578 [123] [115] Hostility between the women generally takes the form of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of most of the confidences that passed among the women, which constituted one of our most valuable sources of information. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women. Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart. And we usually managed to learn by this means of the well-repressed hostilities in the village, of fears and accusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn, gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the exchange of female information and opinion was the shed where farinha was made. The women usually chatted animatedly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the group, the heads of the others drew together and she was thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of residence in the village, the same thing happened, as we had no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst. Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

12: Murphy R-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

583 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[584] a mate. He will find the new man's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his pri-
[582] mary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[752] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

planting time a few weeks later; most, however, stay in the village. The average collecting season of the savannah Mundurucú thus lasts about two and a half to three months out of a possible period of six months.

The dwellings in which the collecting season is passed frequently consist only of a roof set on four or six upright posts, but others are larger and have walls of mud or palm leaves. Cooking is generally done in a shed connected to the rear of the house, in imitation of the typical north Brazilian kitchen. The rubber-avenue dwellings often house but one nuclear family, but if a larger group resides in the same house, all members of the nuclear family hang their hammocks adjacent to one another.

There is no firm rule dictating the composition of the membership of rubber-avenue dwellings. Residents of the same household tend to cling together during the dry season, but the limited number of rubber avenues accessible from one dwelling break up the larger extended families. In such cases, closer kinsmen within a household remain together. The availability of rubber avenues, in general, makes any strict rule of dry-season residence impracticable. They are limited in number, and a young man embarking on independent rubber collection must reside where an avenue is vacant.

The average Brazilian collector spends five or six days a week in his rubber avenue, but the campineiro rarely works more than four. And while a single Brazilian may have up to three separate avenues, working each on different days, no campineiro has more than one. Indisposition to intensive labor in rubber production thus combines with the maintenance of savannah-village residence to keep Mundurucú productivity low. The Indian collector leaves the house for his avenue early in the morning and generally returns by mid-afternoon. Besides his knife for

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cutting the bark and the metal cups in which he collects the rubber, he always carries his arms, hopeful for stray game. He wends his way through the forest, making an incision in the bark and setting a cup below it on the outward journey and collecting the latex on the way home. He frequently stops to collect fruit, shoot a monkey, or bathe. After returning home he cures the latex in a small shed built for that purpose. He then goes to the adjacent river and bathes; if it is not too late he may fish with a bow and arrow from the bank. On days when he does not visit his rubber avenue, the Mundurucú hunts or fishes. He is joined by the other men of the house if there are any; otherwise his pursuit is solitary, and the favored collective-hunting techniques cannot be employed. This and the general lack of firearms, which if he had them would make lone hunting more productive, result in a marked decrease in hunting during the dry season. Fish may be taken by individuals, and the kill of a few hours is generally ample for the needs of a nuclear family. On the other hand, a solitary hunter may pass two or three days without killing more than birds or a small monkey.

Large dry-season households commonly make gardens near their rubber avenues, but single family units rarely do so because they do not have enough workers to clear forest land. The advantages of rubber-avenue gardens outweigh the labor and inconvenience of clearing and planting them. The resident families have a local supply of farinha, which would otherwise have to be made in the village and transported to the rubber avenue, a difficult chore without canoes. Also, the land in the savannah country is inferior in quality to that near the larger rivers. Almost every rubber-avenue garden is in black soil, and this favored land is extremely scarce in the vicinity of Cabruá. These gardens are therefore frequently drawn upon to sup-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result 462 of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timber-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, 314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and [572] their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

314 571 476 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of coöperation [574] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode [497] of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the 423 economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12:Murphy K-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations, and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

done by the men, women, and children, working in common.

An entirely new work pattern and division of labor grew out of these necessary changes. As other households were established in the growing villages, they too fell into the same system, for the earlier households, regardless of size, had become established as the basic unit in the production and consumption economies. Unless the newcomer had a very close blood tie with an established household and could thus be included in its economic arrangements, he would have to form his own economic unit, consisting of himself and his family.

Once a social change is made and a new adjustment found, it is almost impossible to turn the clock back and reestablish what has been lost. This is evident among the Mundurucú, and part of the irreversibility of process is in this case due to the women. They, especially, liked the new work arrangements. They now shared many tasks with the men and enjoyed a correspondingly improved status in relation to the opposite sex. The Cururú woman works less than her sisters of the savannahs and has no desire to return to the rigid social and economic cleavage between the sexes. Her relatively greater amount of free time enables her to help more in the rubber avenues than the savannah woman, but since this further solidifies the male-female economic bond and gives her a greater claim to the proceeds of the cash product, the extra work redounds ultimately to her advantage. This and the fact that the whetted appetite of the Cururú woman for finery and other, more utilitarian, articles of Western civilization is seemingly limitless make her a formidable factor in social change.

In view of all this, it is understandable that no Mun-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well- 361
wooded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the
houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are
the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use [348]
the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths
radiate outward from the village in the direction of the [487]
port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens,
and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond
to connect with the network of trails which interconnect
the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two re-
maining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a 592
shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that
of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha,
six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are
the residences of groups composed of two families, and
two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence
is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but re-
lationship is just as often in the male line as in the female.
Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear [594]
family occupies a definite section of the house, which is
partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse
does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were [602]
related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained sep-
arate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined
forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these [476]
joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which
never include more than two or three nuclear families, the
household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor
in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked
contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average
household composed of a smaller number of families, but [476]
there is little coöperation between the houses.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 759 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [572] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a [574] neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 578 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

to harm them. We resumed our journey at dawn of the following day, crossing successively woods and stretches of open country.

While crossing one of those woods I came upon one of the most touching scenes of savage life. Near one of those numerous brooks that wind their way everywhere, and that constitute the head-
593 waters of the Cadereri, I met a young family The head was no more than eighteen years old, and his companion was not over fifteen or sixteen, yet she already carried in her arms a child of a few months. They were accompanied by an old Indian woman. The faces and chests of the young couple had not yet been painted with
[302 the indelible dyes of the tribe; but the young woman, who had been
515] bathing in the brook, had painted her face with urucu dye, which
[608] lent her a childlike attractiveness. This interesting couple, on seeing us pass, showed visible signs of surprise and alarm.

Tired as I was, and anxious to get to the end of the journey, it was not even possible for me to tarry a few minutes and have some friendly words with these poor savages; besides, the interpreter was not present at the time.

I would have liked, at least, to offer them a cloth with [80] which the two children -- mother and baby -- might ward off the burning rays of the sun during their journey across vast stretches of open country; but our men, rebellious like all Maué Indians, carried only what was strictly necessary for our own subsistence.

We have sketched here this touching scene in order to inspire sympathy for the poor savages, weighted down as they are with great misfortunes.

III

I arrive at the village of Necodemos -- The Mundurucu offer me shelter and good hospitality.

131 After five days of incessant walking, counting from the spot where we had left our canoe at the headwaters of the Cadereri, we finally saw in the distance a column of smoke which rose from the maloca of Necodemos.

291 Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any
84 postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

152 I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I be-
593 lieve that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband ap-
684 peared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

85 Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are ex-
593 tremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

69 When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

302 Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to per-
531 fection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

592 needed the attention of his wife did he hang his hammock in the house.

593 The nuclear family within this context was clearly a less important social unit than the extended family. Its most important functions were, of course, procreation and the raising of children. The man always brought his game to his wife, but unless it was only enough for a few people, it was cooked and shared by the whole household and even the village. Man and wife performed small personal services for each other, but these could easily have been done by any other member of the opposite sex. Since the children grew up in a large family, a great deal of their upbringing was entrusted to other members of the household. By the age of five years the boys were already incorporated into groups 85% of their age mates. The younger children usually played in the village, but the groups of boys over eight years of age began to range out on the savannahs and in the smaller stretches of gallery forest, shooting small birds, gathering fruit, and bathing in the streams. The boys had great freedom and a minimum of parental supervision. Only when they were about twelve years of age did they begin to become a part of the adult economy and even this was only in certain tasks such as garden clearing, planting, and fishing. After they were married and had achieved warrior status they became fully functioning members of the community.

Girls began to help their mothers in all of the female chores at an early age, but served especially to tend the smaller children when the mothers had to work outside the village.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucu pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucu household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 593

Marital break-ups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the man's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [586] [462]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by warm and cold seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could hunt the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 221 241 [224] 226

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and who was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family household, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [439]

Farinha was thus a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [622]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce: 439

"They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of mandioca, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

Mo Mu 171 177 105

Mundurucú (cont.)

village held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability.
Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B, below.

B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A)
Leadership no longer integrative.
Individual trade undercuts kin obligations.
Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenue--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.

Montagnais (cont.)

Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries.
Nuclear family, basic unit at all times of year.
Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.

Mo Mu 171 177 [439 622]

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

Mo Mu [601]

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

Mu 177 439

The Brazilian rubber tapper--the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucú who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

Mo Mu 171 177 593

The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Mo Mu 177 621 622

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

the forest to hunt. The older man then invited him to sit down and rest and talk. 754
"Are you angry at somebody, younger brother?" he inquired. When Bertino denied any ill feelings toward another, the shaman bluntly said, "You must be. Come join me in sorcery." Bertino resisted his entreaties and told him, "I am not angry at anybody, and I do not want to harm others. Before my father died, he said to me, 'Use your knowledge to cure and to feed the *putcha ii* and for other good things. Do not use it to hurt another.' And also," continued Bertino, "I do not want to be killed by my own people." But the older shaman, not dissuaded, brushed his hand down his own arm and produced a *cauši* to impress Bertino. He then waved his fingers in the air and twenty hideous jaguars surrounded Bertino, snarling and waving their tails. "Take ten for yourself, and I will take the other ten," invited the sorcerer. Bertino was paralyzed with fright, but he still refused to practice witchcraft. "Perhaps you would prefer to be killed in a war," suggested the other. Bertino replied, "I would rather be killed by the enemy than by my own people."

Having failed in his purpose, the sorcerer threatened to kill Bertino. He apparently attempted to do so on one occasion, said my informant, for he was shortly thereafter attacked by a *cauši* while fishing. This sorcerer was finally killed by his fellow Mundurucú, and his brother was later slain as a suspected witch, also.

The sorcerer's jaguars emit a whistling sound much like that of the *Furupari*. A long time ago a shaman who was hunting in the woods climbed a fruit tree and, while gathering the fruit high in the branches, heard a whistling noise that resembled the cry of the blue nambú bird. The shaman knew this to be the signal of the jaguar, but when he looked down from his lofty perch, he saw another hunter looking upward in search of what he believed to be a bird. The whistling grew closer, and the jaguars emerged from the brush. They carried leaves in their jaws, which they jammed into the mouth of the victim to prevent outcry before "eating his intestines." The jaguars departed, and the shaman descended from the tree and returned to his village. A short time later the victim of the jaguars arrived in the village, feverish and vomiting. The shaman was asked to treat him, but, having witnessed the attack, he turned to another shaman and said, "You treat the sick man. It was you who ate him." The stricken man died, and the men of the village executed the accused sorcerer.

The following case of jaguar sorcery is of special interest since it describes an attack of one brother upon another. These occurrences are rare in Mundurucú [593] society, but they serve to further highlight the strong, latent sibling rivalry that appears clearly in the mythology and folklore. The incident, which was said to have occurred within the last generation, also documents techniques by which one can defend himself against the jaguars and destroy the sorcerer who is traveling in the guise of these creatures.

Two brothers, who had inherited shamanistic power from their father, were at odds because one wanted the wife of the other. The jealous brother decided to kill the husband by turning himself into a jaguar and eating him. The brothers

476 the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more
591 men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, al-
621 though this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, def-
[606] erence, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from
591 the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently re-
● 593 lax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And,
621 as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

345 In the eksá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleep-
513 ing arrangements. On each side of the men's house and
61 down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
[833] digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

●593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. How-
[855] ever, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended
[866] families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
868 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

[562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the 857
men's house, have very loose ties with their households. 868
Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine [591]
where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only [593]
by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as com- 562
pared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented 462
about any household economy, and the boys take little 867
part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since [596]
the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social struc- 857
tural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys 868
cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When 883
the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown [668]
sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old [582]
enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village [584]

177 portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods
361 could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rub-
364 ber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their
[182] resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable
[571] during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves
177 passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the
747 Cururu River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururu River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

177 The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to
621 nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organisa-
574 tion, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

621 Political authority on the Cururu River was almost nonexistent. The migrants
178 began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururu River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the
[221] Cururu River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais N H6

Mo
Mq
177
594
621

The culmination of the long acculturative processes shows a high degree of structural parallelism. Both Mundurucú and Montagnais populations are divided into loosely integrated and dispersed communities centering about particular trading posts with which the individual families have ties. The Indians still recreate, associate, and intermarry with one another, but the nuclear family is now the stable socio-economic unit. It is the highest level of integration found among the native population itself, but it is linked to the nation through the intermediary of a regional economy. The integration of the family with the national level is highly specialized and limited. These families do not yet share a substantial part of the common denominator of the national culture or even of the regional sub-cultures of their non-Indian neighbors.

Mo
Mq
177
184

There is a final phase, which, though occurring at different dates in the different localities, is characterized by assimilation of the Indians as a local sub-culture of the national sociocultural system and virtual loss of identity as Indians. At this point, the acculturational processes and results diverge, since the Indians participate to a much greater extent in the national culture. So long as the families maintain their marginal relation with the national society, they are quite unlike the basic populations of the nations in which they lived and much more like one another. When, however, they learn the national language, intermarry extensively with non-Indians, and acquire many of the non-Indian values and behavior patterns, they have to be classed with the special regional sub-cultures that have developed in portions of these nations.

It can be predicted that the drastic shift in mode and level of integration will do much to hasten the loss of cultural distinctiveness. Fortes has cogently expressed the relationship between social structure and formal culture content in such a situation:

> "I would suggest that a culture is a unity insofar as it is tied to a bounded social structure. In this sense I would agree that the social structure is the foundation of the whole social life of any continuing society.....The social structure of a group does not exist without the customary norms and activities which work through it. We might safely conclude that where structure persists there must be some persistence of corresponding custom, and where custom survives there must be some structural basis for this" [Fortes 1953, pp. 22-23].

V. Further Comparisons

Mo
Mq
171
177
121

We can delimit and refine the Mundurucú-Algonkian parallel by the cross-cultural examination of structural changes caused by acculturation in other areas. We will not seek further parallels, however, but will discuss cultures in which divergence appears manifest. One instance of such apparent divergence is the Northwest Coast, where the fur trade at first strengthened or intensified rather than weakened the aboriginal social structure. The florescence of the potlatch and class system on the Northwest Coast as a result of new wealth in trade goods is a thesis which has been ably expounded by a number of students [cf. Barnett 1938; Drucker 1939; Collins 1950; Codere 1950]. It would be very misleading, however, to consider any trade in furs as the crucial factor. What really matters is individual trapping of fur-bearing animals. The sea otter was the principal fur bartered by most Northwest Coast tribes, and collection involved neither individual effort nor delimited territories. The amount of land trapping was probably fairly limited and in any event did not offset the cultural effects of the great salmon wealth which created surpluses rarely if ever paralleled by hunting, gathering, and fishing people.

The trapping activities of the Skagit of Puget Sound more nearly paralleled those of the Northeastern Algonkians, according to Collins description [1950, p. 335]:

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

hammocks and the middle is left open. The communal 342
hearth that serves the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms in the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants draw freely from it.

Only females and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwell- 592
ing house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining 594
hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended family leads a most communal existence.

Matrilocality, it has been said, has resulted in highly 592
diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's 591
house. Despite the generational continuity of the females 611
and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them also. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Mundurucú, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and clans of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal status. This conflict does not prevent the women from 611
placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their 591
co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, named matrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes is reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. These events provide the grist for conversation for weeks. 521 578

Relations between the women of the savannah communities are subjected to an extra, situational strain because of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages, marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern. But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured by the support given by the matrilocal extended family. 162 578 [337] [166]

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber season, when village and extended family break up to exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy and from being even a co-resident group. And the thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers the nuclear family from any primary responsibility in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa- 594 [462]

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
[833] digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. How-
[855] ever, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended
[866] families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
868 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

[562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

241 ply vegetables that are not available in the village. Despite these apparent benefits, the complete harvest is sometimes not brought in, and part of the produce either rots or is eaten by animals while the owners are in residence in the village during the rains.

The division of labor during the dry season is the result 462 of the size of the co-resident group. If the unit is small, the men and boys often help the women in the manufacture of farinha, but if there are sufficient females to help in the task, the men do not join them. Correspondingly, a man is sometimes aided in rubber collecting by his wife or younger sons. Fishing and hunting, also, is generally done jointly by only two or three men. Larger-scale timbó-fishing expeditions are infrequent because the people are so widely dispersed. The work of rubber collecting is, 314 except for the occasional help of a wife or son, essentially individual. Even where a number of rubber tappers and [592] their families share the same residence, each man has his own avenue and unites with the others only when the day's work is done.

314 571 476 Rubber extraction fractionates villages and households during approximately one-quarter of the year, and the changed mode of residence and patterns of cooperation [574] result in a greatly increased importance of the nuclear family. One Mundurucú owned a canoe on the Tropas River and another on the Cabitutú; the only other mode [487] of transportation and communication is by trails that parallel the rivers. But the distances between houses make visiting infrequent during the rubber season, and the residence groups pass most of the period in isolation.

The breakdown of larger social units is paralleled in the 423 economic realm by the individuality of rubber production and private holding of rubber avenues. The latter are private property in a limited sense only. What is "owned" is

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives.

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to cooperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure.

The most important force in the process of stripping the

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up 439
and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are 797
more frequent in September, October, and November 649
when rubber is still being collected and the river has be- [484]
gun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets [527]
provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands [594]
and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[471] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well- 361
weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use [343] the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the [487] port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a 592
shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear [594] family occupies a definite section of the house, which is partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse [602] does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined [476] forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average [476] household composed of a smaller number of families, but there is little coöperation between the houses.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

166 It does not require a particularly strong motive to in-
182 duce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weak-
602 ening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same
[835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively
[594] smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship
[551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-
621

/23 cont./

*241
423
[171]

> harvested all his crops and abandoned the land to the secondary growth which begins to cover it, it may be used by anyone." /Cited in English/ (Wagley and Galvão, 1949: 50).

exists, therefore, a temporary property right, while /the plot/ is being used: a right that might more aptly be termed of usage or usufruct.

This concept is complemented by the other facet of the matter, involving the labors /expanded on/ and the products of the plot. Included here is the aggregate of the men's and women's tasks (in accordance with the cycles of labor); and the family, which in itself forms a small community, asserts its rights.

*241
421
462
594

The concept of this right to seemingly communal property derives from the division of labor between men and women. By individual right, each is the master and owner of what he produces, makes, etc. The man prepares the field, the clearing (kat), and is the owner of it. Strictly speaking, therefore, the woman plants on alien property (i.e., the man's or husband's) and pays him for the usufruct of this right, later on, with the produce of her planting. In other words: as indemnification for his preparation of the plot, the man or husband may share in the produce of her planting. On the other hand, the woman is the owner of the planting, and the man or husband cannot, according to the right of private property, enjoy the fruits of someone else's planting, even if it be his own wife's. He does, however, acquire a certain right to the planting, not of property but of usufruct, because his clearing labor made its existence possible. The woman thus has the obligation to allow her husband the usufruct of her planting, within the framework of the division of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with reciprocal rights (or, inversely, duties) which are normalized and counterbalanced by the right of "indemnification." Indeed, in terms of the division of labor, this right of indemnification is absolutely necessary. What would the man do with the plot since he cannot plant, this being the woman's

/23 cont./

*241 421 462 594 right? She, /in turn/, without the man's previous labor, could only plant /24/ in small quantities, and furthermore, for lack of proper soil preparation, the cultivated plants would not grow properly. In both cases, the results would be meager and the family's subsistence, in this sphere, would be endangered. Hence the need for this right of mutual indemnification.

*241 476 [423] Every man, or every family, sets up his own garden and owns it by exclusive right. The owner, however, requests the assistance of his relatives or of the men of the group in which he lives, to help him in his tasks (clearing, felling, etc.), while the woman, in turn, later (but not always) requests the help of women for the typically feminine tasks within the above-mentioned system of the division of labor. (13) The community assists the individual, or rather, the

*241 476 421 13. Although we are dealing here with the agriculture of the present-day Mundurukú, let us note two pieces of information, gathered separately and in widely separated places, namely, one by myself among the acculturated Mundurukú of the Cururú River, and the other by the missionary Brother Angélico in a village of the interior, in Dekudyem. According to these data, the agricultural system of the ancient Mundurukú was slightly different as regards mutual assistance and ownership of the gardens. They say that, originally, the entire group prepared a large plot for all members of the community and that individual rights to the garden were based, precisely, on mutual

[178]

/25 cont./

*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard- [594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the [423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sys- [621] tem of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal [342] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, [423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties [476] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*241 177 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

*241 602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

224 But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude
221 husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadereri.

361 In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly
621 united although divided into twenty villages.

619 It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

585 Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

584 Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond
[595] between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

562 The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the ekça or warriors' quarters.

726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and [534 they are guarded by patrols who signal with the toré (beni), a rasping 203] cane trumpet, or with the kiohoa, a whistle. With this instrument the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the 727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

●595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger [578 women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy 846] which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related." but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

[1] [Martius (Source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

585 his game to the house of his bride and the products of his
591 garden went to the new household. He didn't even have to
586 move his hammock. Marriage was unstable especially in its early years before children were born to the couple. However, separation frequently occurred even between couples with two or three children. In these cases, the man went back to his old village or house affiliation and the children stayed with the mother. The commonest causes of marital breakup were laziness or infidelity on the part of the wife, in which case the husband might simply gather his hammock, weapons, and personal belongings together and leave. The same reasons on the part of the husband might cause the girl's family to turn the husband out of the household. Her relative lack of mobility made it difficult for the female to take the initiative in these cases.

595 Polygamy was not commonly practiced among the Mundurucú and the number of wives in such unions never ex-
[622] ceeded two. It was generally confined to the chief of the village since the chief and his sons were exempt from the rules of matrilocality. The sons of the chief remained members of the father's household and their brides were incorporated into it. Usually the second wife was taken at some considerable time after the first marriage and often only when the first wife grew too old to fulfill her economic functions. A situation akin to polygamy often existed when a man took a new wife before taking his leave of the old one. These episodes were usually stormy. There was frequently bitter hostility between the two wives if they shared

595 the same residence or village. There is no evidence that polygamy was ordinarily sororal nor did the sororate and levirate have significant occurrence. None of these traits, so common in many primitive societies, was felt to be obligatory or even especially desirable.

684 Adultery was common and a frequent source of strife in the village. The men regarded their own adulterous escapades as highly diverting, harmless adventures. However, they did not take so lenient a view towards those of their wives. A husband whose wife was unfaithful usually beat her and verbally harangued her. No physical action was taken against the offending male, although an argument might ensue. [586] When the wife became so promiscuous that she lowered her husband in the eyes of the community, he left her. The woman whose husband was unfaithful had little recourse except to fight with him and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself." If the husband's behavior became outrageous to the wife's family he might be invited to leave. The problems of sex caused few open ruptures in the Mundurucú village, but they were always a source of ill feeling.

614 The sib-moiety system

The Mundurucú social organization is rather complex for a Tupian group. They had thirty eight sibs divided into red and white moieties. The red moiety had sixteen sibs while the white had twentytwo. Of these thirty eight, eight are already extinct and my informants indicated that there were several more old sibs that they could no longer remember.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today. 000

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to 174 incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not 621 inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned [423] under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with [586] the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen [622] for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacri- [619] ficed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowl- 174 edge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special signifi- 591 cance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men [224] on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monog- [595] amy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. [422 There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal 428] possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

578 spouse who lived in Cabitutú was his first wife, and she
837 would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabitutú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.[17]

Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the
595 modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the sororal type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is
582 with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is
616 rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of
835 any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

[17] Murphy, 1958.

village men are ever-watchful and jealous of the chiefly family and would be quick to resist, however passively, what they considered to be high-handedness. Biboi, however, did not have the surrounding group of relatives that may have given even minimal support to his claim to leadership. Rather, he depended upon the trader and his father and relatives in Cabruá to buttress his position. 622 554

Given his delicate status, Biboi proceeded to worsen it through a misinterpretation of the chieftaincy. He had listened to his father's nostalgic tales of the role of the chief in times past, and one might say that he had some knowledge, in a purely cognitive sense, of the traditional culture. It is highly dubious, however, that Biboi had internalized sufficient culture to make him an effective actor within the system of social relationships. Biboi knew that "in the old days, chiefs were powerful men who directed their people and bought goods for them." This view of the past may or may not have been true, but it surely did not apply to the present. Biboi, nonetheless, announced at large that he was eminently qualified to be chief, as only he knew how to deal with the trader and only he had the force to tell the people how, when and where to work. I was a special recipient of this information, for Biboi found it most important to gain stature in the eyes of a prestigeful outsider. But Biboi also told all the others of his importance, and the people of Cabitutú stated that he indeed relayed the demands of the trader in forceful terms. His "followers" saw him solely as an agent of the trader in their village, and they were certain that his only function was to promote their exploitation and defraudment. Their analysis was correct, but I doubt that Biboi thought his role to be at all asocial. There is no evidence to substantiate this, for only he could tell me whether he was aware of the machinations of the trader, and he did not. But I believe that Biboi saw the trader as a father figure, many of whose values he had internalized and subscribed to as legitimate. And he also saw himself to be in the position of a strong and traditional leader. [1-7] 78

Biboi had learned something else about the chiefs of times past, and this was the fact that many were polygynous. Polygyny was possible only for chiefs, for the matrilocality that applied to most of the population made it most difficult to have plural wives unless they were sisters. Even for a chief, however, polygyny was a difficult and stormy relationship, and it was evidently never of very great frequency.

Biboi did not have the implicit and unconscious ability to understand the fine points of Mundurucú social structure that a man raised in a village would have, and he made some of his most serious blunders in marriage. Soon after assuming the chieftaincy of Cabitutú, he married a woman of the village, a widow several years older than himself who, through the situational variability of post-marital residence, had a strong nucleus of kin in the village. Though I have no data upon which to make a firmer statement, it is quite probable that he married the woman--frankly a crone--in order to enlist the sympathies of her relatives. But Biboi was a young, handsome and virile man, and he subsequently sought a wife more to his liking. He located a pretty girl of about sixteen years in the village of Decodyem and brought her home to Cabitutú. This enraged the first wife, who berated Biboi, assaulted the girl and complained to her brothers. The latter expressed their disapproval of the polygynous union to Biboi, and the rest of the village supported them. Biboi's general behavior and his exercise of his "chieftaincy" had already outraged them, and this [5-8] 575 578

offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond their endurance. Biboi refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father. He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurucú culture and social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring must inevitably close on Biboi. He had offended all the Mundurucú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Biboi returned to Cabitutú to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of Cabitutú, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover, Biboi did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Biboi's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Biboi thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl; whatever rectitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some exceptions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Biboi's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Biboi, for the Cabruá men, too, disliked Biboi with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered unbearably deviant. But physical sanctions against Biboi would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruá attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Biboi's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Biboi soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

591 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineal-
611 ity, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the
591 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced pop-
178 ulation of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

Although the Mundurucú extended family is much
5% smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way
592 to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the
[422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to
[224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

among the members of the house. This collectivism may be seen in the fact that each household has but one fireplace, where all cooking is done. Food for the entire extended family, including the portion to be contributed to the men's house, is prepared there, and the cooking is done by any women who happen to be in the house at that time. Water is fetched from the stream in gourds by the women and is freely used by all occupants.

The unitary nature of the extended family of females in distribution and consumption applies also to the organization of production. Although gardens are nominally considered to be the property of the man who chose the site and organized the work of clearing it, the owner's wife is generally assisted in weeding and harvesting by the other women of the household. Also, any woman of the extended family feels free to go to the garden to dig yams or gather minor vegetable crops—formal ownership has limited meaning when the yield is unquestioningly shared by the household.

Coöperation and collectivism extend to relationships between households also. When a hunter kills a large game animal, it is immediately butchered, quartered, and equally divided among the houses of the villages. This is rational economic procedure, because fresh meat spoils in a very short time in the Tropics, and waste would result if the extended family kept all the kill. Furthermore, frequently only one or two men raise and kill game during a day's hunt; inter-house sharing thus has a mutual economic security aspect. But beyond these considerations, it is considered proper to divide food. Thus, even if a man from each household kills a wild pig, the animals are still quartered and divided. There is symbolic importance in such exchange, and failure to share food freely is a serious breach of etiquette. The strongest bonds of gift giving in

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the 857
men's house, have very loose ties with their households. 868
Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine [591]
where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only [593]
by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as com- 562
pared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented 452
about any household economy, and the boys take little 867
part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since [596] the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social struc- 857
tural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys 868
cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When 883
the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown [868]
sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old [582]
enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village, [584]

182 as the single permissible occasion on which violence was
578 condoned. Kluckhohn's[8] view is well founded that the
754 sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him
683 and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

182 Conflicts between persons and groups are not always
578 connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men com-
[837] monly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the
[622] numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

182 Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their
59 villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive
●59% weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished
[578] size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

[8] Kluckhohn, 1944.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives. 182 591 596

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to coöperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure. 182 602 614 [594] [596]

The most important force in the process of stripping the 182 439

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

[31] the plains] are not located in the district which Ayres de Cazal named Mundurucania. They stand in the territory which the geographer called Tapajonia, between the Tapajoz and the Xingu and close to the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajoz, namely the Cadereri, Cabetutum and Cururu rivers, the Rio das Tropas (which the Mundurucu call Pitunzi) and the Rio do Crepuri.

In the course of my journey I encountered a great many small streams that were sources of the Cadereri and tributaries of the Tapajoz.

Had I proceeded in the same direction beyond Necodemos a few days longer, I would undoubtedly have come upon the sources of the tributaries of the Xingu.

IX

Wars of the Mundurucu -- waging procedure -- End of these wars.

727 597 We have already noted that the wars of these barbarians are waged with the sole aim of capturing young women and children of both sexes. Within the tribe, however, the captives are treated no differently than native Mundurucu. They are painted with the same arabesques of indelible dyes: the woman immediately gets a husband, and the child finds an adoptive father who is almost invariably the same Indian who captured him. When preparations are made for one of these forays, the warrior's sister, his mother, or some other relative places an order for a child, saying: "Bring me a boy to be my son."

[648] The Mundurucu's chief victims are the Parintintin; in addition to a desire for captives, the deadly hatred [94] which has long ruled between the two tribes is another motive for frequent attacks.

721 Whenever it becomes known that a band of Parintintin have appeared somewhere, the Mundurucu immediately set off after them. To my knowledge, however, this inveterate hatred is not directed toward other tribes. Among the Mundurucu there runs a

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores. 727 224 [834]

The Dajeboiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house. 796 727 [301]

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[3] 796 575 533

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported. 727 597 [554]

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular 721

186 more, children were captured from
[597] other tribes and raised as Mundurucú
without prejudice. To adult "outland-
186 ers" of either sex, however, the Mun-
727 durucú gave no quarter; the enemy was
summarily dispatched and the head
severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

648 The establishment of peaceful and
177 symbiotic relations with the whites
726 added a further dimension to the
577 values connected with warfare, which
the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The
726 means used to attain the new ends were
traditional. Enemy villages were

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related." but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

[1] [Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time.-- Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 which was prefixed to each member's given name. However, the clans operated as a powerful force in tribal integration and were of utmost importance in the structuring of interpersonal relationships.

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

601 The list of kinship terms used by the Mundurucú male presented below should suggest to the reader some very pertinent hypotheses about Mundurucú social organization.

Vocative		*Referential*	
adjut	father's father; mother's father	adjut djut	father's father; mother's father
awah	father's mother	awah wah	father's mother
adjung	mother's mother; father's sister	adjung djung	mother's mother; father's sister
bai	father; father's brother	we bai; bai bai	father
ai I	mother; mother's sister	bai bai	father's brother
wanyũ	mother's brother; father-in-law; older brother; older cross and parallel male cousins	u shi; ai I	mother
o köt	sister's son; son-in-law; younger brother; younger cross and parallel cousins	ai I	mother's sister
da ũ	sister; cross and parallel female cousins; daughter; brother's and sister's daughter; son's and daughter's daughter	o djorit	mother's brother; father's sister's son
u sum	brother-in-law (of same age); age mate of opposite moiety	wanyũ yũ	older brother; older mother's sister's son; older father's brother's son
bekit; raipö	son; brother's son	o kit pit; o köt köt	younger brother; younger mother's sister's son; younger father's brother's son
tapö	daughter's and son's son	we shit	sister; father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters
		da ũ ũ	father's sister's daughter
		we shI	mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
		o pöt	son; brother's son
		o ra shit	daughter; brother's daughter
		rashenyebit	grandchildren (all categories)

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

602 to the opposite one. Finally, when a Mundurucú is queried about the close
619 solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

601 Extension of kin terms was complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bai*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "older" (*wan yũ*) or "younger (*o köt*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*tapö*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ũ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú had "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapö*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*wanyũ*) and "younger (*o köt*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*u sum*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*awah*), "mother" (*ai ĩ*), and "daughter" (*da ũ*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Mundurucú could, and still can, place every other Mundurucú in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguinal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

619 The picture of Mundurucú society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Mundurucú intervillage connections.

621 The social structure of the Mundurcú village was characterized by a deep
562 cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Mun-
621 durucú village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the western extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five such houses

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

Mo
Mu

Mundurucú (cont.)

...lage held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability.
Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in B, below.

B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A)
Leadership no longer integrative.
Individual trade undercuts kin obligations.
Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenue--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.

Montagnais (cont.)

Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries.
Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year.
Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.

171
177
105

Mo
Mu

171
177

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own. [439 622]

Mo
Mu

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization. [601]

Mu

The Brazilian rubber tapper--the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucú who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

177
439

Mo
Mu

The acculturative factors operated in two somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

171
177
593

Mo
Mu

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

177
621
622

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

soning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucú situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates.

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often an incest taboo beween co-residents, whatever their genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in residence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured.

[24] *Cf.* Titiev, 1943, p. 516.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.
[26] White, 1948, p. 25.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

Vocative

601 *adjut* father's father; mother's father
awah father's mother
adjung mother's mother; father's sister
bai father; father's brother
ai ī mother; mother's sister
wanyū mother's brother; father-in-law; older brother; older cross and parallel male cousins
o köt sister's son; son-in-law; younger brother; younger cross and parallel cousins
da ū sister; cross and parallel female cousins; daughter; brother's and sister's daughter; son's and daughter's daughter
u sum brother-in-law (of same age); age mate of opposite moiety
bekit son; brother's son
raipö son; brother's son
tapö daughter's and son's son

Referential

adjut djut father's father; mother's father
awah wah father's mother
adjung djung mother's mother; father's sister
we bai father
bai bai father, father's brother
u ši mother
ai ī mother, mother's sister
o djotit mother's brother; father's sister's son
wanyū yū older brother; older mother's sister's son; older father's brother's son
o kit pit younger brother
o köt köt younger mother's sister's son; younger father's brother's son

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

we šit sister; father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters 601
da ũ ũ father's sister's daughter
we ši mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
o pöt son; brother's son
o ra šit daughter; brother's daughter
rašenyebit grandchildren (all categories)

The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, bears certain points of resemblance to the Tupí-Guaraní type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão.[*] It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both of whom are subsumed under the term *adjung*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, can be the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this view comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *we ši*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To classify

[*] Wagley and Galvão, 1946.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

582 601 further the brother's wife as *we ši* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The application of the term *we ši* to the mother's brother's children and not to those of the father's sister indicates that cross-cousin marriage was matrilateral. This possible preference is consistent with Homan's and Schneider's thesis that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is congruent with patrilineal systems.[*] Contemporary informants claim, however, that either cousin is now a suitable mate.

Following the terminological system, the equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of union with the sister's daughter. Thus, the analysis of nomenclature presents strong evidence for the past practice of avuncular marriage; the disparity between the kinship terms and current practice is probably an instance of the conservatism of terminology relative to the social relations they categorize.

114 The method of analysis employed above seems to be in violation of Murdock's dictum that marriage customs are 582 likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only 601 "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society."[*] It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate alone, but by all three practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework. In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock, himself, states the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following: "Since

[*] Homans and Schneider, 1955, p. 51.
[*] Murdock, 1949, p. 123.

multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."[20] 114 582 601

That the patrilineality of Mundurucú society has been of some significance in structuring the terminological system may be inferred from the fact that the identical marriage practices have been found in South America in societies lacking unilineal descent groups and having ordinary bifurcate merging kinship systems.[21] Thus, the classification of the mother's brother's and sister's children as *we ši* follows in part from their membership in the moiety opposite to that of Ego. Similarly, the application of the referential term *o djorit* to the sons of the father's sister and the mother's mother recognizes their moiety affiliation and, also, the fact that both are sons of women classified as *adjung*. The latter term, it will be noted, is applied to all older women of Ego's own moiety. 601 616 [171]

Extension of kin terms is complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety are addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bat*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation are either "older" (*wan yũ*) or "younger (*o köt*) brother." On the descending generations there are only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*tapö*). Females of one's own moiety are called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety are addressed as "daughter" (*da ũ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú have "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapö*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety are addressed as

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[21] *Cf.* Oberg, 1953, pp. 44, 99; Gillin, 1936, pp. 92–96.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

● 601 616 "older" (*wanyũ*) and "younger (*o köt*) brothers," with the exception of age mates, who are called (*u sum*). Females of the opposite moiety are called "grandmother" (*auah*), "mother" (*ai ĩ*), and "daughter" (*da ũ*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego.

726 701 river.[11] By drawing their warriors from a number of villages, the Mundurucú were able to leave enough men in each village to support those women, children, and old people who were not able to leave. They were also able to amass a greater number of warriors, especially when it was necessary to face the Portuguese colonial troops that were sent against them in the late 18th century.

619 602 Such efforts called for a series of social linkages between villages. This was provided by the social organization which crosscut the society in two ways; by bonds of matrilocality and by the system of sibs and moieties. This meant that those men of the village who came from other villages through marriage were linked to those villages by birth and by the residence there of the mother's family. Such linkages formed a chain whereby all villages ultimately were bound to one another by interpersonal ties. The bonds tying each 614 individual to the rest of the society were further tightened by the patrilineal sib system. In most Mundurucú villages, a person could find other members of his sib. To these people he had especially close ties and obligations, but he also considered all the members of his exogamic moiety to be relatives. Ultimately, but to a diminished degree, Mundurucú of the other moiety were felt to be related and were called by kin terms. The people themselves say, "We are all kin, one of another."

11. This was reported to the writer verbally by Dr. Darcy Ribeiro, Chief of the Section of Studies, Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Dr. Ribeiro has conducted extensive ethnographic research among the Urubu and heard of these attacks from his informants. This confirms Martius' report of the same event (Martius, 1867, p. 334).

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, resembles the Tupi-Guarani type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão (1946). It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both subsumed under the term *awak*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, is the same person as the father's sister.

Further support for this theory comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *we ché*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To further classify the brother's wife as *we ché* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of avuncular marriage. Although contemporary Mundurucú informants deny that sister's daughter marriage ever existed and affirm it to be proscribed, this disparity between the kinship system and actual practice will be seen to be a result of culture lag.

The method of analysis employed above seems to follow almost completely that used by Rivers (1914), and is no doubt in violation of Murdock's dictum (1949:123) that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society." It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate, or the sororate but by all four practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework.[8] In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock states (*Ibid*:126) the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following:

> "Since multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."

All Mundurucú considered themselves to be related to all other Mundurucú by ties of varying degrees of closeness. One's closest relatives were the members of the nuclear family. Beyond this, the clan became the unit of greatest solidarity, and the Mundurucú emphasized their brotherhood with fellow members. They also felt a closer affinity for members of their own moiety as contrasted

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

602 to the opposite one. Finally, when a Mundurucú is queried about the close
619 solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

601 Extension of kin terms was complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjui*) or "father" (*bai*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "older" (*wun yé*) or "younger (*o bát*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*iapé*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ú*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú had "grandfathers" (*adjui*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*iapé*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*wunyé*) and "younger (*o bát*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*o sum*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*awak*), "mother" (*ai i*), and "daughter" (*da ú*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Mundurucú could, and still can, place every other Mundurucú in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguinal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

619 The picture of Mundurucú society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Mundurucú intervillage connections.

621 The social structure of the Mundurucú village was characterized by a deep
542 cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Mun-
622 durucú village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the western extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five such houses

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

NOTES

[1] The field research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. 172.

The writer's wife, Yolanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

[2] For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and u have the phonetic values of Spanish i and u; ö is pronounced as in German; ĩ and ũ are nasal sounds. 107

[3] The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on referential systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguished from the vocative system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein. 602

[4] The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep reverberating sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male subconscious is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the banana." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological explanation of this complex. It merely indicates the deep interaction between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purpose, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure. 534 931

[5] The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of 'increase in the economic importance' of women. Eggan (1950:131) views the continuance of matrilocality among the Hopi in much the same light. 806

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO F. DE
1869 Navegacão do Rio Tapajós para o Pará. Revista do Instituto Historico e Geografico Brasileiro, 9:1–16, Rio de Janeiro. 113

BATES, HENRY W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazon. London.

COUDREAU, HENRI
1897 Voyage au Tapajos. Paris.

EGGAN, FRED
1937 The Cheyenne and Arapaho kinship system. *in* Social Anthropology of North American tribes. F. Eggan, ed. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. pp. 35–95.
1950 Social organization of the Western Pueblos. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
1954 Social anthropology and the method of controlled comparison. American Anthropologist 56:743–63.

GOLDSCHMIDT, WALTER
1948 Social organization in native California and the origin of clans. American Anthropologist 50:444–56.

HARTT, CHARLES F.
1885 Contribuições para a etnologia do Valle do Amazonas. Archives do Museu Nacional 6:1–174. Rio de Janeiro.

HEIDE-GELDERN, R.
1923 Südostasien. *in* Buschan, G. Illustrierte Völkerkunde, vol. 11, Stuttgart.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

soning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucu situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates. 174 582 604 171

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often an incest taboo beween co-residents, whatever their genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in residence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal. 174 582 604 835

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured. 601 602

[24] Cf. Titiev, 1943, p. 518.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.
[26] White, 1948, p. 25.

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and coöperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha enyen*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule resulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

Integration was furthered also by such groups as the *Muchacha anyen* society, the men's ceremonial group known as the *Biu ši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Darek ši anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and residence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart."[2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.
[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid. 182 476

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence. 182 592 562 [602]

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe. 182 578 [621]

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers 182 574 754 683

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives. 182 591 596

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to coöperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure. 182 602 614 [594] [596]

The most important force in the process of stripping the 182 439

a distinctively Brazilian trait. The village site is a well- 361
weeded, long, rectangular clearing throughout which the houses are scattered. On the periphery of the clearing are the latex-smoking sheds of the men who are able to use [343] the village as a base of rubber-tapping operations. Paths radiate outward from the village in the direction of the [487] port on the Cururú River, the watering place, the gardens, and the rubber avenues. One little-used path goes beyond to connect with the network of trails which interconnect the savannah villages. Today, this is one of the two remaining trails linking that region with the Cururú.

The size of the average savannah household is but a 592
shadow of former days, but it is still much larger than that of the Cururú. Of the ten occupied houses in Missão Velha, six contain but one nuclear family each, two houses are the residences of groups composed of two families, and two houses have three nuclear families each. Co-residence is based on kinship in the multifamily dwellings, but relationship is just as often in the male line as in the female. Significantly, in all cases of joint residence, each nuclear family occupies a definite section of the house, which is [594] partitioned off by a wattle-and-daub wall.

Although co-residence implies kinship, the converse does not hold true in Missão Velha. Several villagers were [602] related by close ties of consanguinity but maintained separate dwellings. Such kinsmen, however, frequently joined forces in clearing and planting gardens. Except for these [476] joint efforts which are not an invariable rule and which never include more than two or three nuclear families, the household is the basic economic unit. The division of labor in this village and on the Cururú, in general, is in marked contrast to the savannahs, for not only is the average household composed of a smaller number of families, but [476] there is little coöperation between the houses.

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

166 182 It does not require a particularly strong motive to induce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 602 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weakening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same [835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the [594] nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship [551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 621 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals. 182 794

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mundurucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups. 182 591 602 [582]

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the nonequivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the 182 578 591

/24 cont./

*241
476
421

assistance, on compensation for the labor rendered to the community. Aside from this statement about a collective garden, the informants also mentioned private family gardens, where they chiefly (but not exclusively) cultivated supplementary, accessory foods, such as bananas, pepper, etc. The data gathered, however, give no clear evidence as to whether this collective garden served for the communal, daily use of the group, or whether it merely existed as a reserve in case of need, in the assistance of the old and incapacitated, in the sustenance of guests, or as a ceremonial garden to contribute to important festivities. Regarding a type of garden among the Tenetehara, used communally but owner privately, see Wagley-Galvão (1948: 139).

[171]

*241
476

members help each other; and each must assist the others, when their turn comes to prepare their plot. Thus there exists, with reference to this collective work, an elaborate system of revenue and compensation on an equalitarian basis. Days of labor are received, and later this assistance is repaid in kind with days of labor. We are dealing here, therefore, with a broad system of mutual assistance. Naturally, the owner of the new plot finds his chief support among /25/ his own kin: adult children, brothers, brothers-in-law, sons-in-law, etc. This mutual assistance, however, is not obtained spontaneously, but through personal invitations proferred individually rather than collectively. The manner of doing this is

•[602]

/25 cont. /

*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard- [594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the [423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sys- [621] tem of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal [347] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result, [423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties [476] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*241 177 182 462 476 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

*241 ●602 421 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

/26 cont./

*241 are closely united, or when, owing to some reverse, one of the family
●602 members cannot prepare his own garden but can help in the prepara-
421 tion of that of his father, brother, son, etc. then, sometimes, a communal plot is prepared. This refers, however, to the concept of "garden" in its absolute sense: a garden of bitter manioc, of tubercles. For they always continue to plant their own bananas, pepper, etc., separately, for their own private use, each family for itself. This type of "communal garden" is found also (or exclusively?) /27/ outside the old community, among the acculturated Mundurukú. I observed such a case, between father and son, in the mission itself, where everyone has his own home. Both parties have equal right to the use of the garden. This type of "communal garden" is quite similar to that known among the peasants as a "company garden." The difference between the two types might perhaps be defined as follows: the "communal garden" serves directly for the use and sustenance of the families involved; the "company garden" exists on a contract basis, and its foundations and goals are usually commercial.

Once there is property, there arises the problem of inheritance.
423 Each garden has its owner, with all ownership rights. In case of death,
428 the plot passes into the hands of the eldest son, who is, however, nothing more than the "administrator" of this inheritance with a share in the usufruct. The heir is the family, represented by the eldest son in the sense that he must look after the plot, which the family shares along with him. When there is no family, the brothers inherit the plot. If there are no brothers, the other relatives do. In any case, the garden is not allowed to go to waste, and its produce is always utilized.

3. Garden and group: intraterritorial migrations

*241 At first sight, the Mundurukú gardens often seem to lie far from
361 the house or village. And, in fact, this is frequently the case. But this is nearly always the result of long years of permanence in one and the same spot. As time goes by, the soil around the houses be-
[134] comes weak and exhausted. (15)? It is for this reason that the Indian

? [See category 116, p. 32 for explanation of this footnote--analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

591 tems, despite combining matrilocality and patrilineality. Contemporary in-
174 formants claim matrilocality to be the normal rule since ancient times, but historical data suggestive of antecedent patrilocality among the Mundurucú comes from the German explorers Spix and Martius, who encountered ele-
[114] ments of the tribe near the lower Madeira River in 1819. The reader should be warned that these observers are not completely reliable, and several obvious errors were encountered in their works. We can only verify their information by comparing it with what is reliably known of the structure of Mundurucú society.

604 According to Martius (1867:393), the Mundurucú were apparently patri-
174 local, for a man could eject his wife from the household. Every young man,
591 however, had to go through a period of bride service lasting several years (ibid:393). The same writer claimed that when there was no other potential husband available for a young woman, the mother's brother could marry her (ibid:393). This is of some significance, not only because it gives historical confirmation for the previous analysis from kinship terminology (and Martius was not aware of the "sociological" interpretation of kin terms), but also because it tends to bolster the hypothesis of antecedent patrilocality. The prac-
[171] tice of avuncular marriage is quite widespread in the Amazon basin and in northeastern South America and the Islands (Lowie 1949:317). In all cases, it is correlated with a period of bride service followed by permanent patrilocality. Both Kirchoff (1932:58) and Metraux (1948:111–12) state that avuncular marriage serves to liberate men from the period of temporary matrilocal residence. Whether or not avuncular marriage had this function among the Mundurucú is not known, but its wide distribution in the Tropical Forest region in combination with initial bride service and patrilocality argues for its former existence among the Mundurucú where, according to Martius, the same pattern was in existence.

604 The reader will remember that contemporary Mundurucú informants
121 specifically and vehemently deny the contemporary or past practice of avuncu-
591 lar marriage, and this form of marriage was not reflected in genealogies. This is understandable in the matrilocal framework because, although the mother's brother was a member of the opposite moiety to that of his sister's daughter, he was nonetheless a member of the same household until his marriage. In a patrilocal society, the sister's daughter would not reside in the same household and might not even be a resident of her uncle's village. The disappearance of avuncular marriage due to a change from patrilocality to matrilocality would be consistent with much anthropological theorization on the origins of incest prohibitions, whether explained as a result of the necessity to deny sexual access to one's familial intimates, which would disrupt the household (Malinowski 1930:630), or as a result of the need to marry out of the ingroup in order to extend its ties with the larger society (White 1948:425). Titiev (1943:516) has noted the importance of residence in the definition of incest in other cultures:

> ". . . there are numerous cases in which exogamy is enforced among co-residents even when there is no demonstrable or putative genealogical connection."

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

582 604 Mundurucú kinship terminology indicates the custom of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter.[19] This avuncular form of union was frequently reported by early chroniclers in South America,[20] and is said by Oberg to exist among the contemporary Kamayurá of the upper Xingú River.[21] Martius specifically reported it to be practiced by the Mundurucú when the sister's daughter had no other prospective husband.[22] Avuncular marriage is nowhere in evidence among the contemporary Mun-
[835] durucú, however, and its practice, past or present, is vigorously denied. Informants regarded such a union as incestuous, despite the obvious fact that a sister's daughter is always of the opposite moiety from that of her uncle.

174 582 604 171 Since there is no reason to doubt the mutually corroborating distributional, documentary, and kinship-terminological evidence for sister's daughter marriage, we must assume that it has not only disappeared but has lapsed under such circumstances as to be absolutely proscribed. James Watson has noted a similar disappearance and taboo of sister's daughter marriage among the Cayuá Indians of southern Mato Grosso.[23] Although his evidence for its former practice is rather tenuous, he assumes it to have existed and to have fallen into abeyance due to the breakdown of the patrilineal extended family organization, and the union's consequent loss of function as a means of cementing relations between such units. Also, he assumes that marriages with the sister's daughter were commonly second unions, and the contemporary absence of polygyny would militate against the practice. Such rea-

[19] *See* pp. 93–94.

[20] Kirchoff (1932) presents the most complete discussion of this practice and contends that it was a common means of avoiding bride service.

[21] Oberg, 1953, p. 44.

[22] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

[23] Watson, 1952, pp. 118–121.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

soning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucú situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates. 174 582 604 171

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often an incest taboo beween co-residents, whatever their genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in residence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal. 174 582 604 835

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured. 601 602

[24] *Cf.* Titiev, 1943, p. 516.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.
[26] White, 1948, p. 25.

multitude of other beasts of every species who were also pursuing the woman and her daughter, intent upon eating them. 539x

After the frog had shot and killed all the animals, he ordered the woman to skin them and to put their meat on the babrient and their hides in the fire. She did this, and there were so many that she was completely blackened with soot when she finished. Then the frog told her, "Go take a bath, but look only upstream and do not look behind you." He did not explain this order to her. The woman went to the stream and bathed, and the dirt from her body turned the stream black. This dirt was acting upon the fish like timbó, and they began to come to the surface, betting their tails three times before dying. The woman heard this sound and turned around to see what it was. All the fish immediately came back to life again and swam away. At this point the frog came down to the stream to collect the dead fish. When he saw that there were none, he asked the woman if she had looked around. She admitted that she had, and the frog told her that if she had not done this people would not have to go into the forest in search of wild timbó. Instead, fish would have been killed by the dirt from the bodies of bathing women.

35. THE MAN WHO LIVED ON SMOKE

There was once a man whose only food was tobacco smoke. Without tobacco smoke he would die. He was so dependent upon tobacco that, when he ran out of it, he filled a gourd with smoke and drank from it.

One day he went to the forest to get Brazil nuts and brought along some tobacco and a gourd full of smoke. He smoked all the tobacco during the journey and began to drink the smoke from the gourd. He drank sparingly, but still he consumed all the smoke when only halfway up the tree. Since he could not live without it, he fell down to the ground dead. However, his body disappeared.

To this day people must plant tobacco only among the burned pieces of wood that lie about in the garden.

TALES OF ANIMALS AND PEOPLE

This last group of legends includes a somewhat varied assortment of stories that concern animals or people or, commonly, the two in interaction. The first story explains that dogs originated from a union between a girl and a dog in human form. Two other stories also deal with the domesticated dog. In tale 37 two dogs burst out of the eyes of a burning demon, and tale 50 tells how the inhabitants of the Land of Dogs took revenge upon a Mundurucú by feeding him bones. 538

Tales 37 to 40 are united by the common theme of hostility between father-in-law and son-in-law, an antagonism that seldom erupts into open quarrels in Mundurucú society. The story entitled "The Origin of the Alligator" tells of a man who eats his son-in-law, but who is finally outwitted by a son-in-law who escapes a series of traps. The structure of the tale bears a strong resemblance to a Tenetehara legend about a vulture father-in-law* and to two Tukuna myths 538 171 606

* Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 130-131.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
5Q13 Mundurucu 5Q13

collected by Nimuendajú.* "The Man Who Married the Guariba Monkey" is in many respects almost identical with a folktale of the same name reported by Roth from the Arawak of British Guiana.* An interesting [illegible] in the Mundurucú version is an incestuous union between the monkey-woman and her son. Tale 29 deals with the monkey father-in-law's attempts to imitate the feats of his nonhuman son-in-law and his consequent death. The story is clearly linked to the Tenetehara "Opossum Takes a Son-in-law."* Another variation of the theme of union between two species is found in tale 40, in which the deer unknowingly marries a jaguar-girl. A similar story is reported from the Tukuna,* both Mundurucú versions include an episode in which the son-in-law must maintain a normal demeanor in the face of the wife's family.

Included in the following collection are four stories about the land tortoise, a notorious prankster in the folklore of the Amazon. Tales about the land tortoise are well represented in collections of Brazilian oral literature, and Charles F. Hartt devoted an entire volume to these stories.*

Three stories concern humans who made love to animals. Although this is a common theme in the region, it is worth while to note that the Mundurucú story of a man's love for a sloth has parallels in Cavina* and Guiana Arawak* folklore. Also, stories of a liason between a woman and a snake are found among both the Mundurucú (tale 49) and the Tenetehara.*

The last two stories in this section are of great interest. Tale 57 is an obvious rendition of the story of Hansel and Gretel, although the actors are spiders, and the wicked witch appears as a Yurupari. It should be noted that the cruel stepmother is missing in the Mundurucú version, as she is in the legend "Babes in the Wood," collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara.* Finally, it is fitting that the last Mundurucú myth (58) to be related should be the one that explains their acceptance of the whites. Although the idea that the Mundurucú once owned the present site of the city of Belém has no basis in truth, it is quite accurate to attribute their involvement with the whites to their desire for manufactured articles. This realism is consistent with the common recognition of the modern Mundurucú that needs are cumulative.

36. ORIGIN OF THE DOG

Dachekuré had arrived at her first menses. She therefore stayed in the house alone when her mother went to the garden and her two brothers set out for the hunt. After they had all left, a young man entered the house. His name was Karupitabi, and he was not a human at all but a dog in human form. However, at that time there were no dogs in the villages of people as there are today.

* Nimuendajú, 1952, pp. 145–146.
* Roth, 1915, p. 71.
* Wagley and Galvão, 1948, pp. 133–134.
* Nimuendajú, 1952, p. 130.
* Hartt, 1872.
* Nordenskiöld, 1924, p. 290.
* Roth, 1915, p. 204. This story is slightly variant in that a woman loves a male sloth.
* Wagley and Galvão, 1948, p. 149.
* Wagley and Galvão, 1948, pp. 183–182.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, although this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, deference, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently relax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And, as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

In the eksá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleeping arrangements. On each side of the men's house and down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

291 Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children-- went altogether naked.

301 609 We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [277]

609 [145] The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night.

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadereri
to the village of Necodemos on the plains.

487 At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadereri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

609 [131] We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road on the bank of a pretty brook. The hut was roofed and enclosed with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty. [342 234]

609

[362] From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, arrows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia venifera); he showed the greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to accompany us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I decided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully.

362 574

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village of Absenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what localities we were to encounter.

342 621 The village of Absenanti was under construction; it comprised but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

[352] We found no one inside the house, but the large number of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to call the occupants of the house.

[609] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mistrustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was very frightened and excited.

342 This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet completely painted. It merely bore the lozenges; that part which consists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youthful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

609 When night came they told me that a few men, women and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home because of our presence.

123 609 In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Absenanti and to convince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention to harm them.

to harm them. We resumed our journey at dawn of the following day, crossing successively woods and stretches of open country.

While crossing one of those woods I came upon one of the most touching scenes of savage life. Near one of those numerous brooks that wind their way everywhere, and that constitute the head-waters of the Caderari, I met a young family. The head was no more than eighteen years old, and his companion was not over fifteen or sixteen, yet she already carried in her arms a child of a few months. They were accompanied by an old Indian woman. The faces and chests of the young couple had not yet been painted with the indelible dyes of the tribe; but the young woman, who had been bathing in the brook, had painted her face with urucu dye, which lent her a childlike attractiveness. This interesting couple, on seeing us pass, showed visible signs of surprise and alarm.

Tired as I was, and anxious to get to the end of the journey, it was not even possible for me to tarry a few minutes and have some friendly words with these poor savages; besides, the interpreter was not present at the time.

I would have liked, at least, to offer them a cloth with [90] which the two children -- mother and baby -- might ward off the burning rays of the sun during their journey across vast stretches of open country; but our men, rebellious like all Maué Indians, carried only what was strictly necessary for our own subsistence.

We have sketched here this touching scene in order to inspire sympathy for the poor savages, weighted down as they are with great misfortunes.

III

I arrive at the village of Necodemos. --
The Mundurucu offer me shelter and good hospitality.

After five days of incessant walking, counting from the spot where we had left our canoe at the headwaters of the Caderari, we finally saw in the distance a column of smoke which rose from the maloca of Necodemos.

202 In the afternoon I nearly lost my way among the trails leading to the village. The Maué Indians who accompanied me, as well as the guide and the interpreter, had forged ahead, leaving me behind with two companions, and had already reached the maloca while I still attempted with difficulty to find my way, guided only by the sound of a horn which I could hear somewhere ahead of me.

It was a Mundurucu Indian from Necodemos, who had generously come to meet me, and who blew on his instrument to guide me.

My satisfaction was great when at nightfall I came upon [192 157] this savage, who was about thirty-five or forty, and who was short, fat, dark and ugly, but so happy and cheerful that he seemed like a child. [81]

I arrived in Necodemos at seven o'clock in the evening.

I was finally realizing one of my fondest wishes, namely, to see a savage tribe in its primitive state, exactly as it must have been before the discovery of Brazil; living according to the laws of nature and lacking all contact with the ideas of other peoples that might serve to alter its beliefs and traditions.

There are thinkers who do not acknowledge biblical tradition and who hold that mankind began its earthly journey in darkness, in the state of nudity and savagery I saw before me, and guided by the light of reason and by Providence climbed to the present state of civilization. This doctrine is more comforting than the one which represents man as fallen from a paradise of light and bliss; fallen, for minor sins that were not his own, into the extreme misery of these unhappy savages.

609 When I arrived, some eighty stout Mundurucu awaited me on the village grounds and received me with a display of open curiosity.

32 To me, the appearance of these men was no less curious, painted as they were with such identical designs that they looked like uniformed soldiers. Dozens of fires which burned on the square lent this picture a sinister quality, casting reflections on the broad, naked, bronze-colored chests.

609 I greeted them, bidding them good evening with one of 57 the few words in their language I had memorized for such purposes: "Chipate." They all answered: "Chipate." One of them addressed

609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
[576] I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
[541] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
[574] in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
[562 342] a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ekçá.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermacetti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhê."

513 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn
534 all through the night in their quarters or ekçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest. It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

or kin, *bari'pnye*. The Xingú Mundurucú are also called by the 101
Tapajós Mundurucú *Tyurari-rinat*, "Tauarirana tribe or clan",
as they make their loin, arm and ankle bands out of tauarirana [287]
bark. The linguistically related Wiaunyen are called *i baarem*,
"hidden"—hidden in the region of the headwaters of the Rio
Mutum.

b. By what names are the Mundurucú known to other tribes? These names differ much. The Mundurucú are called among the Apiacá, their friends, by the name of Pari, or Itāwā't, or Madurukú; among the Bacahiri, Mandurukú; among the Chipaya, Karuriá; among the Juruna, Kaluriá; among the Kuruáya, Karudiat (compare Mundurucuan *Karu-rinat*, Red Arara sib); among the Matanawi; Paici; among the Múra, Patisi; among the To:gapi't, Tcuruvi (?); among the Pareci, Saruma (see infra); among the Torá, Kaubek; among a more distant tribe, Akékakuré. Among the Dyurupéa, a "giant" Indian tribe, the Mundurucú are called Tapéai'n. The Dyurupéa say: "When we come, they cry *tapéai'ñ* and then flee". The reference is here to the tribe which the Apiacá call Urupéá. The Dyurupéa must speak Apiacá. In Apiacá, *tapiai'ñ*, *tapéai'ñ*, means "Indian, stranger". Among the Widadawat, the Mundurucú are called Tupaiyu'n, so the Mundurucú say.

c. How are the Mundurucú called by the "civilized" people? The most common designation is Mundurucú. Nothing certain is known about the origin or meaning of this name, so I shall not go into the matter here. They are also called Caras Pretas, "Black Faces", on account of the dark (not black) tattooing on [304]
their faces. Their third name is Paikise. The word comes from the Lingua Geral, a corrupted Tupi dialect, and means "Father Knife", as the Mundurucú were known as head hunters, although not as cannibals.

In the State of Matto Grosso the Mundurucú were known as Sarumá (see supra). As Von den Steinen noted, they lived there next to the Apiacá, and disturbed all the tribes of the Arinos and Xingú region by their attacks.

d. How do the Mundurucú call outsiders? Every non-Mun- 609
durucú, be he a "Brown-shirt" or be he some one with a pretension to a veneer of culture, is a *pariaut*, a foreigner, to the "headhunters". But of course the Mundurucú living on the

[see errata sheet, Category 116, p. 57A. – Analyst]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

● 609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pnyc* " relatives ", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracereru. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat,[1] the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The " Cearenser " [people of Ceara ?], the Carawat,[1] known as " Messerhelden " have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nye*,[1] the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá[1] fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe-culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [141] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single [231] pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [222] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The 261 wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

742 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[1] [See errata sheet, Category III, p. 5.—A.—Analyst]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

"In olden days the sibs, *rinat*, lived very far apart from one 614
another. They warred among themselves. Then they became 173
brothers.[2] Karusakaibê said, 'No more killing! Let us just be brothers.' 'Now let us be gay. Now everything is all right,' said he."

In this manner through Karusakaibê there arose the Mundurucú confederacy. The brave "Black-faces" have done quite right in giving this noble Indian the honorable title "*Our Father*". As they express it, *Karusakaibê wey ebai*, "Karusakaibê is our father."

Myth of Early Matriarchy and of its Abolition

This tale was received in two versions. I shall here relate the 773
shorter of the two.

"In olden days the women were in possession of the Men's House, *êksa*, while the men lived in the Big House, *êkqa*.

"The men had to do all the work for the women. They had to hunt, fetch firewood, and even provide the mandioca roots and bake the meal. All these things they did. They also carried the water.

"Now, at this time three women—namely, Yanyubêri, the ruler of our people, Taiñbiru and Parawarê—found three *kaduke*. They took these wind instruments in a brook: they caught three little Jeju fishes. They tried the instruments. 'They sound good,' said they. Now they played: they played every day in the forest. Secretly they went there. Then the men became suspicious. 'Where can the women be going all the time?' they said. They hid themselves and kept watch. Then it was that they saw how the women played. Said the men, 'What shall we do?' 'We don't know,' they concluded. Then said the youngest brothers of Yanyubêri, that is Marimarebê and Mariburubê: 'Let us take the *kaduke* away from them. Why, the women folk don't even hunt, whereas we have to take this work upon ourselves alone!' So they spoke, and took the *kaduke* for themselves. They tried them. 'They sound good,' they said. Then they played. 1/A

[2] Wiaⁿnyen of Witûri appeared in October, 1927. From the signs which they left behind them, our Mundurucú concluded that these people who speak a related language wanted to become brothers. [609]

1/A [See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A.--Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

361 [161] At this time[1] there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

619 The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separation of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

609

578 While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

726 Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy, 476 warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participa- 182 tion. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[1] [ie, The middle of the nineteenth century.--Analyst]

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karökö*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them. 578 476 778

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent. 622 619

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject. 726 609 [181]

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but [186] 726 [484 501]

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order 765 for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recog- [616] nizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the [578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, 554 the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses 784 connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was 554 referred to as *Dajeboiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," [609] an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's [825] power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability 224 of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiši

181 non-aggression to an extent compa-
577 rable to the Zuni Indians of Arizona; in this light their culture is Apollonian.

121 The apparent disparity between these two concepts of desirable conduct towards one's fellow man points to a weakness in the configurational approach of Benedict and others. According to their interpretation, ethics are a part of a central theme which pervades all aspects of any one culture and endows it with a total and unique pattern. If major ethical themes are analyzed, on the other hand, as being an integrated and integrative part of the social structure, moral values can be related in a functional and pluralistic way to the total culture. Such a dual system of ethics, when viewed functionally, does nothave to show ideational consistency, for its rationality lies in the structure of the society and, ultimately, of the culture.

186 The major unifying theme of the Mundurucú view of humanity lies in the division which they make, explicitly and verbally, between those who are Mundurucú and those who are not. Only the former are called "people," while the latter are referred to categorically as "outlanders." In times
[609] past, all "outlanders" were considered to be enemies and proper objects of attack.

This is not a racial or genetic concept; the name "outlander" is frequently applied today to many fellow
[177] tribesmen who have adopted white men's ways to such an extent that they no longer operate within the closed circle of Mundurucú society. Further-

[p. 371(A)]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who
466 gives valued objects and who must be given something in
648 return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rationalized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 The client-patron relationship applies also to that be-
609 tween the Mundurucú and all white men of similar pres-
648 tige position. The trader is called *katiwat;* or also *compá,* a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre,* or co-father. The latter title was evidently learned from the white rubber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as godparent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mun-
123 durucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role. Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission, and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of smoked latex, in return for which they wished merchandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were willing to integrate us into the collective village economy and to designate us by kinship terms.

439 Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savan-
648 nahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed
484 intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader generally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals during the rubber-collection season and sporadically during the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

In the sphere of material culture, the planting and use of cotton were introduced 171 after their contact with the whites, and their only water- [248] craft were bark canoes of the type the German ethnologist [501] Karl von den Steinen saw in the upper Xingú.[4] The moiety- phratry-clan system of Mundurucú social organization is [61] considerably more complex than most Tupian societies, and the system of kinship nomenclature is correspondingly divergent. Mundurucú religion follows the broad [171] outlines of supernatural beliefs and rites of the area, but there are significant differences in mythology.

These are only a few points of dissimilarity between the Mundurucú and the other Tupian tribes of the coast and lower Amazon region, but when considered with the linguistic data, they are sufficient to suggest a considerable period of independent development. There are also fundamental points of similarity: subsistence techniques are much akin to those found throughout the tropical-forest region of South America, and the Mundurucú are a village-dwelling people. And in common with other tribes of the area, class stratification is absent, political controls are simple, and the fundamental organization of the society is established along lines of kinship.

Certain characteristics lead me to suspect that the Mun- 174 durucú may have originally dwelled south of their present habitat. Their lack of cotton and the dug-out canoe and the absence of cannibalism and alcoholic beverages suggest that they may have come from the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Also, although they were and are industrious horticulturalists, their supernatural beliefs and ceremonies are only marginally concerned with cultivation; their major emphasis in ritual is on hunting. One other factor suggests a more southerly origin. The traditional Mundurucú villages were situated in the northernmost savannah coun-

[4] Steinen, 1894, pp. 222-223.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more
591 men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, al-
621 though this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, def-
[606] erence, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from
591 the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently re-
593 lax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And,
621 as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

345 In the eksá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleep-
513 ing arrangements. On each side of the men's house and
• 61 down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

greatest protection from the weather. Other men, first of 345
the same clan and then of the same phratry, hang their 513
hammocks adjacent to these older men, but the boys and 61
adolescents are expected to sleep in the less favored forward part of the eksá whatever their lineal affiliations. This is less a violation of clan unity than an affirmation of [561]
the prestige accorded to age in Mundurucú society.

The men's house is the single most important institution 345
in the structuring of male activity. It serves as an informal 512
forum in which plans are discussed and decisions made, and each man interacts with every other man to a greater extent within its precincts than if the village were organized strictly along extended family lines. The men generally take their first meal of the day in the men's house, shortly after dawn, and set out from there in groups for the day's hunt. On their return to the village, they leave their kill with their wives and then go to bathe. They return from the stream to the men's house and there relax in their hammocks until all have returned and the evening repast is ready. Some pass their time while waiting in making baskets, bows, arrows, and other items. When the food is cooked, a younger member of each household goes to the house to bring its contribution to the communal meal. A loud shout goes up to call in the stragglers, and all gather about the pots. The oldest help themselves first, [264]
and second choice is given to the boys. After the evening meal, the occupants of the eksá lie in their hammocks and [521]
converse; most fall asleep soon after night falls.

The emphasis on coöperation between the men tran- 476
scends the practical necessities of Mundurucú ecological 183
adaptation, and it is looked upon as good and valued behavior in itself. No man refuses an invitation to take part in garden breaking, for, not only will he one day expect reciprocity, but to refuse would be to disassociate himself

177 amount, and the native social structure was directly af-
182 fected.

That Mundurucú society was not isolated and was not
121 stable, were advantages to a functional analysis rather
182 than disturbing factors. Through observation of change in a component part of a system, it was possible to examine and determine with some degree of verifiability the ramifications and strength of relationship between the changing part and other parts. Functional links of interdependency did indeed exist, and change had repercussions through at least part of the system. As A. R. Radcliffe-Brown phrased it: "It is a corollary of the hypothesis of the systemic connection of features of social life that changes in some features are likely to produce changes in other features."[1] Thus, the functionalist method, when used in the dimension of history, has led to the study of social causality. It further illustrated that the direction of change was profoundly influenced by the structure of Mundurucú society; in this way the social system acted as a field of plural determinants, and social change derived therefrom its order and regularity.

174 At the time when the tribe erupted so violently into his-
182 tory the Mundurucú were patrilineal and patrilocal and
61 appear to have been undergoing expansion in population and territory. Their social structure was well adapted to such growth, because the equivalence of kin and territorial unit permitted a segmentation process whereby small kin-local groups split off from larger ones. The offspring units, composed of residential nuclei of patrilineally related males and their wives, were miniatures of the parent groups, and they maintained a relation with the parent units through the over-all structure of lineage, subclan,

[1] Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p. 7.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fusion and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the cooperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully cooperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

114 each other. Though I was an outsider, I had at the time been several months
157 with the tribe and this departure from what I expected of a tribesman upset
me considerably. Bibel turned out to be a great problem in other ways. He
cited his own importance as a justification for the demands that he made on me
for gifts. And he bragged continually of his ability to deal with whites, to
lead his followers, to hunt, or to do almost anything in either the realm of
traditional Mundurucu activity or in their relationships with the outside world.
554 He strove desperately and openly towards the acquisition of prestige and of
535 material goods, which he had accepted as indicators of prestige. For this rea-
son our acquisitive hosts were admired greatly, as this would surely differentiate
him from his barefoot Indian fellows—shortly after one of his visits, my wife
discovered that her boots were missing. And we met no other Mundurucu on break-
157 They felt free to enter our house at all times, but only Bibel would demand a
cup of coffee and then lie in our hammocks; he was quite offended when we point-
ed out to him that his body paint was staining them. Bibel had other most
unusual characteristics. He spoke freely and critically of other men to us and
did this even in the presence of third parties. Nor did he bother to conceal
his hostility and contempt when someone intended to his was near. But under-
neath this façade, Bibel was a frightened and anxious man. He would often
159 confide to me darkly that "people are talking about me." Lest this be inter-
preted as paranoia in the clinical sense, I should stress that people were
indeed talking about him, and Bibel had every reason to be anxious. Not only
his ego but his very life was in danger.

III

157 Bibel's behavior grated against almost every single point of Mundurucu
183 expectations regarding how a chief should act and how men, in general, should
behave. Mundurucu society is intensely egalitarian and based upon the prin-
[01] ciple of maintenance of solidarity among a group of males who are considered
to be peers. It has a peculiar structure in that it is divided into patrilin-
[J] eal moieties, which in turn are differentiated into a number of patrilineal
clans. But the normal mode of residence is matrilocal, and men generally move
to the villages of their wives. This disperses the clans throughout all the
villages, for a young man, when he marries, leaves the father from whom he
obtains clan membership. It also produces a dualism of loyalties in which the
man maintains a clan identity and, with it, defined role obligations and also
acquires membership and roles in the village of his wife. This produces a
classic form of organic solidarity, for the society is bound together by cross-
cutting segments. But it is a very simple form of organic solidarity and an
576 extremely brittle one. Social cohesion must be vigorously maintained and
181 individual strivings muted, for alliances in cases of conflict cannot range
along simple segmental lines. To support a fellow-clansman in a crisis may
pit a person against his village mates and vice versa. In a society with a
population of only 1,200, living in communities of 60 to 100 persons, such
stresses are serious threats to social stability in any event; in one of the
Mundurucu type they may be totally disruptive. The social system not only pro-
duces solidarity but requires it for maintenance.[7] Given the structure of
Mundurucu society, the effective social actor was one who was cooperative,
unaggressive, sensed, quiet, and willing to place the will of the collectivity
183 before his own. It may be immediately perceived that Bibel presented a threat
to propriety and to the social system. He was belligerent, loud, self-centered
and acquisitive—all the things that a Mundurucu should not be.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were each such and that Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Mundurucú is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of [619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Mundurucú tribal integration in times past.

• 611 622 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the eldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also, 611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain 756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important in- 768 heritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Mundurucú. A young man in search of a mate

dependence from each other that is not conducive to marital stability. The husband may leave with little difficulty, and frequently does. The wife's lack of mobility makes it more difficult for her to break the marriage on her own initiative, but if the groom incurs the displeasure of the father-in-law, he is often told to leave. The divorced man either returns to his native village or wanders in search of another wife.

That the stability of Mundurucú marriages depends primarily upon the growth of affective bonds between the mates and a common interest in their children gives us a certain insight into the workings of the social system. There has recently been some discussion on the relation of marital stability to mode of descent and types of social unit, as revealed by comparative analysis of some selected African societies.[14] These have shown that marriage tends to be more enduring in patrilineal than in matrilineal groups and that this tendency is even more pronounced when the bride is incorporated into the membership of her husband's kin group. The Mundurucú are interesting just because they do not conform typologically to the African examples. Despite formal patrilineality, marriage is matrilocal and the man is drawn into affiliation with a cohesive unit of related kinswomen. His wife's primary loyalties are to her household; the husband's remain with the relatives of his natal household. The husband initially has no deep commitment to the wife's household and is under no strong influence to remain if he experiences difficulties with his wife or her kin. Thus far, the Mundurucú approximate the Hopi, for example, with the important exception that the latter are matrilineal also. In matrilineal-matrilocal societies of the Hopi type, every man maintains continuing rights and duties within his matrilineage, and these ties

[14] Cf. Gluckman, 1950; Schneider, 1953; Fallers, 1957.

hammocks and the middle is left open. The communal 342
hearth that serves the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms in the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants draw freely from it.

Only females and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwelling house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining 592 594
hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended family leads a most communal existence.

Matrilocality, it has been said, has resulted in highly 592
diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's 591
house. Despite the generational continuity of the females 611
and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them also. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Mundurucú, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and clans of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal status. This conflict does not prevent the women from 611
placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their 591
co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, named matrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes is reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de-

591 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineal-
611 ity, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Mundurucú have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the
591 recent past, mainly because of the present reduced pop-
178 ulation of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

Although the Mundurucú extended family is much
5% smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way
592 to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the
[422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to
[224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the forme because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documened. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[2] He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant cooperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[2] Murdock, 1949, pp. 218-218.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

structure of authority must have followed closely along lines of patrilineal kinship in patrilocal times. Under the new conditions, the man was not only assigned to permanent proximity to the father-in-law and his house, but was left with no unit in which he could exercise a political role. The Hopi man, for example, may move to his wife's household upon marriage, but he rarely moves out of the village; and he maintains an important position in his own lineage. But, on the other hand, the rule of matrilocality in a patrilineal society leaves a man without a lineage in which he may hold membership or play a political role. That the man had no important rights and duties in his natal household undoubtedly contributed to the persistence of intervillage marriages despite his consequent departure for a new locality. But this raised other problems, for life in a new village placed the man under different leadership and away from a solidary group of kinsmen. The situation was partly resolved by allowing the men to continue residence in the men's house beyond the normal period of bride service. Thus, young married men remained independent of the households of their wives during the early years of marriage and became more fully integrated into them after they had been married for several years. By this time, age and seniority allowed them to become significant figures in the extended family; they were no longer potentially at the mercy of the father-in-law. Matrilocality did not bring the man into another patrilineage under the new circumstances, because the father-in-law was also an outsider. The man's ultimate increased participation in the life of the household was correspondingly eased.

That Mundurucú society gave all members free access to natural resources and had a preëxistent men's-house organization are important to an understanding of the change in residence rules. The two factors were struc-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence may well have caused the Mundurucú to adapt to increased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Mundurucú certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.[8] Mundurucú "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs; and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied cooperating, interacting groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior.

The impact of the change was felt throughout the social structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors became a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with these supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

[8] It has been suggested that I use the term duolocality to describe Mundurucú residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society

ROBERT F. MURPHY
University of California, Berkeley

121 114 UNILINEAL descent and unilocal residence, by definition, follow one of but two possible lines, the male or the female. Simple arithmetic would therefore dictate that there are four possible combinations of common descent and residence. Only three of the combinations, however, are found to have any frequent and reliable occurrence. Kroeber (1952:213) noted the single lapse in the following observation:

> "Logically the possibility arises of a fourth plan of society: matrilocal but patrilineal . . . I do not know of such a society, and should expect its occurrence to be rare."

This combination is certainly unusual, and ethnographic literature yields practically no descriptions of its unequivocal occurrence. In most cases, the unilocality or unilineality of the group is questionable. For example, Loeb and Broek (1947:418) claim the Karen people of Burma to have patrilineal clans and matrilocal residence. However, the sources which they cite in support of this contention (Marshall 1922; Heine-Geldern 1923) do not warrant such positive affirmations as to the rule of descent. This conclusion with regard to the Karen is verified by Murdock (1954). Residence rules are likewise subject to misinterpretation, for in many cultures matrilocality is frequently a temporary state followed by permanent patrilocality.

591 613 [131] In 1952 the writer discovered the co-existence of matrilocality and patrilineality among the Mundurucú Indians of the upper Tapajós River in central Brazil.[1] Existing information on the Mundurucú had led me to believe, before field research, that the group was patrilocal. Subsequent field investigation proved the contrary to be true, and gives us one of our few authenticated accounts of a patrilineal group in which postmarital residence is permanently matrilocal.

121 The purpose of this paper is to present the pertinent data for the use of students of social organization, to describe how such a system functions, and to discuss its significance in terms of the evolution of social structure. Consideration of the latter problem will be reserved until the conclusions of this paper, for much of the discussion will hinge upon what seems incongruous, nonfunctional, or dysfunctional in Mundurucú society. This material, when analyzed [178] with reference to the limited amount of historical data available, suggests strongly that the Mundurucú shifted from patrilocality to matrilocality in the first half of the nineteenth century. The bearing of such a change upon Murdock's observations (1949:190) on the difficulty of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent becomes immediately apparent when it is considered that much of Murdock's position depends upon his persuasive argument that a patrilineal society can change from patrilocality to matrilocality only with great difficulty. It would seem that this shift in residence patterns is possible under certain conditions which will be analyzed functionally among the Mundurucú. Matrilocality, following Murdock's use of residence as a determinant

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children.

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below, the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *pabi* or *ši-ši* and are embodied (verkörpert) in the large *kadake*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kadake* are blown at the men's festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *sakabi*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the *kadake* from above, is caught in a cuia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the "Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by Karusakaibé,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karuriuat*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibé is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become members of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i barip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly had *ñipe nuhur*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. — Analyst]

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

such hut stood until recently upon the Ikuribi, a plain not far from our Cururu mission.

I shall now give the names of the moieties and of the respective sibs under each moiety:

A. Moiety of the Whites, *i ririyu'nye*

1. *Ari* tree (m). 2. Cotton bush (m). 3. *Datye* sparrow hawk. 4. Sloth. 5. Fish otter. 6. *Ikã* sparrow hawk. 7. *Ikupi* wasp. 8. Jabuti [Land tortoise]. 9. Japim [?]. 10. Toad. 11. Macaco de cheiro [Chrysothrix ?]. 12. Macaco prego [Cebus fatuellus]. 13. Piaba [a fish]. 14. Seringueira-Itauba (m) [rubber tree]. 15. Spider. 16. Swamp deer (Sumpfhirsch). 17. Taperibaneiro (m) [genus Spondias ?]. 18. Wild cat (Wildkatze). 19. *Yatu* tree (m).

B. Moiety of the Reds, *i pappi'ka'nye*

20. Corica [a bird ?]. 21. Cutia [aguti, Dasyprocta]. 22. Jacu [guan, Penelope]. 23. Japu [Cassicus, Ostinops or Xanthornus]. 24. *Kahahahu* bird. 25. *Kapak* (Red Jurini ? *Ir'ere-matyu pakpak-riuat* ?]. 26. Mãe da lua [a nocturnal bird]. 27. Mutum [curassow, Crax]. 28. Roe-deer (Reh). 29. Red Arara [red macaw]. 30. Saúba [an ant, Oecodoma cephalotes]. 31. Black Arara [black macaw]. 32. *Uyu* wasp. 33. *Ir'eru* tree (m). 34. Cricket (Zirpe).[2]

TRADITIONAL ORIGIN OF THE SIB SYSTEM

The sibs are supposed originally to have been independent tribes. "Os *riuat* foram primeiro nações," was told me without my inquiring into this fact. The tribes had been at war with one another. Then came Karusakaibe and united them into one large nation, the Mundurucú confederacy. This great Indian event is supposed to have taken place where the Tapajós Mundurucú now live.

"Who told you this?" I asked my informant, a man who was in his best years. "An old man of the plain told me that," was the answer. In order to be more certain, I had the story repeated later in Mundurucú. This is the translation:

[2] The identifications, given in angular brackets in these two paragraphs, have been added by the editor,—in some cases tentatively only,—from more readily available sources in ZE, JSAP, etc.—Ed.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A -- Analysis

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

"In olden days the sibs, *rinur*, lived very far apart from one another. They warred among themselves. Then they became brothers.[1] Karusakaibé said, 'No more killing! Let us just be brothers.' 'Now let us be gay. Now everything is all right,' said he."

In this manner through Karusakaibé there arose the Mundurucú confederacy. The brave "Black-faces" have done quite right in giving this noble Indian the honorable title "*Our Father*". As they express it, *Karusakaibé tuey ebai*, "Karusakaibé is our father."

Myth of Early Matriarchy and of its Abolition

This tale was received in two versions. I shall here relate the shorter of the two.

"In olden days the women were in possession of the Men's House, *Ikur*, while the men lived in the Big House, *Ihipa*.

"The men had to do all the work for the women. They had to hunt, fetch firewood, and even provide the manihoca roots and bake the meal. All these things they did. They also carried the water.

"Now, at this time three women—namely, Yanyuhéri, the ruler of our people, Taibhiru and Paraware—found three *kadahe*. They took these wind instruments in a brook; they caught three little Jeju fishes. They tried the instruments. 'They sound good,' said they. Now they played; they played every day in the forest. Secretly they went there. Then the men became suspicious. 'Where can the women be going all the time?' they said. They hid themselves and kept watch. Then it was that they saw how the women played. Said the men, 'What shall we do?' 'We don't know,' they concluded. Then said the youngest brothers of Yanyuhéri, that is Marimarebé and Mariburubé: 'Let us take the *kadahe* away from them. Why, the women folk don't even hunt, whereas we have to take this work upon ourselves alone!' So they spoke, and took the *kadahe* for themselves. They tried them. 'They sound good,' they said. Then they played.[1]

[1] Wiatuyen of Winari appeared in October, 1927. From the signs which they left behind them, our Mundurucú concluded that these people who speak a related language wanted to become brothers.

[1] [See errata sheet, category 16, p. 57-A.—Analyst]

304 Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also [302] used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

302 **Hairdress.**—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

283 **Baskets, ropes, and netting.**—Baskets are woven of creepers, straw, 285 and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in [286] knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of murití palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

323 **Ceramics.**—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

411 **Weapons.**—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Kotzer (1901) has published illustrations of a [172] number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone [324] objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

439 Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

614 According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajós River *Mundurucú* have a 616 patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals.[1] Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kadaké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related" but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [522]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1889) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads.[2] The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting. 726 742 [482]

[2] [Martius (Source No. 2) says this occurred sometimes in peace time -- ANALYSE]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Munduruce SQ13

796 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
635 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
224 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

796 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Steinen
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants.
786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the ab ancestors the sacred
796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the ab ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[976] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakibi, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Steinen's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakat, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
[578] When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kibi (Caro-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakibe (Kruse, 1934);

T26 tiver.[11] By drawing their warriors from a number of villages, the Mundurucú were able to leave enough men in each village to support those women, children, and old people who were not able to leave. They were also able to amass a greater number of warriors, especially when it was necessary to face the Portuguese colonial troops that were sent against them in the late 19th century.

Such efforts called for a series of social linkages between villages. This was provided by the social organization which crosscut the society in two ways; by bonds of matri-locality and by the system of alba and aniatiba. This meant that those men of the village who came from other villages through marriage were linked to those villages by birth and by the residence there of the mother's family. Such linkages formed a chain whereby all villages ultimately were bound to one another by interpersonal ties. The bonds tying each individual to the rest of the society were further tightened by the patrilineal alb system. In most Mundurucú villages, a person could find other members of his alb. To these people he had especially close ties and obligations, but he also considered all the members of his exogamic moiety to be relatives. Ultimately, but to a diminished degree, Mundurucú of the other moiety were felt to be related and were called by alb terms. The people themselves say, "We are all kin, one of another."

11. This was reported to the writer verbally by Dr. Darcy Ribeiro, Chief of the Section of Tribes, Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Dr. Ribeiro has conducted extensive ethnographic research among the Tribes and heard of these attacks from his informants. This confirms Martins' report of the same event (Martins, 1867, p. 334).

the same residence or village. There is no evidence that polygyny was certainly earned nor did the sororate and levirate have significant occurrences. Some of these traits, so common in many primitive societies, was felt to be obligatory or even especially desirable.

Adultery was common and a frequent source of strife in the village. The men regarded their own adulterous escapades as highly diverting, harmless adventures. However, they did not take an lenient view towards those of their wives. A husband whose wife was unfaithful usually beat her and verbally harangued her. No physical action was taken against the offending male, although an argument might ensue. Then the wife became so uncooperative that she lowered her husband in the eyes of the community, he left her. The woman whose husband was unfaithful had little recourse except to fight with him and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing yourself." If the husband's behavior became outrageous to the wife's family he might be invited to leave. The problems of sex caused few open ruptures in the Mundurucú village, but they were always a source of ill feeling.

The kinship system

The Mundurucú social organization is rather complex for a Tupian group. They had thirty eight sibs divided into red and white moieties. The red moiety had sixteen sibs while the white had twenty-two. Of these thirty eight, eight are already extinct and my informants indicated that there were several more old sibs that they could no longer remember.

The existence of the sib system was first reported by Mme. Agassis in 1868[16] and was more thoroughly described by Fr. Alberto Kruse, O.F.M. in 1934.[17] The latter reported only thirty four sibs, but this is understandable by the fact that no one Mundurucú can remember more than twenty five to thirty. In addition, these sibs were grouped by now obscure linkages into unnamed phratries. For the purposes of this paper, it will be unnecessary to give a list of the sibs and their affiliations. Sib and moiety membership was inherited in the patrilineal line. The exogamic moieties were the ultimate marriage regulators as they subsumed the sibs in this function. There were no other exogamous groupings.

Totemic features were generally lacking in the Mundurucú sibs. Each sib was named for an animal, plant, or fish but there were no taboos on the killing or eating of the fish or animals. However, they were vaguely considered to be ancestors, or "the old people," a term that is also applied to the people of the mythological age. Kruse reports the myth that the various sibs in ancient times were warring tribes that were united to form the Mundurucú tribe and were given names and ancestors by the culture hero, Karusakaibê.[18] My informants could not confirm this myth but said merely that the Mundurucú were already existent and that Karusakaibe divided them into sibs and assigned ancestors to each one. The Mundurucú term for these sibs is dieat (literally,

16. Agassis, 1868, p. xxv.

17. Kruse, 1954.

18. Ibid., pp. 81-82.

"dwellers of the river"). The Aru (parrot) sib is referred to as arudiwat, or "people of the river of the parrot." There was no legend of a genealogical descendancy, but each sib recognized its eponymous object as their particular "old person." In addition, many sibs had other "old people" who were linked with the sib through those sacred trumpets belonging to it. These ancestors were spoken of as "companions of the trumpets." Sibs whose trumpets had one or more of the same companions were considered to be more closely allied to each other than to the other sibs of that moiety. This linkage was so close in some cases that the members of one were considered the members of the other. During my residence in Cabruá a young Mundurucú man of that village used the sib names of both Karu and Kabe because they were linked. Another case in Cabruá was that of a father who had so many sons that he assigned the last two to another sib in his phratry that had suffered from a decline in membership.

All of the external manifestations of the sibs were to be found in the men's house. It has already been mentioned that there were three horizontal poles supporting two rows of hammocks in the men's house. This division was not arbitrary for in the north row of hammocks slept the men of the white moiety and on the south row, those of the red moiety. Also, within this moiety division, each man slept adjacent to his fellow sib members and then fellow phratry members. On the upright posts of the red moietie's side were painted the crests of the red sibs and on the other side of the men's house, those of the white. These crests,

614 simple geometric and slightly curvilinear designs, were
344 painted there by members of the sib depicted, at the time of the erection of the men's house.

614 The sacred trumpets, called <u>parikē</u>, embodied the
534 souls of the "old people" of the sib owning them and also had their own proper souls. These spirits exerted a benevolent influence over the village, but had to be offered food and periodically played in order to maintain this protection. Each village had a set of these trumpets and each one was the property of a certain sib. No special supernatural benefits accrued to the sib owning the trumpets. They were the property of a certain sib only because they took the sib membership of the man who made them. The important thing was that they contained the spirits of "old people" and not that they embodied the ancestors of any particular sib.

614 The sibs had no particular functions in the sense of duties or privileges. They served mainly to integrate the society by firm and formalized intervillage kinship bonds. They integrated the whole tribe, but were expressed by outward symbols in the village men's house. The above mentioned arrangement of hammocks in the men's house indicates that sib and moiety membership served to integrate men from various villages. In marriage regulation, the clans were superceded by the moieties. The moieties also buried each other's dead and had certain reciprocal ceremonial duties.

622 <u>Political organization</u>

Each Mundurucú village had an hereditary chief of limited power. In addition, each house had a recognized

served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were repaired as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilinearity and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were "owned" only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into lesser, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *sabi*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[3] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *sabi* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibi, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1956) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *dewat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *dewat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudewat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ferred indirectly, for an Aru clan member is really a descendant of the dwellers of the river of the parrot. In short, the word for clan is suggestive of the origin of the clan as a local group.

Each Mundurucú village harbored a sacred trumpet which was kept in the men's house, guarded from the eyes of the women. These trumpets were the functional equivalent of the more widely distributed bullroarer. The trumpets were owned by clans, and within them resided the *tabi* (old person) of the clan and another class of spirits called the *che karihi ejewit*, or "companions of the trumpet." The latter also served as clan spirits, secondary to the *tabi* proper of the clan. The "companions of the trumpets" were similarly named after plants, birds, and animals but, unlike the *tabi*, never bore the same name as the clan. Nearly all of the clans had more than one spirit "companion" and in many cases the same "companion" was shared by two or more clans. Where such overlapping existed, the clans owning the trumpets having common "companions" were considered to have a very close relationship, and they either shared a trumpet or their respective trumpets were considered to be one and the same. In anthropological terms, they were of the same phratry. However, not all clans in the same phratry were equally close. For example, let us suppose that there is a phratry of three clans called A, B, and C. Clan A has spirit "companion" x, B has "companions" x and y, and clan C has "companion" y. Clans A and C have no common "companion" but are linked through clan B with which they share "companions." The closeness of both clans A and C to clan B is such that members of clan A or C can bestow the same B upon their young, and vice-versa. However, clans A and C cannot exchange clan names, although they recognize a common bond.

It might be hypothesized that clans A and C have the same spirit "companion of the trumpet" as clan B because they are offspring of the latter. This hypothesis is reinforced by the existence of four clans having subclans. The subclans have the same name as the main clan but the latter is spoken of as the "real" one, while the members of the subclan are referred to as *kobawat*, which can be freely translated as "dwellers of the same place." An interesting facet of this clan and subclan relationship is that the name of the subclan and its trumpet spirits are, in three of the four cases, diminutives of those of the clan. For example, the Kirishi clan (large *itauba* tree) has a subclan named Kirishiaran (a small species of *itauba* tree). The "companion of the trumpets" of both clan and subclan is the fox, but that of the clan is the large fox and that of the subclan is the small fox. The above factors and the especially close feeling between members of the two groups point to the subclan as an offshoot of the clan. In time, the subclan could probably achieve complete independence merely by assuming a new name, but a phratric relationship would continue through the common trumpet "companion."

The clan had no residential basis in the nineteenth century, and little manifest function aside from a limited number of ceremonial duties. The only external symbols of clanship were geometric designs, which were painted on the posts of the men's house by the clan members in residence, and the clan name,

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

which was prefixed to each member's given name. However, the clans operated as a powerful force in tribal integration and were of utmost importance in the structuring of interpersonal relationships.

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

The list of kinship terms used by the Mundurucú male presented below should suggest to the reader some very pertinent hypotheses about Mundurucú social organization.

Vocative		*Referential*	
adjut	father's father; mother's father	adjut djut	father's father; mother's father
awah	father's mother	awah wah	father's mother
adjung	mother's mother; father's sister	adjung djung	mother's mother; father's sister
bai	father; father's brother	we bai, bai bai	father
ai ĩ	mother; mother's sister	bai bai	father's brother
vanyĩ	mother's brother; father-in-law; older brother; older cross and parallel male cousins	a shi, ai ĩ	mother
o kot	sister's son; son-in-law; younger brother; younger cross and parallel cousins	ai ĩ	mother's sister
da ĩ	sister; cross and parallel female cousins, daughter; brother's and sister's daughter; son's and daughter's daughter	o djoris	mother's brother; father's sister's son
a sum	brother-in-law (of same age); age mate of opposite moiety	vanyĩ yĩ	older brother; older mother's sister's son; older father's brother's son
bekit, mipo	son, brother's son	o kit pit, o kit kit	younger brother; younger mother's sister's son; younger father's brother's son
tapo	daughter's and son's son	we shit	sister; father's brother's and mother's sister's daughters
		da ĩ ĩ	father's sister's daughter
		we shi	mother's brother's son and daughter; sister's son and daughter
		o pit	son; brother's son
		o ta shit	daughter; brother's daughter
		mahenyehit	grandchildren (all categories)

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men, did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[6]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely ceremonial nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Wawu* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:743) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal premises. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:324–25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs.

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

174 adjustment of the male to a new village was and is not difficult. He was not
591 intergrated into a new household but into a men's house in which he would find fellow clan and moiety members from his own and other villages.

174 Matrilocality, once achieved, sets the residential basis for matrilineality.
● 619 Murdock (*Ibid*:218) admits the possibility of change from patrilineality to matrilineality only with an intervening stage of bilaterality, but then says (*Ibid*:212) that such a stage is also "probable" in the transition from matrilineality to patrilineality. It seems obvious that all aspects of descent will not reverse at once. Thus, if the pressures that produced matrilocality eventuated in matrilineality, it would be academic to debate whether or not it was a "direct transition," despite an intervening period of bilaterality. The question would merely be which mode of change can be accomplished most rapidly and with least stress. I have previously pointed to the ownership of the child by the wife's family and the taboo on avuncular marriage as matrilineal features in Mundurucú society which probably evolved shortly after the change to matrilocality. Whether or not the Mundurucú would have become matrilineal but for the inroads of the rubber trade, I leave as an open question. It is clear that matrilineal influences from other groups might easily have caused such a change, and it is also apparent that the patrilineal clans underwent a change and no doubt a diminution of function due to loss of their local nuclei. By the same token, patrilineality as a mode of reckoning kinship was weakened by loss of its residential basis.

621 If the Mundurucú were indeed transitional, the very rarity of the case
174 argues in favor of Murdock's hypothesis, especially since he "makes no assumptions about ultimate origins or overall priorities among the several types of social structure" (*Ibid*:219). If, however, assumptions of priorities are taken into consideration, the Mundurucú fit into a developmental framework which can be traced in terms of more closely deducible priorities of cultural evolution. This continuum would range from the patrilineal hunting band (Steward 1936) through the emergence of the localized clan from such bands (Goldschmidt 1948; Steward 1937), to, perhaps, the nonlocalized patrilineal clan (Tylor 1881). Although there is no proof that the Mundurucú went through the latter stage, it may have occurred as a consequence of population increase due to early horticulture. With intensified horticulture, as among the Mundurucú, matrilocal pressures and eventual matrilineality would result. This evolutionary scheme is a model and not an invariant sequence, for local historical and ecological situations influence particular culture centuries, as is evidenced by Mundurucú history. The latter variables operate as codeterminants with the factors introduced by the evolution of technology and economy to produce sequences which are multilinear in nature. The very pluralism of the basic process renders any over-all generalizations on the evolution of social structure statements of probability. The Mundurucú example by itself cannot show what is probable, but it does indicate the possible. A change from patrilocality to matrilocality probably occurred in this typical patrilineal, patrilocal society, and a further transition to the matrilineal was therefore possible. More field work, especially in South America, and re-examination of the existing sources with this hypothesis in mind might well uncover additional examples.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The *nambat ñ* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Mundurukú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurukú informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *nambat ñ*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Kanimã Spirits

The *karihi* is that of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurukú village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karihi* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. There are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*dirashik*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of "the *tabi*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karihi ipawet*). All three categories of spirit, when properly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure of clan and paratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,* but a brief recapitulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals in contemporary Mundurukú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurukú at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karihi* of certain villages were also the *karihi* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

* Murphy, 1958.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

passion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534 776 778 174 614

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *dawabik*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *dawabik*; one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *aibi* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *dawabik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated at the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 774

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karóbi*, go to Karóbikai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests teem with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who know the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upitchawi, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

4

kinship and marriage

One of the major points of discontinuity between the Mundurucú and other Tupian-speaking peoples lies in the realm of social organization. The existence of exogamic unilineal descent groups was first reported by Mrs. Louis Agassiz, who visited the Mundurucú of the lower Madeira waters in 1865 and wrote: "The tribe is divided into certain orders or classes. . . . Marriage is forbidden . . . between members of the same order."[1] Farabee, who traveled on the Tapajós in 1915, confused the picture somewhat in his report that the Mundurucú were divided into two classes of "war chiefs" and "peace chiefs" that intermarried.[2] The actual situation was clarified in a paper written by Albert Kruse, O.F.M.,[3] one of the priests of the Cururu

[1] Agassiz, 1868, p. 320.
[2] Farabee, 1917, p. 137.
[3] Kruse, 1954.

mission, who described a rather complex system of 34 patrilineal clans, some of which were linked in unnamed phratries, and which were parceled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamic moieties. This report is substantially correct, but for the minor fact that Mundurucú informants can list 38 clans, and the actual number, before depopulation set in, must have been well above 40. Actually, only 30 clans are currently extant.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

Although the clans are formally exogamic, their marriage-regulatory functions are superseded by the more inclusive moiety system. The moieties, called "Red" and "White" by the Mundurucú, comprehend 16 and 22 clans. In addition to their marriage-regulatory functions, the moieties partake of the characteristics of reciprocity, rivalry, and antithesis, which, as Lowie notes, are commonly found in moiety systems.* During many ceremonies and on all festive occasions intersexual joking between members of opposite moieties is acceptable and expected; and in the course of everyday village life, one may act with much greater levity toward a person of the complementary group. While the joking aspect of moiety relations may indicate behavior appropriate to prospective sexual partners, latent affinal antagonism is manifest in their reciprocal duties and rights. Every clan in each moiety is designated as the *shomatim* of certain clans of the opposite. This mutual relationship entails the duty to bury each others' dead. The Mundurucú look upon this not only as an obligation, but as a right and a privilege, or, as they sometimes phrase it, a mode of revenge. This is not merely symbolic phraseology. During the period when raiding still occurred, it was considered necessary that every dead

* Lowie, 1948, p. 242.

warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in 616
his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. 727
A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during cere- 616
monies. The members of the *Bisiti aupen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack 614 •
most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any 778
special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö*; this term [776]
is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief 614
in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in 773
no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Mundurucú. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaibó divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This belief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to which the Mundurucú were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaibó through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[5] The latter account and the previously mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *dituat*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*di* = river, *uat* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Paruwudituat* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the Mundurucú are—and this is important—predominantly matrilocal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brides; fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patrilocality, and we are here presented with the possibility that the Mundurucú underwent a basic change in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than the conjecture raised by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued in the following discussion of the ritual prerogatives of clanship.

Each savannah village has a men's house, which is the dormitory and club house for all post-pubescent males.

[5] Kruse, 1956, pp. 56-57.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karókó*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tubó) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karókó ejewét*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tubó resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Wará* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Iki* and *Ikapawa* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nucleí of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Wará*, *Iki*, or *Ikapawa* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Mundurucú who might happen to be in

614 534 778 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to be placated by playing the instruments and presenting them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karökö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 [591] Clan ownership of the karökö and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Witum*, *Wakö*, and *Karö* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *warówop*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as ucheim, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karö* subclan, *Kabö*, *Arö*, *Yurö*, and *Iki* clans of the Red moiety. *Yurö* and *Iki* are linked by common recognition of *apat*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karö* subclan and *Arö* are affiliated through common recognition of the yurikpikpikpika, a bird; *Kabö* and *Arö* are affiliated through

614 615 776

kwati, a tree; and *Arú* and *Turi* find a bond in *ikbsip*, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the Sau clan may bestow the name *Muri* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kirihi* clan of the White moiety and the *Waró*, *Sau*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kaisawat*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan hail is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

614 then it may be surmised that Mundurucú clans have undergone a basic process of segmentation. That such a
174 process continued into recent centuries is indicated by the
615 incomplete differentiation of these four clans. If it can be supposed that the four subclans would in time become increasingly independent of the parent group and would eventually assume their own names and tabú while maintaining a more nebulous bond through the common "companion" spirits, the end result would be a phratric alliance. There is no definitive proof for this hypothesis, but such a process is the only unitary explanation of the phenomena of phratries and subclans. The data given by informants on the relation between clans, phratries, and the spirit "companions of the trumpets" are irregular. Certain clans that should logically be linked by common spirits were said by informants to be unaffiliated; others were placed within the same phratry where no grounds for such linkage exist. This unevenness is reminiscent of the problems encountered by students of Pueblo clan and phratry organization. Depopulation and the weakening of broader kin groupings have obscured the intricacies of the system, making reconstruction most difficult. But the Mundurucú data do show a pronounced tendency toward consistency between phratric affiliation and shared "companion" spirits.

The creation of new clans by the internal segmentation
121 of old ones has numerous parallels in other societies. Pat-
591 rilineal clans frequently segment under conditions of an
614 expanding population, which causes lineages to break off
174 and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. The offshoot group in time becomes differentiated from the parent unit and may establish itself as a new clan, although maintaining some symbolic representation of its former connection. Such a budding proc-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[8] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[9]

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[8] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214-215.
[9] Smith, 1903, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 208.
[9] Steward, 1938, pp. 343-344.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 382.
[12] Ibid., p. 383.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

174 591 614 tain, but it probably took place during the mid-nineteenth century. Matrilocality was the only mode of residence that even the oldest Mundurucú could remember, and they had no traditional memory of previous patrilocality. Also, Tocantins reported that, in 1875, quarrels between men were resolved by the departure of one of the parties from the village,[13] suggesting the absence of a local lineage and the high male mobility characteristic of Mundurucú matrilocality.

174 439 178 591 614 The reasons for the shift in post-marital residence rule are far less certain, and no final conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of available data. Certain known changes in productive relations, however, yield inference to the possible processes at work. It will be remembered that before their deep involvement in rubber production, the Mundurucú traded extensively in farinha, or manioc flour. This must have caused a substantial increase in the amount of land under cultivation and a great expansion of production of bitter manioc.[14] The roles of the male and female did not undergo any important shift. Men cleared the forest land for gardens, as they do today, and the women cared for the crops, harvested them, and manufactured the farinha. Women thus became of greater economic importance, because of the increase in gross amount

[13] Tocantins, 1877, p. 111.

[14] The extent of this early trade in manioc flour may be inferred from Martius's account (1867, p. 365 n.): "This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the settlements on the Tapajós prepare 6000 pecks [3.12 litres each] of manioc flour annually, those of the Maubé 1500 and those of the Cuxumá 800, which for the most part is exported to Santarem and neighboring locales. They readily give abundantly therefrom to the priests as a gift. In the year 1819 the Mundrucús of the Cuxumá collected and brought to market 900 *arrobas* [32 pounds each] of cinnamon clove and an equal amount of sarsaparilla. Through such a disposition to homely diligence, the speedy settlement of all the Mundrucús among the whites is to be expected."

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of work performed and the added importance of the co- 174
operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This 178
process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks 591
and a degree of organization among the women of a house- 439
hold. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of 614
the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[15]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú 105
clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of 174
the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized 614
that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Val- 105
ley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the 174
whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured 562
articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female 614

[15] Eggan (1950, p. 131) states that the Hopi remained matrilocal despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two cases support each other.

105 labor, in general, and the female work organization, in
174 particular, that extended families increasingly sought to
562 keep their daughters, even at the price of relinquishing the
614 sons. The result was a shift, probably gradual, to a matrilocal mode of residence.

This shift modified the nature of Mundurucú society,
105 and its further consequences will be developed in the
174 course of this chapter. The most immediate and obvious
614 change, however, was the destruction of the residential basis of clanship through the dispersal upon marriage of the men, who are the transmitters of membership. This can be illustrated by the census of one village, which shows that eleven clans are represented among nineteen men. In a matrilocal and matrilineal system, men are also dispersed, but since descent is through females a co-resident lineage having a core of clanswomen can be maintained. This is not possible among the Mundurucú, for the patrilineal descent system places a daughter in a different clan and the opposite moiety from those of her mother. Thus, although the women are nucleated into clusters of blood relatives, the clan membership of these units is also eclectic.

The result of this fragmentation has been the severe
614 weakening of the clan as a functional social entity with corporate prerogatives. In the hypothesized localized form, the clan was a co-resident unit having important economic and political characteristics. Its members were in everyday interaction with each other, and bonds of clanship were continuously manifested and exercised. Moreover, the clan, through its possession of sacred musical instruments, had ritual significance that is perpetuated into the present only as empty form. Other than the continued nominal ownership of the trumpets, clans, as social entities, have few prerogatives. They bury the dead of certain clans of

the opposite moiety within the framework of the iboiwati- 614
tit relationship, and the clan crests, consisting of geomet- [531]
ric designs, of the inhabitants of each men's house are
painted on the upright posts of the structure. Fellow clans-
men sleep in adjacent hammocks in the men's house and
are adjoined by members of the same phratry, if any reside
in the village.

Beyond these few remaining manifestations of clanship 551
there remains only its expression in interpersonal behavior. 614
The clan affiliation of every Mundurucú is known to every
other through the naming system. The name of each Mun-
durucú consists of his clan name with a given name suf-
fixed. Boys are given the name of their great-grandfather
in the direct paternal line. If there are several brothers,
some are assigned the names of the great-grandfather's
brothers, both real and classificatory. Girls are given the
names of the father's mother's mother. Thus, given names
are transmitted in certain clans, or, at least, within the
moiety. The possession of a name is one criterion of mem-
bership in Mundurucú society. The product of a union be-
tween a white man and a Mundurucú woman is for this
reason, more than for his mixed ancestry, looked upon as
marginal to the society. Similarly, illegitimacy, while [848]
looked upon as a misfortune, does not socially disable the
child as long as the father is known. If, on the other hand,
the mother does not know who the child's father is, it can
receive no name. Such children are not mistreated, but
they are generally called by the derogatory nickname, *fun*
(excrement).

Clanship thus continues to bestow a social identity on 614
its members and to establish their inclusion as "people,"
or Mundurucú. In this sense, it is an important mechanism
in the maintenance of social boundaries between the Mun-
durucú and their Brazilian neighbors. Fellow clansmen are

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Mundurucú is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of [619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Mundurucú tribal integration in times past.

611 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary 622 significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the oldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also, 611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain 756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important in- 768 heritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Mundurucú. A young man in search of a mate

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attentuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship in the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives.

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the tribesmen are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to cooperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group of intensively interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the membership of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure.

The most important force in the process of stripping the

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence may well have caused the Mundurucú to adapt to increased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Mundurucú certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.[8] Mundurucú "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs; and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied cooperating, interacting groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior.

The impact of the change was felt throughout the social structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors became a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with these supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

[8] It has been suggested that I use the term *duolocality* to describe Mundurucú residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.

feather pendants that were suspended from either ear, the attachment of which was the central purpose of the *Jogumbowtapium*. Feathers from five species of birds were used in the ornamentation, and each type of feather could be attached only by the *Kwili*, *Akai*, *Chongoi*, and *Paruwé* clans, and those of the martin by the *Widow* clan. The *Kawi* clan and subclan, the *Sun* subclan, and the *Wari* clan and subclan used the feathers of the red macaw; the *Kaiá* clan attached parrot feathers; and the *Bawie* clan contributed those of the gavião tawaki. Those clans sharing the same feathers were always linked within the same phratry, and the appropriate bird species was usually an eponymous clan spirit of at least one of the groups.

The feather pendants could be no longer than the hair on the trophy head. For this reason, long-haired victims were especially prized and a woman's head was highly valued, although it was thought more valorous to kill an enemy warrior.

The ownership of these ornaments was not the only duty of the taker of the trophy head. The social and religious role of the *Dajebolé* had certain nonceremonial aspects that were, nonetheless, part of the larger ritual complex of warfare and head-hunting. Upon his return to the home village, the successful warrior assumed an enhanced status that endowed his person with an almost sacred aura and isolated him from normal relations with his fellow Mundurucú. Sexuality was considered especially dangerous both to the *Dajebolé* and to his wife. They were enjoined against indulging in sexual intercourse with each other or with anyone else throughout the ceremonial period. The *Dajebolé* could lose his power and fall into the previously discussed state of bad luck merely by looking at a pepé, or waiting woman, and for this reason he always bathed very early to avoid meeting one on the path to the stream. Moreover, he was expected to have minimal contact with or sight of women other than his wife. Even she posed a threat to his special status, and they sit sitting back to back.

The *Dajebolé* was expected to maintain a decorous and restrained attitude at all times. He spent much of his time lying in his hammock and gazing upward to avoid the contaminating sight of men who had recently had coitus. He could talk to the other men, but only on serious topics; trivial conversation and joking were considered inappropriate to his ceremonial position. Although he slept in the men's house, the *Dajebolé* did not partake of the communal meals there and ate only with his wife. But he was expected to be generous toward the other men and to keep tobacco under his hammock at all times for their use.

In addition to his ceremonial role, the *Dajebolé* had an important function in the religious aspect of the hunting economy. His person and the trophy were thought pleasing to the Mother of the Game, and he brought the head into the forest whenever a hunting party embarked. The *Dajebolé* did not, however, hunt nor did he accompany the other men. His mere proximity was sufficient to insure a good kill, and after two animals were slain he returned to the village. It was believed that if he were to remain longer in the forest he might step in the blood of a game animal and thereby lose the charm of the head.

The wife of the *Dajebolé* occupied a delicate status also. Like her husband, she

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karikó*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tobó) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karikó ejrutt*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tobó resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Waró* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Ili* and *Rapuru* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nucleí of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Waró*, *Ili*, or *Rapuru* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Mundurucú who might happen to be in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 534 778 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to be placated by playing the instruments and presenting them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karökö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 [591] Clan ownership of the karökö and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residency is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Witum*, *Wakú*, and *Karú* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *wardmop*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *uchaim*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karú* subclan, *Kabú*, *Arú*, *Yurí*, and *Iší* clans of the Red moiety. *Yurí* and *Iší* are linked by common recognition of *apat*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karú* subclan and *Arú* are affiliated through common recognition of the yarökpökpökpöka, a bird; *Kabú* and *Arú* are affiliated through

614 615 776

kumri, a tree; and *Arú* and *Yuri* find a bond in *Ahuip*, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the *Saw* clan may bestow the name *Mari* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kirihi* clan of the White moiety and the *Warú*, *Saw*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kokusuut*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan half is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

614 then it may be surmised that Mundurucú clans have un-
174 dergone a basic process of segmentation. That such a
605 process continued into recent centuries is indicated by the incomplete differentiation of these four clans. If it can be supposed that the four subclans would in time become increasingly independent of the parent group and would eventually assume their own names and tabú while maintaining a more nebulous bond through the common "companion" spirits, the end result would be a phratric alliance. There is no definitive proof for this hypothesis, but such a process is the only unitary explanation of the phenomena of phratries and subclans. The data given by informants on the relation between clans, phratries, and the spirit "companions of the trumpets" are irregular. Certain clans that should logically be linked by common spirits were said by informants to be unaffiliated; others were placed within the same phratry where no grounds for such linkage exist. This unevenness is reminiscent of the problems encountered by students of Pueblo clan and phratry organization. Depopulation and the weakening of broader kin groupings have obscured the intricacies of the system, making reconstruction most difficult. But the Mundurucú data do show a pronounced tendency toward consistency between phratric affiliation and shared "companion" spirits.

The creation of new clans by the internal segmentation
121 of old ones has numerous parallels in other societies. Pat-
591 rilineal clans frequently segment under conditions of an
614 expanding population, which causes lineages to break off
174 and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. The offshoot group in time becomes differentiated from the parent unit and may establish itself as a new clan, although maintaining some symbolic representation of its former connection. Such a budding proc-

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have 142
the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children.

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madeira and 614
Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below, the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *tabi* or *ti*, and are embodied [526]
(verkörpert) in the large *kadake*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kadake* are blown at the men's [796]
festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mdaiwi*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the [272]
kadake from above, is caught in a cuia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot [794]
and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the 614-
"Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by 616
Karusakaibé,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karuruut*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibé is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become mem- 614
bers of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i barip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly 342
had *Ihge tuket*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last
[See arrata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. -- Analyst]

such but stood until recently upon the Tauribi, a plain not far from our Curuzu mission.

I shall now give the names of the moieties and of the respective sibs under each moiety:

A. Moiety of the Whites, *i rinitya'uye*

1. *Ari* tree (m). 2. Cotton bush (m). 3. *Dutye* sparrow hawk. 4. Sloth. 5. Fish otter. 6. *Ibá* sparrow hawk. 7. *Ikapi* wasp. 8. Jabuti [Land tortoise]. 9. Japim [?]. 10. Toad. 11. Macaco de cheiro [Chrysothrix ?]. 12. Macaco prego [Cebus fatuellus]. 13. Piabu [a fish]. 14. Seringueira-Itaúba (m) [rubber tree]. 15. Spider. 16. Swamp deer (Sumpfhirsch). 17. Taperibaxiro (m) [genus Spondias ?]. 18. Wild cat (Wildkatze). 19. *Tatu* tree (m).

B. Moiety of the Reds, *i pugyiku'uye*

20. Corica [a bird ?]. 21. Cutia [aguti, Dasyprocta]. 22. Jacu [guan, Penelope]. 23. Japu [Cassicus, Ostinops or Xanthornus]. 24. *Kabububu* bird. 25. *Kapak* (Red Jurini ? *Ir'are-maryu pakpak-rinut* ?]. 26. Mãe da lua [a nocturnal bird]. 27. Mutum [curassow, Crax]. 28. Roe-deer (Reh). 29. Red Arara [red macaw]. 30. Saúba [an ant, Oecodoma cephalotes]. 31. Black Arara [black macaw]. 32. *Uyai* wasp. 33. *Ir'aru* tree (m). 34. Cricket (Zirpe).[2]

Traditional Origin of the Sib System

The sibs are supposed originally to have been independent tribes. "Os *rinut* foram primeiro nações," was told me without my inquiring into this fact. The tribes had been at war with one another. Then came Karusakaibé and united them into one large nation, the Mundurucú confederacy. This great Indian event is supposed to have taken place where the Tapajós Mundurucú now live.

"Who told you this?" I asked my informant, a man who was in his best years. "An old man of the plain told me that," was the answer. In order to be more certain, I had the story repeated later in Mundurucú. This is the translation:

[2] The identifications, given in angular brackets in these two paragraphs, have been added by the editor,—in some cases tentatively only,—from more readily available sources in ZE, JSAP, etc.—Ed.

[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A -- Analyst

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Hartt and Martius both mention tattooing combs of palm thorns, but Tocantins states that the operation is performed with an agouti tooth. The skin is slashed and genipa juice is rubbed into the wound. Genipa is also used as a paint to color areas enclosed by tattooed lines. Both sexes are tattooed but there are slight differences in design for each. The operation begins when the subject is about 8 years old and proceeds gradually over a period of years. It is seldom completed before the subject has reached the age of 20.

Hairdress.—The aboriginal hair style was the same for both sexes. The hair was cut just above the ears and at the nape of the neck. The crown of the head was shaved but a short, circular tuft was left above the center of the forehead.

MANUFACTURES

Baskets, ropes, and netting.—Baskets are woven of cumpers, straw, and twigs. Ropes and cords are made of plant fibers and cotton thread. Women beat the raw cotton with sticks to separate the fibers and twist the thread with the aid of some sort of spindle. Cotton thread is used in knitting net fabrics for featherwork, and in making hammocks. Fibers from the outer surface of mauriti palm leaves are sometimes used in making hammocks.

Ceramics.—Pottery vessels, made by women, are modeled directly from a mass of clay and are said to be of poor quality.

Weapons.—The following weapons have been mentioned but not described: Bows, arrows of reed and of wood, poisoned war arrows, unpoisoned hunting arrows (Martius, 1867), spears with bamboo blades, javelins, wooden knives, hafted (stone?) axes, and war clubs. A cotton bandage was wrapped around the knuckles of the bow hand to protect it from the bowstring. Katzer (1901) has published illustrations of a number of flat, polished stone ax heads, of oval or nearly quadrangular shape, with lateral notches; these were found archeologically in *Mundurucú* territory. He reports that the *Mundurucú* still make such stone objects, but keep them merely as valuables or as children's toys.

TRADE

Despite hostility between the *Mundurucú* and their neighbors, they traded their featherwork extensively. They are said to have depended on an unidentified northern source for arrow poison. After the advent of the missions, manioc meal, sarsaparilla, and other forest products were exported to Santarém in considerable quantities (Martius, 1867).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

According to Kruse (1934), the Tapajóz River *Mundurucú* have a patrilineal sib and moiety system. There are 34 sibs whose members are

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1968
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "hudubé," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Steinen's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [664] [592] [622]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

[1] [Martius (Source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1954
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits mentioned by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into lesser, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superseded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal; but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tabá*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[1] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tabá* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakibó, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1956) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *diwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 765 [616] Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the [578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 554 784 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 554 [609] [825] The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajeboiti*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the headhunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 224 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiti

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dancers clothed in cloaks of burití leaf, who danced from house to house, playing in each. Another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat. 796 881 852 [304] [616]

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing signalized full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Duparip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of pecking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group. 304 796 884

Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundurucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and returned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad. 796 727

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.* No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundurucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain clans of the comple- 766 727 616

* Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

727 mentary moiety have the privilege (or pleasure, as some informants phrased it)
616 of burying the dead of the other moiety, if only symbolically. For this purpose,
766 the humerus of the dead Mundurucú was cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone after the arm was boiled and allowed to dry in the sun. Indicative of the symbolic importance attached to the moieties' prerogative of burying each other's dead was the practice of amputating the humerus of a wounded but still living warrior who was unable to continue the return journey. Furthermore, when the body was lost or a vengeance party was in hot pursuit and such Draconian measures were impossible, a symbolic arm bone was made out of a short piece of arrow cane and duly mourned, treasured, and buried.

The grisly operation of taking the humerus of the fallen warrior was per-
727 formed by a member of the latter's *iboiwatitit*, or those clans of the opposite moiety
766 that held the special burial right over the deceased's clan. This man brought the bone back to his village and guarded it carefully, sleeping with it in his arms "as if it were a baby." After an unspecified period, the man's mourners and many members of his *iboiwatitit* gathered to bury the bone in the floor of its custodian's house.

Both male and female kinsmen of the slain warrior were expected to weep
765 loudly upon hearing news of his death. The patterned wailing of the men was of short duration, but that of the women was expected to last for several months.
[302] Also, women, as in the event of the death of any relative, had their hair cropped close to the scalp and were prohibited from wearing any body ornamentation. The latter restriction applied also to men, but their hair was not cut. The cutting of the woman's hair was always done by a male member of her *iboiwatitit*.

The actual cycle of trophy-head ceremonies began shortly after the return of
727 the war party with an observance known as *Inyenborotaptam*, or Decorating the
796 Ears. This ceremony and those celebrated in the two succeeding rainy seasons were held under the leadership of the taker (or takers) of the trophy head, who was thereafter honored by the title of *Dajeboiši*, or Mother of the Peccary. Food was amassed by the host village under his direction, and invitations were issued to other villages. The purpose of this phase of the trophy-head ceremony was to decorate the head. Implicitly, its function was to inaugurate the head and its owner into the status that both would occupy until the conclusion of the cycle.

The preparation of the trophy head began during the return march from the enemy village. First the brains were extracted with the wide bamboo point of a war arrow, which was inserted into the head through the foramen magnum. The teeth were then knocked out and carefully stored away, and the head was lightly boiled and dried near the fire. This process made the skin dry and parchment-like and effectively preserved it. Finally a woven cord was inserted in the mouth and led out through the nostril by a hole pierced in the hard palate, leaving the tasseled ends of the cord dangling from the mouth and nostril. At a later time, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth affixed across either eye.

The Mundurucú considered the crowning glory of a trophy head to be the

614 mission, who described a rather complex system of 34 patrilineal clans, some of which were linked in unnamed phratries, and which were parceled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamic moieties. This report is substantially correct, but for the minor fact that Mundurucú informants can list 38 clans, and the actual number, before depopulation set in, must have been well above 40. Actually, only 30 clans are currently extant.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

616 Although the clans are formally exogamic, their marriage-regulatory functions are superseded by the more inclusive moiety system. The moieties, called "Red" and "White" by the Mundurucú, comprehend 16 and 22 clans. In addition to their marriage-regulatory functions, the moieties partake of the characteristics of reciprocity, rivalry, and antithesis, which, as Lowie notes, are commonly found in moiety systems.[4] During many ceremonies and on all festive occasions intersexual joking between members of opposite moieties is acceptable and expected; and in the course of everyday village life, one may act with much greater levity toward a person of the complementary group. While the joking aspect of moiety relations may indicate behavior appropriate to prospective sexual part-
[578] ners, latent affinal antagonism is manifest in their recip-
rocal duties and rights. Every clan in each moiety is des-
[764] ignated as the *iboiwatitit* of certain clans of the opposite. This mutual relationship entails the duty to bury each others' dead. The Mundurucú look upon this not only as an obligation, but as a right and a privilege, or, as they sometimes phrase it, a mode of revenge. This is not merely
616 symbolic phraseology. During the period when raiding
727 still occurred, it was considered necessary that every dead

[4] Lowie, 1948, p. 242.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ1: Mundurucu SQ13

warrior be buried by member of the opposite moiety in 616
his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. 727
A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during cere- 616
monies. The members of the *Biuši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack 614
most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any 778
special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö;* this term [776]
is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief 614
in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in 773
no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

578 spouse who lived in Cabitutú was his first wife, and she
837 would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabitutú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.[17]

Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the
595 modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the sororal type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is
582 with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is
616 rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of
835 any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

[17] Murphy, 1958.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

good taste and decency, although the seriousness of the 835
delict depends on distance of relationship in the paternal line. Thus, incest within the nuclear family is considered absolutely unthinkable by the Mundurucú, but they frown in decreasing degree upon sexual relations within clan, phratry, and moiety. There is no defined punishment, [684]
however, for incest with any category of relative; the Mundurucú say only that people would be "ashamed" to commit such a breach.

In a society in which all people are believed to be re- 582
lated, moiety exogamy implies that any union with a per- 616
son of the same generation and of the opposite group will be with a cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. Marriage with first degree cross-cousins is said by the Mundurucú to have been a highly preferred union at some time in the past, and it is still regarded as a most suitable match. I found only three cross-cousin marriages during the course of my field work, however, and it no longer occurs frequently. The levirate and sororate are, of course, 587
permissible within the moiety system and occasionally [616]
occur, but persons are not and, within the memory of informants, were not formerly under any compulsion to enter such a marriage. Martius's report of the levirate [18] suggests that it may have been more prevalent during the period when partrilocality was still the residence rule. The levirate is a simple recognition of the right of the man's kin group, as a whole, to the woman. It may be hypothesized that the fractionation of the sibling group after the change to matrilocality dispersed the unit that formerly exercised corporate rights over the girl and made the levirate unworkable. And, since leviritic marriages are frequently polygynous, matrilocality imposed the same inhibitions as discussed above.

[18] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."[10] 114 582 601

That the patrilineality of Mundurucú society has been of some significance in structuring the terminological system may be inferred from the fact that the identical marriage practices have been found in South America in societies lacking unilineal descent groups and having ordinary bifurcate merging kinship systems.[11] Thus, the classification of the mother's brother's and sister's children as *we ši* follows in part from their membership in the moiety opposite to that of Ego. Similarly, the application of the referential term *o djorit* to the sons of the father's sister and the mother's mother recognizes their moiety affiliation and, also, the fact that both are sons of women classified as *adjung*. The latter term, it will be noted, is applied to all older women of Ego's own moiety. 601 616 [171]

Extension of kin terms is complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety are addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bat*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation are either "older" (*wan yũ*) or "younger (*o köt*) brother." On the descending generations there are only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*tapö*). Females of one's own moiety are called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety are addressed as "daughter" (*da ũ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú have "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapö*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety are addressed as

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 126.
[11] *Cf.* Oberg, 1953, pp. 44, 99; Gillin, 1936, pp. 92–96.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

601 616 "older" (*wanyū*) and "younger (*o köt*) brothers," with the exception of age mates, who are called (*u sum*). Females of the opposite moiety are called "grandmother" (*awah*), "mother" (*ai ī*), and "daughter" (*da ū*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SC13

clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Mundurucú society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Mundurucú social structure. The Mundurucú were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the coöperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully coöperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

and finally an old Indian appeared, accompanied by an Indian woman of about thirty and five small children, one of them still of nursing age. They were followed by two stout youths.

291 Needless to say, all the Indians we encountered in those parts -- men and women, elders, youth and children-- were altogether naked.

302 We recognized without difficulty that this family belonged to the Mundurucu tribe, for the young woman, the youths 69 and the old man were all painted on the face, the chest and the rest of the body with the lozenges and other figures characteristic of the tribe. [77]

609 The old Mundurucu, certainly more than seventy years old [145] and already nearly deaf, received us with indifference, as did the two youths. The young woman and the children seemed transfixed with surprise and fright.

There we stopped and spent the night

II

Journey from the headwaters of the Cadereri
to the village of Necodemos on the plains.

487 At dawn of the next day we set out from the headwaters of the Cadereri, where we left our canoe, and followed a narrow and tortuous trail through the heart of the ancient forest, past worm-eaten trunks that seemed still covered with the slime of a primeval flood. One of the two youths served as our guide.

609 We had not traveled far when we heard the barking of dogs, [231] and soon afterwards came upon a very handsome youth of sixteen or seventeen. On seeing us he did not express the slightest surprise; on the contrary, his smiling face lit up with childlike happiness.

It was as though he had been expecting us and we had been friends of long standing, for he immediately took the lead of our group and guided us to his hut which stood to one side of the road [342 on the bank of a pretty brook The hut was roofed and enclosed 231] with palm fronds; ten fat dogs heralded a house of plenty.

683 nude and bloody, was found in the middle of the grounds at daybreak, and there remained exposed until evening. All passed by it in silence and without a complaint.

There are many other such cases, for unfortunately executions on account of witchcraft are still frequent. It is said that in those times when Caru-Sacaebê lived among the Mundurucu, there existed no witchcraft and no sorcerers.

Indeed, the criminal code of the Mundurucu is based exclusively upon this.

There is no record of one Mundurucu ever being killed by another except on account of witchcraft. When violent hatred erupts between two Indians who inhabit the same village -- and this is extremely rare -- one of the two merely takes down his hammock, goes to some other village which attracts his fancy, chooses a place in the ekçá, and remains there as long as he pleases.

XVI

Social feelings among the Mundurucu -- The family -- The characteristic painting pattern of the tribe.

A remarkably strong social spirit, or indeed national spirit, binds the individual members and the villages of this tribe, preserving, if I may say so, the autonomy of the Mundurucu republic in a wilderness which lies beyond the contact and influence of our civilization. [112]

It is no cause for wonder that the Quechua of the Andes, herding as they did vast flocks of llama and alpaca and cultivating in large quantities the potato native to their mountains, should have founded great population centers and established a powerful monarchy. An agricultural and pastoral people, they possessed those elements necessary to live in the midst of plenty and to develop their intellectual and moral qualities under the stimulus of life in society.

224 But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude
221 husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadereri.

361 In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly
621 united although divided into twenty villages.

619 It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

585 Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

584 Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond
[545] between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

562 The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the ekça or warriors' quarters.

3

Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I believe that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband appeared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are extremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

302 Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

304 The tattoing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

[325] Then the painter traces the design on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

[326] The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

304 It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social 69 bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacaebe.

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs --Burial customs.

[324] The Mundurucu call the sun caxi.

325 They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coatu and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

This is the squatting position which was also used by the Quechua and the Egyptians. [The Mundurucu] bury with the deceased a few objects he had used in life, such as weapons, feather ornaments, etc. My interpreter was an intelligent Indian and spoke, besides his Mundurucu dialect, the Portuguese and Tupi tongues. He would translate without hesitation into Mundurucu the following sentences: "I miss my mother -- Nheben uexi cahi" "I miss my son -- Nheben opute cahi." The word nehben means "to miss." "My soul goes to heaven -- Ubiumbe cabi cahi dhe."

This knowledge of the heavenly bodies, though still quite rudimentary; these beliefs in a future life, free from odious superstitions; this faculty to conceive and express abstract ideas and the purest and sweetest feelings of the human heart, such as nostalgia for mother or son -- all this surprised me on the part of a people that has always been considered one of the fiercest and most barbarous in the valley of the Amazon.

If the Mundurucu did not derive their beliefs and knowledge from some of the civilized groups on the Andean Plateau, I presume at least that for centuries they must have lived as the inhabitants of the plains villages do today -- that is, in centers as densely populated as [118] a savage economy based on hunting and the meager resources of a crude husbandry will permit. These villages are in constant communication with each other and preserve the same uses and customs. As I mentioned above, the Mundurucu tattoing pattern is really a blood initiation which stamps them with an indelible mark -- a sacred tie binding in brotherly communion all the members of this numerous and powerful tribe.

I will, however, abstain from drawing any conclusions whatever. My purpose is to observe facts with scrupulous care and to describe them with fidelity.

It may be that the light sketch I am tracing of the life of a savage tribe will be pondered by one of those superior minds who cogitate on human destiny and on the problems of mankind.

Theirs is the task to plumb the mysteries of Providence, to search for the beginnings of man's journeys on this earth, for the paths he has followed and the destinies that await him.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101 [6] the middle Rio Curuá do Iriry. According to Nimuendajú they number about 120 souls. The Juruena Mundurucú are also called Njambikwiras.

From the Mundurucú are also supposed to be descended the Guajajára. They were settled on the Rio Gurupi near Cerzedello in 1818. So says Martius.

Tribal Names

[6a] a. What do the Tapajós Mundurucú call themselves? A designation for the whole tribe does not exist. When a Mundurucú speaks of his fellow tribesmen, he simply calls them *tsvidyc'nye*,[1] "our own", "our people". The word is compounded of the absolute inclusive pronoun *tsvidyc*, "we", and the plural suffix, *nye*. Thus it has the meaning: "A great many of our own", "a plurality of our own". The Mundurucú language seems to have no word for homo, human being. Expressions like the following are used: "I belong to the Red Arara sib"; "he belongs to the Seringueira-itaúba sib"; "there come the Japu [people of Japu sib]"; "we met people of the *Ikupi*-wasp sib"; "some of the Mutum sib". For the list of sibs, see infra under social organization.

The Madeira Mundurucú, and the Kuruaya, that is, the Xingú Mundurucú, are held by the Tapajós Mundurucú to be relatives

126 [1] The following phonetic symbols are used: *ä* = German *ä* (palatal); *ö* = German *ö* (palatal); vowel with tilde = nasalized vowel; *ä̃* = nasalized *ä*; falling diphthongs in which both vowels are pronounced distinctly have small superior second vowel; *c* = German *sch*; *ñ* = *ng* (guttural nasal); *r* = dental *r*; *ts* = always voiceless; *v* as in English but pronounced with lips closer together; *w* as in English "water"; *x* = German *ch*; *y* as in English "yes". The spiritus lenis (stimmloser Kehlkopfexplosivlaut) occurs always between two vowels, and often before words beginning with a vowel; in these cases it is not indicated in transcription; in other cases it is indicated by *ʔ*. Weak sounds are enclosed in brackets. Colon after vowel = long vowel. Accent is on last syllable, except where otherwise indicated by accent mark (') following vowel.

The palatal vowels *ä* and *ö* are acoustically related to German *ä* and *ö*, but they are not identical with them. Nimuendajú writes me (personal letter, 1931): "A genuine *ä* and *ö*, such, for example, as occur in German, are found in none of the more than seventy Indian languages which I have heard with my own ears. Up to the present, I have heard these two sounds only in Urupá; but they do not occur even in Torá, which is most closely related to Urupá".

and, even among the more acculturated Mundurucú, it is difficult to find out who collects the most rubber. This is linked with lack of ego assertiveness, an important aspect of the Mundurucú modal personality.

Socio-Political Organization

Tribal Integration

Mundurucú society was integrated on a tribal as well as village level. The foregoing section on the subsistence economy has demonstrated some of the economic bases of local cohesion and a further analysis of village socio-political controls will follow. However, to place the village in proper context it would be well to first outline those factors that unified the various Mundurucú villages.

It should be stated first that no permanent tribal or multi-village political controls existed. Each village was an autonomous political unit. However, warfare, patrilineal sibs, and matrilocal residence combined to unite the villages very closely. The self-conscious cultural unity of the Mundurucú was recognized and described by Tocantins who referred to the Mundurucú as a "republic."[9] The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unit as opposed to the outside world. When speaking of another Mundurucú they said "one of us" or "person" or when referring to themselves as a group they said "we are many." Everybody else was an "outlander," a category into which were lumped other Indians and white men alike.

9. Tocantins, 1877, p. 85.

197 101 The Mundurucú are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors 302 101 and with the lingua geral. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

726 701 The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never [578 619] between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Intrecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the [622] chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Trubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Horton, 1948, p. 273.

726 river.[11] By drawing their warriors from a number of villages,
701 the Mundurucú were able to leave enough men in each village to support those women, children, and old people who were not able to leave. They were also able to amass a greater number of warriors, especially when it was necessary to face the Portuguese colonial troops that were sent against them in the late 18th century.

619 Such efforts called for a series of social linkages
600 between villages. This was provided by the social organization which crosscut the society in two ways; by bonds of matrilocality and by the system of sibs and moieties. This meant that those men of the village who came from other villages through marriage were linked to those villages by birth and by the residence there of the mother's family. Such linkages formed a chain whereby all villages ultimately were bound to one another by interpersonal ties. The bonds tying each
614 individual to the rest of the society were further tightened by the patrilineal sib system. In most Mundurucú villages, a person could find other members of his sib. To these people he had especially close ties and obligations, but he also considered all the members of his exogamic moiety to be relatives. Ultimately, but to a diminished degree, Mundurucú of the other moiety were felt to be related and were called by kin terms. The people themselves say, "We are all kin, one of another."

11. This was reported to the writer verbally by Dr. Darcy Ribeiro, Chief of the Section of Studies, Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Dr. Ribeiro has conducted extensive ethnographic research among the Urubú and heard of these attacks from his informants. This confirms Martius' report of the same event (Martius, 1867, p. 334).

619 [196] Tribal integration was also aided by the ceremonial cycle, which in nearly all cases brought people from a number of villages together in a host village. Despite the lack of central political controls the Mundurucú can be called a tribe in that they were united by interpersonal connections and were able to act as a political entity under temporary political controls.

The village

361 At present there are eighteen Mundurucú villages having an average population of fifty to sixty people. The [161] balance of the population of 1200 are living in isolated groups usually consisting of one small extended family or, at times, only one nuclear family. It is impossible to judge exactly how many villages there were in earlier times or what their populations were. The shifting settlement pattern makes a plotting of old villages indecisive and the climate and vegetation destroy all vestiges of abandoned villages after about twenty years. The sources are next to useless on this point. Tocantins, one of the few men who reported on a trip to a 19th century Mundurucú village, states that the village of "Necodemus" (Dekodyem is the correct transcription) consisted of five houses and a men's house.[12] He had previously cited the statistics of one Joaquim Correa, then Director of the Indians of the Tapajóe River, to show that this village had a population of 2100, a patent absurdity.[13] The best estimate based on informant data gives a maximum population

12. Tocantins, 1877, p. 103.

13. Ibid., p. 101.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

361 At this time there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total [161] population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

619 The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separa-
605 tion of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

578 While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

726 Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy,
476 warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participa-
182 tion. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

1 [ie, The middle of the nineteenth century.--Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The vocative kinship terminology, male speaking, resembles the Tupi-Guarani type system discussed by Wagley and Galvão (1946). It is bifurcate merging, and Ego has only brothers and sisters on his own generation. A significant departure from the generation principle is found in the equivalence of mother's mother and father's sister, both subsumed under the term *awah*. The identification of these two relatives is continued in the referential system. This classification could come about as a result of the practice of sister's daughter, or avuncular, marriage operating in conjunction with the cross-cousin marriage expectable in a moiety system. With cross-cousin marriage, Ego's mother's father and the father's mother are brother and sister, and, when combined with avuncular marriage, Ego's father's sister is a possible wife for the mother's father. Thus viewed, Ego's mother's father's wife, or mother's mother, is the same person as the father's sister. 602

Further support for this theory comes from the referential terminology, which, I might suggest, is perhaps more conservative than the vocative. The mother's brother's children and the sister's children are referred to as *we shī*, a logical result if the mother's brother marries Ego's sister under the rule of avuncular marriage. To further classify the brother's wife as *we shī* is illustrative of both cross-cousin and avuncular marriage. The equivalence of mother's brother and father's sister's son is a function of their possible identity under conditions of avuncular marriage. Although contemporary Mundurucú informants deny that sister's daughter marriage ever existed and affirm it to be proscribed, this disparity between the kinship system and actual practice will be seen to be a result of culture lag.

The method of analysis employed above seems to follow almost completely that used by Rivers (1914), and is no doubt in violation of Murdock's dictum (1949:123) that marriage customs are likely to operate as determinants of kinship structure only "when they apply to all or most marriages within a society." It should therefore be noted that the Mundurucú kinship system, as analyzed above, is not structured by the practice of avuncular marriage, or cross-cousin marriage, or the levirate, or the sororate but by all four practices working as codeterminants within a patrilineal framework.[2] In terms of the kinship system these marriage customs are all functionally interrelated, and together they may well have comprised the majority of Mundurucú marriages at one time. Murdock states (ibid:126) the above implied limitations of the statistical method in the following: [121]

> "Since multiple factors are nearly always operative, perfect statistical correlations between any particular kinship determinant and the terminological features that it tends to produce should never be expected, even if the hypothesis is entirely sound."

All Mundurucú considered themselves to be related to all other Mundurucú by ties of varying degrees of closeness. One's closest relatives were the members of the nuclear family. Beyond this, the clan became the unit of greatest solidarity, and the Mundurucú emphasized their brotherhood with fellow members. They also felt a closer affinity for members of their own moiety as contrasted 602 619

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

602 to the opposite one. Finally, when a Mundurucú is queried about the close
619 solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

601 Extension of kin terms was complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjut*) or "father" (*bai*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "older" (*wan yũ*) or "younger (*o köt*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*bekit*) and "grandsons" (*tapö*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ũ*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú had "grandfathers" (*adjut*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapö*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*wanyũ*) and "younger (*o köt*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*u sum*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*awak*), "mother" (*ai ĩ*), and "daughter" (*da ũ*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Mundurucú could, and still can, place every other Mundurucú in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguinal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

619 The picture of Mundurucú society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Mundurucú intervillage connections.

621 The social structure of the Mundurcú village was characterized by a deep
562 cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Mun-
621 durucú village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the western extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five such houses

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karökö*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as " . . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world.

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Darekši, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads.

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe.

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house.

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucú household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

durucú subsistence. Trade is for Western manufactured 22
goods only; all food is obtained from the immediate en- [439]
vironment.

The village is the basic unit of social interaction and co- 619
operation among the Mundurucú. Strong ties exist be- 621
tween the residents of each community, and all feel them-
selves to be members of the tribe as a whole; there are no linguistic or cultural differences between any of the savannah villages, and feelings of localism are but weakly developed. But despite the fundamentally pan-tribal identification made by the people, the local community is the essential framework in which their daily existence is passed, and it is the largest social unit with a continuing political organization. Each village is autonomous within terms of the subsistence economy, and its membership constitutes the significant group engaged in production and distribution.

HUNTING

Of the four principal subsistence-seeking activities, hunt- 224
ing and horticulture contribute more to the food supply than fishing and gathering, except during the dry season when residence shifts to the river banks. To the Mundurucú man of the savannahs, the proper daily activity is the hunt. The men are tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prize game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. Many, but by no means most, men now have firearms, usually muzzle-loading shotguns. The principal animals hunted are tapir (*Tapirus americanus*), wild pig (*Tayassu albirostris*), catitú (*Tayassu tajassu*), several species of deer, *paca* (*Cuniculus paca Acs.*), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. Although the men enjoy

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Mundurucú is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of [619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Mundurucú tribal integration in times past.

611 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary
622 significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the oldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also,
611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain
756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important in-
768 heritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Mundurucú. A young man in search of a mate

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

6

social solidarity and social fission

619 [621] Each Mundurucú village is an autonomous political unit, and there is no permanent multicommunity decision-making body. However, the Mundurucú feel themselves to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dji* [101] *nyö*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people," and the *pariwat*, a term which is applied to all non-Mundurucú. All the "people" consider themselves to be related, and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship system. All, however, are expected to show coöperation [183] and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá [648] Indians and the whites, the *pariwat* are enemies and, in former times, were the objects of warfare.

[p. 126]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú. 619 [727] [304]

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity. 621 476 619

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and coöperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages. 721 619 [701] [575]

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa- 602 628 619

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule resulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

Integration was furthered also by such groups as the *Muchacha anyen* society, the men's ceremonial group known as the *Biu ši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Darek ši anyen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and residence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart."[2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.
[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation 578
noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships 156
is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men 571
of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; 578
it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the 182
level of village organization; coöperative endeavors 571
among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare [628]
and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism [619]
has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activ- 771
ity are of particular relevance to the economy and social

609

From the rafters hung ten hammocks, as well as bows, ar-
[352] rows, bowls and other objects. The youth offered us a bowl filled
[362 with the fruit of the muriti palm (Mauricia venifera); he showed the
579] greatest desire to [78] oblige us, and pronounced himself ready to ac-
company us to Necodemos if his father agreed. We blew our horn to
call the father but no one appeared, and after waiting an hour I de-
cided to move on and in fact did so, reluctantly leaving behind this
engaging savage who had received me in his hut so cheerfully.

361 In the afternoon, having crossed the forest, we walked out
upon a vast plain and saw on the crest of a hill the maloca or village
of Absenanti.

What startled me was that we always made such encounters
when we least expected them, for I never succeeded in having the
guide tell me beforehand what road we were to follow or what locali-
ties we were to encounter.

342 The village of Absenanti was under construction; it comprised
621 but one large new house, with a thatch-covered roof which consisted
of a simple leaning wall, slanting down from east to west.

We found no one inside the house, but the large number
[352] of hammocks, bows, and arrows which hung from the roof indicated
that it was occupied by several families.

The fire was lit; as usual we blew our horn in order to
call the occupants of the house.

[609] It was not long before a slender youth appeared, a mis-
trustful look on his face, leading by the hand a small child who was
very frightened and excited.

302 This youth was about twenty; his face was not yet com-
pletely painted. It merely bore the lozenges; that part which con-
sists of a solid layer of black dye, as per the custom of the tribe, had
not yet been completed. These drawings, with their geometric
regularity and [79] their fresh and vivid color, stood out on his youth-
ful complexion and lent his features a certain novel comeliness.

609 When night came they told me that a few men, women
and children, who were turning in to the maloca from the surrounding
woods had stopped by a nearby stream and hesitated to come home
because of our presence.

123 In view of this I broke camp and moved about a mile away,
609 leaving my interpreter to spend the night in Absenanti and to con-
vince those mistrustful people that we had not the slightest intention
to harm them.

164 Furthermore, during the summer months, large numbers of
[201 312] families leave the malocas and build flimsy huts in the heart of the woods, where in their isolation they encounter more abundant game.

164 It is certain, however, that this tribe is one of the largest and
182 most powerful in the valley of the Amazon. Alcide d'Orbigny hesitated whether to consider it a mere tribe or a nation. It has long been a strongly organized republic. The central malocas, located beyond the active reach of our authorities, enjoy the same boundless freedom as if they formed an independent State.

115 In face of the impossibility to carry out by myself a strict census, I must rely on the opinion of a citizen who resides in the town of Itaituba and whom I judge to be very competent in this matter. I refer to Lieutenant Joaquim Caetano Corrêa, a wealthy tradesman who was nominated to the post of superintendent of the Tapajoz River Indians by Councillor Sebastião do Rego Barros, President of Pará, in September 1853, and who has exercised this function ever since.

Although this respected citizen has never been to the central villages, he nevertheless entertains close relations with the Mundurucu who live along the banks of the Tapajoz. [101]

621 Here is the population table furnished by Lt. Joaquim
161 Caetano Corrêa.
183

NAME OF THE MALOCAS	POPULATION
Dausapone	1,500
Caracupi	2,300
Dairi	2,600
Capipique	2,000
Necodemos	2,100
Aikã (Samuuma)	1,500
Acupari	800
Areucẽ	700
Arebaduri	400
Teiu Curupi	500
Ipsananti	600

621	Cererepça	500
161	Cabrot	500
103	Imburariri	350
	Macapá	360
	Ucuberi	250
	Cabetutum	350
	Chacorão	700
	Airi	300
	Bacabal (Mision)	500
	Boburé	100
	Total	18,910

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these malocas may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacorão, for example, is now abandoned; that of Boburé is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the numbers of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 18,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajoz, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

XIII

Maloca of Necodemos -- Plan of Mundurucu malocas

361 Necodemos is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

In the center of the maloca stands the elça or warriors' quarters.

361 The elça consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Caderesi.

In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly united although divided into twenty villages.

It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the *elica* or warriors' quarters.

to bathe and fetch water and firewood as a group. The latter three activities hardly demanded cooperation, but are illustrative of the fundamental division of the society on the basis of sex and of the love for sociability of the Mundurucú. The Mundurucú liked to do things together and it was a grave breach of etiquette to refuse to help in any work.

It will be noted that the village was the basic unit within which cooperation was carried out, while the extended family was of almost equal importance. Seldom did economic activities involve two or more villages. A man and wife occasionally left the village together for a few hours to plant or harvest vegetables or to gather fruits, but these occasions were of minor importance in the economy.*

Accompanying this emphasis on cooperation in the economy was a corresponding complete lack of stress on competition. Competitive economic activity was absolutely nonexistent. A lazy person lacked prestige but in this instance it was because a lazy person was a drain on the society. Prestige was sought through accomplishments in warfare and knowledge of Mundurucú lore and not by economic means. Indeed, the Mundurucú did not openly seek to better anybody even in play with the exception of one strength test game, consisting of an attempt by each of two opponents to force back the forearm of the other, indulged in by the young people. In their speech the Mundurucú did not compare people

* It should be pointed out here that these conjugal excursions are generally viewed by the Mundurucú as guises to leave the village for the true purpose of daytime sexual intercourse. Their suspicions are well founded.

[56] and, even among the more acculturated Mundurucú, it is difficult to find out who collects the most rubber. This is [57] linked with lack of ego assertiveness, an important aspect of the Mundurucú modal personality.

Socio-Political Organization

Tribal Integration

619 621 Mundurucú society was integrated on a tribal as well as village level. The foregoing section on the subsistence economy has demonstrated some of the economic bases of local cohesion and a further analysis of village socio-political controls will follow. However, to place the village in proper context it would be well to first outline those factors that unified the various Mundurucú villages.

It should be stated first that no permanent tribal or multi-village political controls existed. Each village was an autonomous political unit. However, warfare, patri- [59] lineal sibs, and matrilocal residence combined to unite the villages very closely. The self-conscious cultural unity of the Mundurucú was recognized and described by Tocantins who referred to the Mundurucú as a "republic."[9] The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unit as opposed to the outside world. When speaking of another Mundurucú they said "one of us" or "person" or when referring to themselves as a group they said "we are many." Everybody else was an "outlander," a category into which were lumped other Indians and white men alike.

9. Tocantins, 1877, p. 88.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

602 to the opposite one. Finally, when a Mundurucú is queried about the close
619 solidarity of the tribe as a whole, he says, "We are all related."

601 Extension of kin terms was complete in Mundurucú society. Males of one's own moiety were addressed as "grandfather" (*adjuí*) or "father" (*bai*), depending on age, while members of one's own generation were either "older" (*wan yé*) or "younger (*o kôt*) brother." On the descending generations there were only "sons" (*bekiî*) and "grandsons" (*tapó*). Females of one's own moiety were called "aunt" (*adjung*), if older. All other females of the same moiety were addressed as "daughter" (*da ú*).

In the opposite moiety, the Mundurucú had "grandfathers" (*adjuí*) on the second ascending generation and "grandsons" (*tapó*) on the second descending generation. All other males of the other moiety were addressed as "older" (*wanyú*) and "younger (*o kôt*) brothers," with the exception of age-mates, who were called (*u ram*). Females of the opposite moiety were called "grandmother" (*awuá*), "mother" (*ai i*), and "daughter" (*da ú*), according to their age or intervening kin ties relative to Ego. These vocative terms were used exclusively as forms of address until recent years. Referential terms were also used to the exclusion of personal names when speaking of a person. In cases of possible confusion, the clan name of the person under discussion was prefixed to the referential kin term. Every Mundurucú could, and still can, place every other Mundurucú in some relationship category. A visitor in a village need only ask a few questions about the clan names of its residents to place everybody in proper context. A few more questions as to mutual relationships would be sufficient to establish true consanguinal connections.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

619 The picture of Mundurucú society so far presented is one of a culturally, linguistically and self-consciously unitary group which emphasized hostility towards the outside world and harmony within its own. Integration on a tribal level was strengthened by the complete pervasion of kinship, by the continued sense of unity of clan fragments, and by intervillage co-operation in warfare and ritual. In the following analysis of village structure in the nineteenth century, a clearer understanding of over-all tribal integration will be obtained from the point of view of Mundurucú intervillage connections.

621 The social structure of the Mundurcú village was characterized by a deep
562 cleavage between male and female roles, and a separation of the institutional frameworks within which each sex operated. Fundamental to this division were the institutions of the men's house and the dwelling houses. Each Mun-
621 durucú village consisted of a men's house and a number of large dwelling houses, all arranged in a circle about a central plaza. The men's house always occupied the western extremity of the circle and faced eastward toward the plaza. The dwellings were large structures with elliptical floor plans, and walls made of sheets of bark. The roofs were thatched with palm leaves. Each dwelling housed a considerable extended family, and house populations must have averaged from fifty to perhaps eighty. There are now two to five such houses

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in each village, and informants say that villages of four or five houses were common in the last century. 621

The men's house was of square floor plan, but had an unusual silhouette. Although a semipermanent structure, it was built in the form of a huge lean-to, open on three sides. At the southwest corner was a small, completely enclosed chamber which housed the sacred trumpets. Running from back to front of the men's house at an elevation of five feet above the ground were three long, horizontal poles. One pole ran down the middle and the other two were on the outer edges of the structure. From these poles the men hung their hammocks in two separate rows. The men of Red moiety slept in the south row, and the men of White moiety occupied the north row. 344

The Mundurucú men's house was unlike most such institutions in the degree to which it divided the everyday life of the men from that of the women. Here the division was complete. The men neither ate, slept, worked nor relaxed with their women. Every male, from the age at which his tattooing was completed and he became a full-fledged warrior, slept in the men's house. His bows and arrows were kept in the thatch above his hammock. The hammock arrangement followed moiety lines in the north-south separation of the hammock rows, and clan comembers slept adjacent to each other. They, in turn, were adjoined by members of other clans of the same phratry. Due to the fragmentation caused by matrilocal residence, several clans were represented in most men's houses. The contemporary village of Cabruá, for example, has a population of only seventy, but men of ten different clans were present. 344 621

When a Mundurucú married, there was no ceremony of any sort, and a minimum of formalities were observed. The young man or his parents went to the girl's parents and requested her hand. The request was usually granted except when the young man was for some reason undesirable to the girl's family. Prearranged marriages were common and were often the means by which cross-cousins were united. The actual event of marriage was little more than a public recognition of the alliance. The bridegroom moved to the wife's village and took up residence in the men's house there. He brought his daily kill of game to his bride's house, and his exclusive sexual rights to the girl were recognized. 585

In most other respects he had remarkably loose bonds with the household of his wife's family. He frequently went there for a between-meal snack or to play with the children. However, the large meals which he ate before and after the day's hunt at morning and at nightfall were taken in the company of the other men immediately outside of the men's house. The women of each household prepared an equal part of the food consumed there, and all of the men squatted around the common pots to eat. The separation of men and women was made complete by the fact that male craftwork, such as the manufacture of arms and baskets, was done in the men's house, and the men whiled away their idle hours there. 264 592

Even when it involved a move to a new village, matrilocality imposed no great burden on the men. They did not shift from one dwelling or household to another, but from one men's house to another. The internal arrangement of 592

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

592 their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected [582] to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

476 The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

241 Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men,
476 and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing [831] was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

476 Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens [423] were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

476 Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village,
621 the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the same as in his native community, and he also did not come under the direct supervision of his father-in-law. Any difficulties that might arise due to lack of familiarity with his new territory were mitigated by the fact that nearly all of his activities outside the village were carried out in the company of men who had been in residence for a longer period of time.

Whereas the men's house was the locus of male activity, the life of the female revolved around the dwelling. The result of matrilocal residence was that each dwelling housed an extended family of related females, a rather unusual arrangement in a strongly patrilineal society. This can hardly be called a matrilineage for lineal descent among the Mundurucú was reckoned in the father's line, whereas the members of the household were related through their mothers. In terms of lineal institutions, each generation of females was of the opposite moiety from the women of the generation preceding and following it. The husbands of the women also belonged to the moiety opposite to that of their wives. They could come from any clan within the moiety, with the result that the men of any one household represented a number of clans. Under this system, there was no residential basis even for lineages, and the clans were scattered throughout the Mundurucú villages. Local nuclei, such as are found in most patrilineal clan systems, could consist of no more than a man, his daughters and his unmarried sons, except in the case of the chief's family as described further in this paper.

The internal order of the household is indicative of its organization. Each woman hung her hammock in close proximity to her children and her closest female relatives. The personal possessions of the women were stored near their own hammocks. There was, however, but one food larder and one fireplace. Garden produce, regardless of its origin, was shared by the extended family, and although the husband formally presented his kill of game to his wife, it was butchered, cooked and eaten by the women of the household, and a portion was sent to the men's house and the other dwellings. Only in the case of very small game such as the *cutia* and the parrot was the food cooked and eaten by the nuclear family. Otherwise, the nuclear family had no household economy whatsoever.

It has already been stated that gardens were considered to be owned by individual men but that the labor performed on them was predominantly collective. Except for manioc planting, the unit of female collective labor was the household. This pattern extended to the hard and time-consuming work of manioc processing, in which a true division of tasks was practiced. The manioc had to be dug out of the ground, carried back to the village, grated, the prussic acid extracted and, finally, toasted into the flat cakes known throughout the Amazon as *beijú* or made into manioc flour for the trader. Since all of these steps in the process could be done concurrently, the oldest woman of the household delegated certain tasks to the others. While some women were tending the fire and taking the completed product from the griddle, others were loading, unloading, and operating the *tipití*, or manioc press. The latter women, in turn, were given a constant supply of unsqueezed manioc pulp by the

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis 591
of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be [21]
much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan owner- 614
ship of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the 422
structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Titiev's (1943:524–25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits [776]
which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruc- 174
tion of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following para- 621
graphs.

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

174 621 tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

[344] If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and prematrilocal stage of Mundurucú society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Mundurucú. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1954) that the Mundurucú moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring clanless groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Mundurucú moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Mundurucú of the mid-nineteenth century.

174 591 During the early nineteenth century, the Mundurucú made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which [177 439] increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group.[8] This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Mundurucú social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

174 adjustment of the male to a new village was and is not difficult. He was not
591 intergrated into a new household but into a men's house in which he would find fellow clan and moiety members from his own and other villages.

174 Matrilocality, once achieved, sets the residential basis for matrilineality.
614 Murdock (ibid:218) admits the possibility of change from patrilineality to matrilineality only with an intervening stage of bilaterality, but then says (ibid:212) that such a stage is also "probable" in the transition from matrilineality to patrilineality. It seems obvious that all aspects of descent will not reverse at once. Thus, if the pressures that produced matrilocality eventuated in matrilineality, it would be academic to debate whether or not it was a "direct transition," despite an intervening period of bilaterality. The question would merely be which mode of change can be accomplished most rapidly and with least stress. I have previously pointed to the ownership of the child by the wife's family and the taboo on avuncular marriage as matrilineal features in Mundurucú society which probably evolved shortly after the change to matrilocality. Whether or not the Mundurucú would have become matrilineal but for the inroads of the rubber trade, I leave as an open question. It is clear that matrilineal influences from other groups might easily have caused such a change, and it is also apparent that the patrilineal clans underwent a change and no doubt a diminution of function due to loss of their local nuclei. By the same token, patrilineality as a mode of reckoning kinship was weakened by loss of its residential basis.

621 If the Mundurucú were indeed transitional, the very rarity of the case
174 argues in favor of Murdock's hypothesis, especially since he "makes no assumptions about ultimate origins or overall priorities among the several types of social structure" (ibid:219). If, however, assumptions of priorities are taken into consideration, the Mundurucú fit into a developmental framework which can be traced in terms of more clearly deducible priorities of cultural evolution. This continuum would range from the patrilineal hunting band (Steward 1936) through the emergence of the localized clan from such bands (Goldschmidt 1948; Steward 1937) to, perhaps, the nonlocalized patrilineal clan (Titiev 1943). Although there is no proof that the Mundurucú went through the latter stage, it may have occurred as a consequence of population increase due to early horticulture. With intensified horticulture, as among the Mundurucú, matrilocal pressures and eventual matrilineality would result. This evolutionary scheme is a model and not an invariant sequence, for local historical and ecological situations influence particular culture continua, as is evidenced by Mundurucú history. The latter variables operate as codeterminants with the factors introduced by the evolution of technology and economy to produce sequences which are multilinear in nature. The very pluralism of the causal process renders any over-all generalizations on the evolution of social structure statements of probability. The Mundurucú example by itself cannot show what is probable, but it does indicate the possible. A change from patrilocality to matrilocality probably occurred in this typical patrilineal, patrilocal society, and a further transition to the matrilineate was therefore possible. More field work, especially in South America, and re-examination of the existing sources with this hypothesis in mind might well uncover additional examples.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporad-
[132] ic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly
554 for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the pariwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent
[561] direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

721 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from sev-
eral villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party
202 was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group
[575] of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs
[701] and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and
[534] was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties
701 in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this
722 was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world. 721 182

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Darekši, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads. 701 182

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe. 619 621 182

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house. 621 562 591 182

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt 621 182 578

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for
578 male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[591] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

182 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his
622 lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NHL

Reprinted for private circulation from
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE
Vol. IV, No. 4, July 1956
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

TAPPERS AND TRAPPERS: PARALLEL PROCESS IN ACCULTURATION[1]

Mo
Mu

I. The Problem

121 The purpose of this paper is to show how two cases of acculturation exemplify parallel processes of culture change, that is, cross-cultural regularities of function and causality, even though differences in outward form and substantive content are such that the acculturation might also be considered as convergent development.

Mo
Mu
121 As subsequent sections will show in detail, the Mundurucú of the Tapajós
171 River in Brazil and the Northeastern Algonkians in Canada differed during pre-contact times in social structure, in the general nature of their culture, and in their cultural ecological adaptations. The first were tropical forest hunters
Mo and horticulturalists living in semi-permanent villages and given to warfare.
Mu The second were hunters of large migratory game and were losely organized in nomadic bands. Despite these differences, however, both represented roughly the
[621] same level of sociocultural integration. That is, individual families were related to one another through certain supra-familial patterns--village activities in the one case and band functions in the other--but the local unit in each instance was politically autonomous.

Since this paper is essentially an illustration of methodology, it is important to stress that the concept of level does not classify cultures according to concrete and substantive form and content. Different cultures may be wholly unlike in their particulars in that they are the products of distinctive area histories or traditions and of local adaptations to environments. At the same time, the largest integrated and autonomous social units may be of a similar order of inclusiveness. While, therefore, similarity of level must underly formulations of cross-cultural regularities, such similarity alone does not at all imply typological identity. The aboriginal tropical forest Mundurucú and the sub-arctic Algonkian hunters were wholly unlike in most cultural particulars and in social structure, although both were integrated on comparable sociocultural levels.

They were alike, however, in the acculturative processes to which they were subjected and in the final cultural type which is now emerging in both populations. The processes were similar in the special manner in which outside

Mo

---

171 1. The acculturational phenomena described in this article were apparently
177 found among many, although not all, Northeastern Algonkians, including native groups of New England as well as Canada. Speck, Steward, and others have considered this problem for many years. They were also found among certain Mackenzie Basin Athabaskans, as Jenness has shown. A very comparable case of acculturational process was studied by Steward among the British Columbia Carrier. These cases will be cited in the concluding
Mu comparative section. The Montagnais are taken as our principal example because Eleanor Leacock studied them in detail from this point of view.
122 The Mundurucu of Brazil are analyzed on the basis of a year of field research by Yolanda and Robert Murphy during 1952-53. The research was conducted under the sponsorship of the Department of Anthropology, Columbia University, and was made possible by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NH6

Mu 121 128 problem of acculturation toward individual families has not been adequately described for South America.

Mu 175 The Mundurucú have been in active contact with European civilization for the last 160 years, of which only 80 years have been spent in rubber exploitation. The following description of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú does not purport to depict the pre-contact, or aboriginal, Mundurucú, but refers to the middle of the nineteenth century. Earlier changes in Mundurucú culture form the subject of another paper [Murphy 1955].

Mu 361 [131] [137] The Mundurucú have inhabited the gallery forests and savannah lands east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, for at least two centuries. The savannah in this region is quite limited, and the predominant flora are the high forest and thick vegetation typical of the Amazon basin. The Mundurucú chose the open country for their villages because remoteness from the larger streams afforded some protection from river-born enemy attack and relief from the swarms of insects which infest the river banks, while the absence of forests immediately adjoining the villages gave some security against the dawn surprise Mu [505] attacks favored by nearly all tribes of the region. These attacks were difficult to launch without cover. Since the Mundurucú used water transportation only slightly, isolation from the rivers was not a hardship.

Mo ● Mu ● 621 171 Mu [619] It has been noted that the nineteenth century Mundurucú and Northeastern Algonkians were on the same level of sociocultural integration. The simple, loosely-structured nomadic hunting bands of the Algonkians were roughly equivalent to the semi-sedentary villages of the Mundurucú. In both instances, the local group consisted of a multi-family, autonomous community. Under certain circumstances, the various Mundurucú villages tended to integrate on a tribal level, but there were no permanent trans-village political controls. That no Mundurucú village could function in isolation, since there was inter-village marriage and periodic cooperation in warfare and ceremonialism, does not necessarily imply a higher level of integration in economic or political activities. Similarly, it can be argued that Northeastern Algonkian bands were autonomous but by no means isolated from other such units.

The Mundurucú and Algonkians were integrated on the same level, but their cultures differed structurally or typologically and in content. Patrilineal Mu clans and moieties in Mundurucú society made kinship ties more extensive and pervasive. Village subsistence was based on slash-and-burn horticulture. Although [241] the heavy work of clearing the forest was done by work groups consisting of all 462] the village males, garden care and manioc processing were carried out by the women of the matrilocal extended family. The chief occupations of the men were hunting and warfare.

Mo Mu 593 171 Mu 593 Leacock's reconstruction of the aboriginal society of the Eastern Montagnais shows the nuclear family to have had greater functional importance than among the Mundurucú. The Montagnais family was a relatively stable unit within the shifting and amorphous hunting bands, whereas the Mundurucú pattern was the converse. Each Mundurucu household was a stable unit composed of women and their female offspring. The Mundurucú had the seeming paradox of matrilocal extended families in a society of patrilineal clans and moieties. The men married into these extended families from similar units in the same village or from other villages. However, there was no need to integrate a husband into the extended matrilocal family of the household, because the focus of his activities was the men's house. All males upon reaching adolescence slept in the men's house, which was located on the western perimeter of the circle of houses composing the village. The females of each household prepared and sent food to the men's house to be eaten in a communal meal. The men's house was also the center of male work and relaxation. The most immediate economic tie of a man to his wife's house was that he brought his daily take of game there. Communal distribution of game, however, made this economically

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Despite the flourishing trade in gewgaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucú economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous. 439 177

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucú and the Montagnais are porbably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucú, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inexorably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucú families, like those of the Algonkians, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucú. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucú were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucú country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucú villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucú was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucú to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucú warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective. [622] 721 177 439 [797]

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucú acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucú society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucú who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy. 177 621

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucú villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large [221] 314 361 177

361 portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods
314 could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

[183] These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable
[571] during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves
177 passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the
747 Cururu River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucu until the 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururú River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

177 The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to
621 nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy,
544 it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

621 Political authority on the Cururú River was almost nonexistent. The migrants
178 began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururú River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the
[221] Cururú River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Mostagnas 1946

Mu 178 621 Mu [578]

to the disorganization of Cururú River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Cururú River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber swamps or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucú. Over one-third of the Cururú River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

IV. Comparative Summary

Mu Mo 177 171 437 452

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing ties of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon become necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

Mu Mo 171 177 [434] Mu Mo [433]

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Mostagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Mostagnais chief. Mostagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

Mu Mo 171 177 439 622

[text continues on p. 348]

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mentaqueis NH6

Mundurucú (cont.)

village held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability.
Centrigetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in D, below.

B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4A)
Leadership no longer integrative.
Individual trade undercuts kin obligations.
Conflict with agricultural cycle resolved by moving to rubber avenue--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.

Mentaqueis (cont.)

Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries.
Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year.
Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Mentaqueis, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated Indians east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Mentaqueis. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all their own subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

The Brazilian rubber tapper--the white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucú who bought most of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

The acculturative factors operated in too somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Mentaqueis. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Mentaqueis.

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais NHL

No
Mu
177
SM
621

The culmination of the long acculturative processes shows a high degree of structural parallelism. Both Mundurucu and Montagnais populations are divided into loosely integrated and dispersed communities centering about particular trading posts with which the individual families have ties. The Indians still recreate, associate, and intermarry with one another, but the nuclear family is now the stable socio-economic unit. It is the highest level of integration found among the native population itself, but it is linked to the nation through the intermediary of a regional economy. The integration of the family with the national level is highly specialized and limited. These families do not yet share a substantial part of the common denominator of the national culture or even of the regional sub-cultures of their non-Indian neighbors.

No
Mu
177
184

There is a final phase, which, though occurring at different dates in the different localities, is characterized by assimilation of the Indians as a local sub-culture of the national sociocultural system and virtual loss of identity as Indians. At this point, the acculturational processes and results diverge, since the Indians participate to a much greater extent in the national culture. So long as the families maintain their marginal relation with the national society, they are quite unlike the basic populations of the nations in which they lived and much more like one another. When, however, they learn the national language, intermarry extensively with non-Indians, and acquire many of the non-Indian values and behavior patterns, they have to be classed with the special regional sub-cultures that have developed in portions of these nations.

It can be predicted that the drastic shift in mode and level of integration will do much to hasten the loss of cultural distinctiveness. Fortes has cogently expressed the relationship between social structure and formal culture content in such a situation:

> "I would suggest that a culture is a unity insofar as it is tied to a bounded social structure. In this sense I would agree that the social structure is the foundation of the whole social life of any continuing society.....The social structure of a group does not exist without the customary norms and activities which work through it. We might safely conclude that where structure persists there must be some persistence of corresponding custom, and where custom survives there must be some structural basis for this" [Fortes 1953, pp. 12-23].

V. Further Comparisons

No
Mu
171
177
121

We can delineate and refine the Mundurucu-Algonkian parallel by the cross-cultural examination of structural changes caused by acculturation in other areas. We will not seek further parallels, however, but will discuss cultures in which divergence appears manifest. One instance of such apparent divergence is the Northwest Coast, where the fur trade at first strengthened or intensified rather than weakened the aboriginal social structure. The florescence of the potlatch and class system on the Northwest Coast as a result of new wealth in trade goods is a thesis which has been ably expounded by a number of students (cf. Barnett 1938; Drucker 1939; Collins 1950; Codere 1950). It would be very misleading, however, to consider any trade in furs as the crucial factor. What really matters is individual trapping of fur-bearing animals. The sea otter was the principal fur bartered by most Northwest Coast tribes, and collection involved neither individual effort nor delineated territories. The amount of land trapping was probably fairly limited and in any event did not offset the disruptive effects of the great salmon wealth which created surpluses rarely if ever paralleled by hunting, gathering, and fishing people.

The trapping activities of the Skagit of Puget Sound more nearly paralleled those of the Northeastern Algonkians, according to Collins description [1950, p. 338]:

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 of the stream is wild and solitary. The jungle overhangs the water and only once in a great while does a tiny wattle-and-daub house, the home of a collector of wild rubber, appear in a small clearing. At even greater intervals, the launch passes or stops at little hamlets of three to six such houses, which form the trading centers of the scattered collector population.

[143] Several days and barely 400 miles of this travel bring the voyager to the trading posts which conduct sporadic business with one segment of the Mundurucú population. There are a few such establishments, all situated on the Tapajós River near the mouths of its eastern tributaries, the Cadirirí, Cabitutú, and das Tropas. A number of Mundurucú villages are at the headwaters of the latter streams, and an occasional Indian, distinguished by tattooing, unusually ragged or ill-fitting clothing, and impassivity of facial expression can often be seen at the trading [144] posts. Racially, the Mundurucú does not stand out sharply, for Caucasoid genes are as thoroughly distributed among the Indian population as are Indian genes among the local Brazilians.

If one wishes to reach the village of Cabruá, a typical Mundurucú community of the savannah lands east of the Tapajós, it is necessary to ascend the Cabitutú River in a canoe. After five days, or more during the rainy season, of dawn-to-dusk paddling, the port of the village is reached. This consists of a cleared stretch of river bank and a trail that leads to a house about 100 yards away. The house is usually occupied only during the dry season, when some residents of Cabruá go there to pass the summer in fishing and rubber collecting. To reach the village, one must walk a half-day overland from this point. A well-beaten trail leads from the valley of the Cabitutú and over a ridge, dipping down again to cross a small stream. It continues through the forest and then abruptly emerges onto a sun-scorched savannah. The journey is then near an end, and a few miles of slow but steady ascent through the grasslands and past isolated clumps of forest bring one to the village.

561 The majority of the Mundurucú now live on the banks of the larger streams of the area in order to have convenient access to the rubber trees that grow there. Only 300 Indians live in the contemporary savannah villages, but 700 reside on the Curuá River in contact with a Brazilian Indian Service post and a Roman Catholic mission staffed by Franciscan priests. Another 200, the most acculturated part of the population, live among the Brazilian population of the Tapajós River. [173] But the region of mixed savannah and gallery forest east of the Tapajós River is their traditional habitat. Most of the events recounted in their mythology are believed to have occurred there, and this has been their homeland throughout the historic period and, according to Mundurucú tradition, since the creation of man.

178 The modern savannah communities have preserved traditional Mundurucú 621 architecture and village plan to a greater extent than the riverine groups. Each 941 has two to five dwelling houses and a men's house, arranged in a circle about a central plaza. But whereas the plazas formerly served as ceremonial and dance precincts and were kept free of weeds, they are now rank with underbush. And the houses are considerably smaller, reflecting the diminished population of the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tribe in general and the extended family in particular. Also, although the men's houses are still built according to the traditional pattern, the dwellings are now built on a rectangular floor plan in contrast to the older elliptical shape. 178 (62) [341]

Modification of the traditional Mundurucú village is even more striking on the shores of the Cururú River. Some villages number almost 100 inhabitants, but others are tiny hamlets of two small houses; none has the men's house. All dwellings face toward the river, but there is no over-all village plan. The houses are constructed of wattle and daub and, but for a few distinctively Mundurucú characteristics, are much like those of the Neo-Brazilian population. This conformity to the architecture of the whites[1] is even greater on the Tapajós River, where the Mundurucú live in single-family isolation.

The decline of Mundurucú culture is also evident in the physical appearance and dress of the people. All now wear the cheap cotton shirts and trousers or Mother Hubbard dresses sold to them by the traders. The more traditional men of the savannah villages generally wear penis sheath and bark belt beneath this raiment and usually hunt in the latter accoutrements only. The elaborate body and facial tattooing that were formerly the hallmark of all Mundurucú, both male and female, is also on the wane. It is common now to see young people who are half-tattooed, or who have only the first few lines, never completed because of the lapse of the practice. 291 178 [304]

History

The current decadence of Mundurucú culture is not unexpected. On the contrary, it is remarkable that the Mundurucú have preserved so much, and that they still have a semiautonomous society after more than a century and a half of continuous peaceful relations with the whites. They arrived late on the Amazon historical scene, and were not noted in published reports until 1768.[2] Whether the Mundurucú reported at that time were the members of a war party or had migrated from their home territory is uncertain, for they were seen far to the north of the upper Tapajós country on the Maué-Assú River, a tributary of a channel of the Madeira River named the Paraná Mirim. But their center of strength remained roughly in their present habitat, and they fought a colonial military detachment in that region in 1795.[3] Their defeat at the hands of government troops ended more than two decades of Mundurucú raids upon the Portuguese settlements of the Amazon and ushered in a period of peaceful relations and active alliance with the whites. 175

Subsequent to their pacification, large numbers of Mundurucú drifted into the vicinity of the growing towns and missions on the lower Madeira and Tapajós rivers. The missions are of especial interest to the subject matter of this study. In 1803 the mission of Santa Cruz was established on the lower Tapajós River 175 797

[1] The term "white" as applied herein to the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon is used as a shorthand way of saying, "people bearing a local variant of Luso-Brazilian culture, and who identify themselves with Brazilian society." Actually, the local people represent varying degrees of Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid admixture.

[2] Monteiro Noronha, 1862.

[3] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13*

439 that carry only ten tons of cargo. This limitation prohibits the diversified economy of the lower Tapajós from developing further upstream, for the only worthwhile product in terms of transportation costs is natural rubber, which sold in 1952 for the artificially supported price of Cr. $25 (approximately U.S. $0.75 at the open-market rate of exchange then prevailing) per kilogram at the government-operated Rubber Bank of Brazil in Belém.

The economic hierarchy of the Tapajós River consists
439 of the company, with headquarters in Belém; the patrons,
452 who are by necessity customers of the company; and the rubber collectors, who are the clients of particular patrons. Transactions between all parties are made on credit. The company advances commodities to the traders and the latter to the rubber collectors against expected deliveries of rubber. Very little cash passes hands.

The river valley can be conceived of as a socioeconomic
439 unit for it is bound together by economic ties from the
621 company through the patron down to the rubber collector;
648 and to the man born on the river, it is the only world he knows. Most ties of kinship, marriage, and friendship are confined to the river banks from the rapids to the limits of Brazilian penetration on the São Manoel and Jurucua rivers. Most of the approximately 2,000 inhabitants of this huge region are either personally acquainted or have knowledge of each other.

Within the broad social framework imposed by the river
621 system, the local community consists of the patron and his
648 dispersed rubber-collecting clients. The patron serves as the focal point of community life: he is usually the *padrinho*, or godfather, of the customer's children; it is at his house that devotions to the saints are usually held; it is there that secular festivals such as dances occur; and his store serves as the gathering place on Sundays or alternate

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Sundays when the people come to trade and to enjoy social contacts. The patron is also expected to intervene in cases of serious violation of the law, and he is frequently called upon to settle disputes among his clients. The latter depend heavily on the traditional mutual obligations between patron and client. If the rubber collector falls ill and cannot work, the patron is expected to continue to extend credit to him so that his family may subsist. The patron is also supposed to offer food and coffee when his client visits and to show generosity to the latter's children, even if he is not their godfather. In turn, the client is expected to produce as much rubber as possible and to be loyal to his patron. But it is, at best, a very loosely knit community, for membership shifts frequently and the daily life of the people is carried on in one- or two-family isolation. The most important factor holding the community together is trade with the same patron.

This paucity of social interaction and the loose cohesion of the community is generally caused by the extraction economy prevailing in Amazonia and especially by the collection of wild rubber. The wild rubber trees exploited in the Amazon are scattered along the streams and are usually found on land flooded during the rainy season. Access to the trees is along paths that wind through the forest from one tree to another. The average rubber gatherer has one to three such "avenues" that he visits in rotation every third day to make a fresh cut in the bark of the tree and, later in the same day, to collect the latex that has accumulated in a metal cup placed below the incision. The trees are so widely distributed, except in the richest areas, that he usually works from dawn to late afternoon just to tap one avenue. The great area necessarily exploited by each rubber tapper, plus the fact that large riverine areas are found with few rubber trees and are thus unoccupied,

314 makes a dispersed settlement pattern necessary. Transpor-
361 tation in the region is only by canoe, and this, combined
[489] with the long work day, necessitates the placement of the house near the rubber avenue. The result is an average distance between houses of one mile, longer intervening stretches occurring in districts poor in rubber and thus submarginal in today's market.

314 The rubber tapper's work is not finished when he returns to his house, for he still must smoke and thereby cure and congeal the liquid latex. This process usually occupies about three hours, but if his yield is great, it can take up
511 to five hours. Since his poverty is such that he can afford to buy only certain staple foodstuffs, he is often forced to
[226] fish until late in the night after he has smoked his rubber.
[224] The small amount of game eaten is usually killed by him during his rounds of the rubber trees. The only other im-
241 portant subsistence activity, slash-and-burn agriculture, is
511 not often practiced by the rubber cutter because good land within a feasible distance of his house is rare, because the patron, to whom he usually is indebted requires extra services in addition to a maximum production of rubber, and because he is resigned in apathy to his hopeless situa-
621 tion. Under these circumstances of great distance from his
511 neighbors and preoccupation with a barter economy requiring complete individualization of production, the bonds of economic coöperation and interdependency are weak within the local community. The caboclo has no re-
[426] course because he is usually held in debt servitude to the trader, and because the region, in its present state of economic development, offers few alternatives. This, then, is the milieu into which the remaining Mundurucú are being progressively drawn and into which many of their forebears have already been assimilated.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

Tocantins states that many
175 Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servi-
466 tude by the whites,[34] a practice common to all of Amazonia
648 at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons
[166] to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mun-
[162] durucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[35] All these scattered Mundurucú
[177] were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average pop-
[592] ulation of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

175 The population of the savannah villages decreased dur-
621 ing this period because of death from disease and loss of
622 people to the river banks. However, the villages them-
648 selves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are
439 mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became
000 a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[35] Coudreau, 1897, p. 166.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

durucú subsistence. Trade is for Western manufactured 22
goods only; all food is obtained from the immediate en- [439]
vironment.

The village is the basic unit of social interaction and co- 619
operation among the Mundurucú. Strong ties exist be- 621
tween the residents of each community, and all feel them-
selves to be members of the tribe as a whole; there are no linguistic or cultural differences between any of the savannah villages, and feelings of localism are but weakly developed. But despite the fundamentally pan-tribal identification made by the people, the local community is the essential framework in which their daily existence is passed, and it is the largest social unit with a continuing political organization. Each village is autonomous within terms of the subsistence economy, and its membership constitutes the significant group engaged in production and distribution.

HUNTING

Of the four principal subsistence-seeking activities, hunt- 224
ing and horticulture contribute more to the food supply than fishing and gathering, except during the dry season when residence shifts to the river banks. To the Mundurucú man of the savannahs, the proper daily activity is the hunt. The men are tireless and enthusiastic hunters and prize game more than any other food. Hunting, in aboriginal times, was done exclusively with bows and arrows and simple traps. Many, but by no means most, men now have firearms, usually muzzle-loading shotguns. The principal animals hunted are tapir (*Tapirus americanus*), wild pig (*Tayassu albirostris*), catitú (*Tayassu tajassu*), several species of deer, *paca* (*Cuniculus paca Acs.*), monkeys, and birds. Wild pig is the most abundant source of game food in the Tapajós region. Although the men enjoy

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

5

the local group

The village is the locus of economic and social life among the Mundurucú of the savannahs. Remoteness from larger streams makes these communities rather isolated in today's economic and social setting, but their positions on open, grass-covered hills fitted them ideally for purposes of defense in earlier times. The men still prefer savannah life because insects are lacking and the country is considered beautiful. But of greater importance, it is strongly felt that the proper place for a "true" Mundurucú village is in this locale. As will be shown in the next chapter, the conditions of migration have imposed overwhelming economic and social obstacles to the transplanting of traditional Mundurucú communities to the banks of the Cururú River and other larger streams, but these inhibiting factors have been supported by the deep conviction

361 [621]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the [311] more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking [166] ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

166 The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered 361 greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this [688] was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

622 The household of the chief included 17 people, and the 592 largest house unit of the village had a population of 26. 621 The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

114 but it is equally possible that the former reporter was cor-
345 rect and that the present composition of the men's house
575 represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceeding from Martius's data on other aspects of Mundurucú social structure, if the men's house was the residence of
591 bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were
621 fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality
562 would have kept the latter in the village. They would then have been faced with either permanent residence in the men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incorporation into the household economy and authority structure. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocality by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such easement is important, for, in contrast to the local endogamy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[7] the Mundurucú male commonly comes from another village and does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts prerogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans undoubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from another community. The young man caught in the process of change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate himself to permanent residence in a village in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female, the male plays the main role in the structure of authority and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

[7] *Cf.* Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion of clan and lineage has made the social adjustment of 562
the Mundurucú most delicate, as will be seen presently, 591
but the problem of the integration of the male into a 621
household group far from his native village would have imposed a formidable obstacle to the change to matrilocality. It is possibly for this reason that a combination of patrilineality and matrilocality is most rare. The Mundurucú men's house provided a means to accommodate such a change and to make matrilocality more acceptable to a people who reckon their closest kinsmen patrilineally. The man who marries a woman of another village becomes integrated into the men's house, where he finds a large group of men of the same moiety and perhaps some fellow clansmen and natives of his own village. His relations with his new household are, in the beginning, tenuous.

The means by which the men accommodate themselves 476
to matrilocality may be seen in operation today. The earlier 591
discussion on marriage indicated that the male has great 621
mobility; if his affinal relatives trouble him, he may gather [562]
up his belongings and leave. But the organization of village life relieves him of many such pressures. He is expected to bring game and fish to his wife, and this constitutes his main responsibility in the household economy. After he turns over the food, the wife keeps a share for the general household larder and, if there is enough, distributes the rest to the women of the other houses in the village; the food is cooked, and the women of each house bring a portion to the men's house, whereupon the males partake of a communal meal. The provision of his wife with the day's kill is thus primarily a symbolic act, except when there is only enough to feed his wife's household or his nuclear family. Each family head has a garden, but the man clears the garden with the aid of all other village men, and his wife is joined in weeding and the harvest by

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more
591 men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, al-
621 though this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, def-
[606] erence, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but *there are few occasions on* which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely disassociated from
591 the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently re-
593 lax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And,
621 as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

345 In the eksá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleep-
513 ing arrangements. On each side of the men's house and
61 down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and sus-
183 picion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men.
578 Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

476 This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the
621 Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

562 The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But these are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the eksá only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in
345 which the sacred trumpets (karökö), are kept is absolutely
778 forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber
534 adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

883 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[884] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his pri-
[882] mary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[756] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

6

social solidarity and social fission

619 [621] Each Mundurucú village is an autonomous political unit, and there is no permanent multicommunity decision-making body. However, the Mundurucú feel themselves to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dji* [101] *nyö*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people," and the *pariwat*, a term which is applied to all non-Mundurucú. All the "people" consider themselves to be related, and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship system. All, however, are expected to show coöpera- [183] tion and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá [648] Indians and the whites, the *pariwat* are enemies and, in former times, were the objects of warfare.

[p. 126]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic 619
matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated
into the society and are said to have remained loyal even [727]
in wars against the villages where they were born. The
unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic
and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members
was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elab-
orate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was [304]
the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, 621
but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two com- 476
munities might coöperate. But a number of villages usu- 619
ally participated in war expeditions and the major cere-
monies. These occasions provided the opportunity for
scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse
residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, be- 721
cause it called for a high degree of organization and co- 619
operation. When the initiative was taken by the men of
one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a
member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of [701]
particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other [575]
communities and extend invitations to take part in the
hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village ac-
cepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to
protect the women, children, and old people and to con-
tinue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervil-
lage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable
war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses
of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within 602
the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa- 628
619

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú who work for the traders or live among the Brazilians. Some of these people maintain relations with the savannah dwellers and communicate to their residents knowledge of Brazilian culture. Other Mundurucú spent time among the Brazilians when young and later returned to the savannahs. They are few, but so are the remaining campineiros, and this is accordingly an important mode of influence. These sojourns among the whites take various forms. Some Indians are raised in the households of the traders, who claim that they do this only to "educate" and Christianize them. Actually the children perform household service without pay, but they are fed and treated well and are integrated into the household and family of the trader. They become well indoctrinated in Brazilian culture, as are other Mundurucú who have spent some years in the employ of the traders. Most such people do not return to the savannah villages, but the few who do go back for varying periods are significant in the introduction of Brazilian culture. But the structure within which this communication operates is set up by the patron-client relation —that is, cultural knowledge is transmitted through the agency of a social system that was established for the exchange of commodities.

COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

This section summarizes the factors that promote the cohesion of the savannah villages and the opposing factors that disturb social norms and cause losses in community membership.

The Mundurucú feel that their way of life can only be conducted successfully in the traditional village locales of the savannahs. To leave these communities is to become almost a foreigner. Considerable sentiment is thus attached to life in the savannah villages and many people,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 185 621 especially the old, cling tenaciously to residence there. In times long past, the alternatives to village life were privation and death at the hands of enemy war parties; the village was the basic unit in economy and defense and was fundamental to the workings of the social organization.

182 621 [361] The pacification of the Tapajós River region, and the rubber trade, have presented the opportunity for an alternate mode of residence along the banks of larger streams. That it offers certain attractions is manifest from the fact that almost three-quarters of the surviving Mundurucú of the area have elected it. But the 380 people who still reside in the savannahs pursue a way of life which is distinctively Mundurucú. It is a changed culture, a changed social structure, but it is genetically rooted in the Mundurucú past. Life in these savannah villages obviously exerts a considerable hold over its members, for the communities have been persisting despite more than a century and a half of contact with Brazilian society and a constant population drain through emigration and epidemic disease. Some of the principal bases of this cohesion lie in the social means by which Mundurucú technology is implemented, for these provide fundamental ties of personal and familial interdependence.

162 476 621 [464] The keynote of this organization lies in coöperation in production, and collectivism in consumption. Men depend on coöperation in hunting to bring game to bay within short range of their bows and to concentrate their fire power. Women share the arduous chore of farinha making and increase their efficiency by a division of tasks. The efficiency gained is perhaps sacrificed to conviviality, but a dull and arduous job is nonetheless made more pleasant. The implements used in manioc processing are expensive and beyond the means of individuals, but the village buys

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid.

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence.

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe.

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 villages of their populations comes from the outside. The
439 quest of the Mundurucú for trade items and the equally intense effort of the traders to obtain increased rubber yields from their Indian customers has steadily drawn the latter deeper in the extraction industry. The limitations placed on their production by rainy-season residence in the savannah villages has, however, proved an obstacle to their expanding demand for trade articles. Many have overcome this block by the simple expedient of remaining in their rubber-avenue homes throughout the year and thus extending the period during which they tap rubber.

The internal factors that ease or make necessary such a move are thus complemented by the pull of trade. Emi-
[166] gration is easy. The family already has a house at the rubber avenue which with some patching may make a suitable all-year residence. Many have producing gardens
[244] which were originally made to provide food during the dry season, but which can serve equally well during the rains. Since these gardens are commonly in good, black soil, they are actually more desirable than those near the village.

Individual nuclear families sometimes move immedi-
182 ately from village life into isolated existence. This is, of
166 course, almost always true of fugitive sorcerers. But the
361 desire for sociability and economic coöperation commonly
621 motivates the family to settle with or adjacent to other Mundurucú who preceded them in the migration. Or a small group of nuclear families that customarily resides together in the dry season may leave village life together.
182 These clusters of families help each other in hunting, gar-
476 dening, and manioc processing, and they also pool their
624 resources to buy a copper pan to toast farinha. Since they generally produce more rubber than they did as savannah residents, they also have the purchasing power to buy a

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

canoe and firearms. Fishing is easier with watercraft and solitary hunting more effective by firearms. Both may be bought by the individualized labor of rubber production, and both further free the individual of his dependence on a larger group.

The net effect of the social processes currently affecting the Mundurucú is to scatter the population into semi-isolated and economically independent units. When the now middle-aged and old people die, the process will probably accelerate and the savannah villages will pass out of existence. The families will presumably settle, as all now do in the dry season and several throughout the year, on the waters of the Cadiriri, Cabitutú, and Tropas rivers. Those on the former two rivers will no doubt be customers of the post of Sae Cinza and the residents of the latter will be clients of the patrons of Caroçal and São Martinho. Trips to the trader's store and increased use of canoes will allow the residents of each river to maintain frequent relations with each other, but the long distances between the streams will propably inhibit similar communication between their inhabitants. Beyond the membership of the hamlets in which small groups of nuclear families congregate, the only more inclusive form of economic interdependences will be that between patron and client. This relationship will probably grow in importance, and the Indians will become more firmly integrated into the loose communities, typical of the Amazon, composed of the trader and his customers.

These predictions are not entirely conjectural, for the projected way of life is essentially that of the Mundurucú who have already migrated to the Tapajós River and its tributaries. The nature of the migration and the following life by the river prohibits the reconstitution of savannah-type villages.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

and they too abandoned the annual return to the savannahs. The material prosperity of these emigrants lured more of their brethren into increased rubber collection, and greater numbers of Indians began to establish permanent residences on the river banks. There is little doubt that the same centrifugal tendencies that are currently operating in the remaining savannah communities did much to hasten the migration. In time, small villages were established on the Cururú River.

Those who tapped rubber on the Cururú tended, as the people of Cabruá today, to choose avenues near their close kinsmen and house mates. Unmarried sons worked with their fathers, and sons-in-law also had contiguous rubber trails; other relatives worked nearby if it was convenient. When these families shifted to permanent occupancy of the river shores, they maintained these affiliations and either lived in the same dwelling or built adjacent but separate houses. Other persons who had rubber avenues in the vicinity migrated later and chose to settle in these little hamlets. Although this might force them to walk for thirty or forty-five minutes to their daily labors, the presence of others afforded the opportunity to share in farinha-making equipment and, of greater importance, provided them with the companionship and social intercourse to which village life had accustomed them.

Other migrants to the Cururú settled in these villages also, but their rubber avenues were too far away to allow daily commuting, and they had to follow the familiar pattern of village residence in the rainy season and temporary habitation of the rubber avenue during the dry summer. This was no great inconvenience, because these dry-season houses were usually within a few hours of the village and were easily accessible by water. The benefits of water transportation could only be enjoyed if one had a canoe,

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

166 182 It does not require a particularly strong motive to induce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 602 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weakening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same [835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the [594] nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship [551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 621 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tion in their short histories. The main reasons for their creation were the perpetuation of kinship ties and the desire for companionship and coöperation; all these bases of solidarity are now deteriorating. Finally, the Mundurucú social system is incompatible with heavy preoccupation with the rubber industry. The nature of this trade and the ecological conditions of rubber exploitation tend to produce an atomized and scattered society. The economic and, to a lesser extent, social integration of such a trade-oriented economy is provided by the market. The Mundurucú of the Cururú River are being drawn increasingly within the orbit of the Amazonian credit system. The traditional bases of integration are now gone, and social change can have no other direction.

192
621
177
182
439

/21 cont./

241 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these
192 two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko
462 as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does this but /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of its being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

241 It is plain that this complex of agricultural matters is reflected
621 in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Mundurukú who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those
[178] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate
[591] nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Mundurukú Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Mundurukú who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc. rivers.

/22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or
241 less the primitive or traditional form of the Mundurukú agricultural
476 system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance.
621 Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Mundurukú/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.

/22 cont./ this cooperative labor

*241 exists in fact up to a point in the villages, and must be understood
421 within the framework of the division of labor and its juridical bases,
[62] which apply first and foremost to the right to private or individual
[476] property. As regards garden matters, we are dealing with the joint task of two social elements, male and female, and their respective cycles of labor. Men and women, however, even after they marry and form a family, do not lose, through marriage, their individual property rights to their part of the garden, for the Indian is basically
[181] an individualist and does not recognize communal property rights. To compensate for this, they have recourse to a concept which we might call "right of indemnification" and which refers to the communal usufruct of the plot by the man, the wife, and, of course, the children for whom they are responsible.

*241 It is well to explain this matter of plot ownership in greater
423 detail.

I believe that it is necessary to make a distinction between the owner of the plot, and the owner of the labors performed on this plot and of the results obtained.

The land, in the forest and even within the area occupied by the tribe, has no owner. Anyone may clear a plot wherever he wishes. But once the site has been chosen, it becomes a property for the entire period while it is producing; it is then the man's property. After it has been abandoned, however, it becomes once more anybody's and everybody's land, untenanted land. /23/ (12) There only

[171]

12. Among the Tenetehara, also a tribe of the Tupi group, a similar phenomenon is observed. "Garden lands, that is to say, lands on which people have expanded labor, are either individual or group property. During the time a man still has crops on the site, it belongs to him. But as soon as he has

/25 cont./

*241 476 garden. When, however, the utilization of the mature garden is involved, then the family manifests and exercises its right of private ownership. In most cases, man and wife or the members of the family prefer to pull out the manioc by themselves. The garden is thus utilized, as a rule, without recourse to other people or to the group. This, then, is the position of the Mundurukú family regard-
[594] ing the garden and its produce within the tribal community: The family is located within the community, and needs and obtains from this community mutual /26/ assistance for the garden tasks; but the
[423] family always reserves exclusive rights to the ownership, use, and enjoyment of its garden.

178 How do things stand, however, for the acculturated Mundurukú? Nowadays, about four-fifths of the Mundurukú have given up the sys-
● [521] tem of life in tribal communities. For these, there is no longer any direct connection with village life, and their communities have been dissolved. The families break free. There are no longer communal
[342] houses, but each family has its own home. Inevitably, as a result,
[423] they own private plots and gardens. And just as each family lives alone, thus tooeach man or each family prepares his own plot individually. This is the basic pattern. But owing to existing difficulties
[476] and to need, mutual assistance has been retained as a beneficial element. Relatives and neighbors are invited to help out in the garden, and conversely, those who lent their assistance are helped in their turn, in the same fashion and under the same conditions as was formerly done within the system of communal life.

*241 As an essential conclusion, there results from this that among
177 the Mundurukú the division and execution of garden tasks according
182 to sex groups and to work cycles, the planting system, and the mutual
462 cooperation by invitation, are very stable culture elements. They
476 have endured and have not suffered essential modifications, even after the dissolution of the tribal communities to which they pertained and the acculturation to the new, neo-Brazilian environment.

*241 There still exists a type of garden which, up to a point, could
602 be called a "communal garden." This type, however, is found only
421 among relatives in the narrower sense of the term. When relatives (for example: the families of a father and son or of several brothers)

/27 cont. /

*241
361

15. The complete lack of fertilization methods among the Indians of the Amazon forest is well known. It is only when fallow plots are burned that the depleted soil derives some fertilizing elements from the ashes.

has to seek new sites farther out and set up his gardens ever farther away, so that, after a certain period of time, the Indian group actually lives far from its source of subsistence, until the Indians themselves find transportation of the crops to their homes difficult. Then comes the time to move the village to another /28/ more favorable location. On such occasions, the original (and no doubt the most fitting) form of this reciprocal relation of garden and village becomes apparent.

When a move takes place and a new village is built, the latter [622] lies in the center of the new garden plot of the tuxaua, or chief of the group. The traditional shape of the garden plot is rounded, as already mentioned. In the center of it, the plaza of the new village is cleared, also in rounded shape. Within it, the houses are laid out [342] in a square: the men's house or shed (hoksa), open in front to the [346] east, with the house of the ancestral spirits (kaduke) alongside it; the oval houses for women and children (hok-a) to the right and left; and the square is closed with another hok-a on the east side, if need be.

/Figure 3 appears here. /

[621] The nucleus thus formed becomes a new center of the tribal group, of the clan or sib. The garden plot and the village thus form a unit, with the village standing within the first plot. In the years that /29/ follow, the garden plots expand outward. And if the soil is not suitable, the garden is moved farther out, ever farther, until, after a number of years, the need is felt to transfer the village and start all over again. Thus originate the cycles of intraterritorial group migrations.

/29 cont./

*24 361 [182] [621] [166]

From this relationship of garden and village, and also, of garden and community, there results the relatively slight local stability of the tribal groups, which, however, does not reach the stage of nomadism, and perhaps not even that of seminomadism in the strict sense of the term. In fact, there is a certain amount of group migration resulting from the agrarian situation, since it is the soil that forces the Indian to keep moving on. But these migrations are a slow process which is not strikingly noticeable because the moves from one location

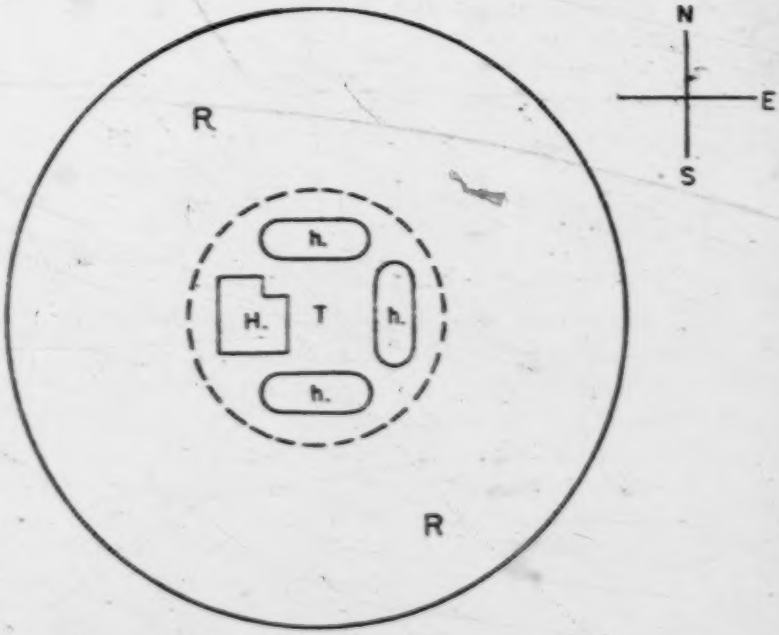


Figure 3. Plan of a Mundurukú village
T: plaza; H: hoksa; h: hok-a; R: Garden plots.

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

175 The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the [131] mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

114 In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided 131 the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with 101 the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Mauê, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

[302 386] "The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing [723] to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

[622] "They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

[648] "Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

683 the other side of the Mission, across the stream, in the midst of
797 the woods), seeing that the envoys he had dispatched at dawn did not return, said impatiently: 'These people are no good at killing people, I'll go myself!' But when he got there he found the victim already sacrificed. They returned satisfied, leaving the body to the vultures, without giving it burial."

[622] This Capt. José da Gama, mentioned by the missionary father, had been the chief of a village which formerly stood on the banks of the Tapajoz and came with all his people to the Mission of Bacabal. His aboriginal name is Mari-Baxi; the missionary father always left him in charge of the Mission when he had to leave for any period of time. He is an energetic and bold Indian, and already before the Mission was founded he sacrificed several of his companions who had been accused of witchcraft, among them his own brother whom [109] he cast down the waterfalls with a stone tied to his neck.

If Mari-Baxi, alias José da Gama, still commits such acts in a mission which is under government supervision, we can imagine what the chiefs of the central villages may do. The above episode took place in 1875, while I was traveling beyond the Mission of Bacabal, visiting the plains villages. Upon my return I stayed two days at the Mission, where José da Gama was in charge during the absence of the missionary who had gone to the capital.

The chief greeted me with numerous tokens of regard and friendship, but said not a word about the crime he had just committed. He, as well as his accomplices, preserved the greatest secrecy on the subject. Even the missionary, who returned a few days after my stay at the Mission, only came to know the facts much later.

683 Around that time, the following episode also took place in one of the villages. Several Indian women went bathing in a
[112] brook near the village; upon returning, each carried on her head
[415] a gourd of water for her household. When they least expected it, four Mundurucu came out toward them, got hold of one of the poor girls who was about eighteen years old, and pierced her with their tremendous spears. Her companions tarried a moment and

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related." but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal socety is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aidd him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part inthe actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

1 [Martius (Source No. 3) says this ocurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

197 101 The Mundurucú are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors 302 101 and with the lingua geral. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

726 701 The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never [578 619] between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Internecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the [622] chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Trubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Horton, 1948, p. 273.

585 his game to the house of his bride and the products of his
591 garden went to the new household. He didn't even have to
586 move his hammock. Marriage was unstable especially in its early years before children were born to the couple. However, separation frequently occurred even between couples with two or three children. In these cases, the man went back to his old village or house affiliation and the children stayed with the mother. The commonest causes of marital breakup were laziness or infidelity on the part of the wife, in which case the husband might simply gather his hammock, weapons, and personal belongings together and leave. The same reasons on the part of the husband might cause the girl's family to turn the husband out of the household. Her relative lack of mobility made it difficult for the female to take the initiative in these cases.

595 Polygamy was not commonly practiced among the Mundurucú and the number of wives in such unions never exceeded two. It was generally confined to the chief of the village since the chief and his sons were exempt from the rules of matrilocality. The sons of the chief remained members of the father's household and their brides were incorporated into it. Usually the second wife was taken at some considerable time after the first marriage and often only when the first wife grew too old to fulfill her economic functions. A situation akin to polygamy often existed when a man took a new wife before taking his leave of the old one. These episodes were usually stormy. There was frequently bitter hostility between the two wives if they shared

614 simple geometric and slightly curvilinear designs, were
344 painted there by members of the sib depicted, at the time of the erection of the men's house.

614 The sacred trumpets, called karōkō, embodied the
534 souls of the "old people" of the sib owning them and also had their own proper souls. These spirits exerted a benevolent influence over the village, but had to be offered food and periodically played in order to maintain this protection. Each village had a set of these trumpets and each one was the property of a certain sib. No special supernatural benefits accrued to the sib owning the trumpets. They were the property of a certain sib only because they took the sib membership of the man who made them. The important thing was that they contained the spirits of "old people" and not that they embodied the ancestors of any particular sib.

614 The sibs had no particular functions in the sense of duties or privileges. They served mainly to integrate the society by firm and formalized intervillage kinship bonds. They integrated the whole tribe, but were expressed by outward symbols in the village men's house. The above mentioned arrangement of hammocks in the men's house indicates that sib and moiety membership served to integrate men from various villages. In marriage regulation, the clans were superceded by the moieties. The moieties also buried each other's dead and had certain reciprocal ceremonial duties.

622 Political organization

Each Mundurucú village had an hereditary chief of limited power. In addition, each house had a recognized

●(622)leader. Descent was in the patrilineal line, with the chief's brother the first in line of succession, or, if no brother was available, the chief's eldest son. One of the chief's sons-in-law who resided with him could succeed if there was no son or if the son was too young or otherwise unsuitable. The chief's sons were exempt from the rule of matrilocality and usually brought their wives to their father's house. This resolved the obvious conflict between patrilineal succession and matrilocality. It also increased the prestige of the chief, for his brothers and their daughters and husbands and his sons and daughters and their families lived in his house. The chief's extended family thus tended to be the largest in the village. The kinship bonds between the male members of the chief's family made this the most cohesive group within the village in addition to being the most populous. In cases of disagreement they could usually be counted upon to back up the chief. They formed an ingroup that was the nucleus of the village, but one towards which there was often substantial suppressed resentment.

The chief was known as the ichongop, meaning specifically "chief," and also as the aypokokakat, or, literally, "owner of the village." The suffix "kat," in addition to denoting ownership, implies also, "one who takes charge." Thus, it is suffixed to words denoting material objects and also to names of ceremonies where leadership is clearly indicated.[19] The word for "chief" clearly conveys the latter

19. Among the Tenetehara, ceremonial leaders are also referred to as "owners" of the festivals (Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 123).

622 significance. The undisputed right of the chief to his position was recognized by the Mundurucú as a function of the uninterrupted occupation of the village by his family. The chief and his lineage thus gave continuity in time to the village and served as a stable element in the community, the male population of which was subject to considerable flux. The importance of the chief as a symbol of the village as a corporate entity can be derived from the attitudes of some informants who when asked why a certain village was abandoned would almost invariably reply, "The chief died" or "The chief died and there were no more old people left."

The chief's actual powers were vague. He had a position of prestige and his word was respected in decisions of a community nature, such as the choice of a new village location or the time and place of a timbó fishing trip, but he did not make unilateral decisions nor did he assume a role of direct authority at any time except in war, and then it was principally on the warpath and outside of the village that his authority was felt. The chief was generally an older man. Thus, he combined the two features of greatest importance in the Mundurucú prestige scale, age and eminence in warfare. If he happened to be a shaman, this would enhance his status even more.

623 There was no formal system of village council among the Mundurucú. The community decisions were discussed in the course of conversations in the man's house. The chief

156 tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely 557 discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and legends, nobody wished prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old man would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their counsil. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself 628 to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were suf- ficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic 476 to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was no elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A solitary worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

578 Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important 622 functions of the village chief were to lead war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

554 In addition to the glory of being an owner of a head, he was a valuable economic asset due to the charm that the head exerted over game.

726 622 Warfare was an occasion upon which the position of the chief became of great importance. The young warriors depended heavily on his experience and leadership. His authority was not unlimited, but it was more fully exercised and more necessary to successful results than during any peaceful endeavor in the village.

726 181 This is only a brief sketch of Mundurucú warfare for its complexity rivaled the war patterns of the North American Plains Indians. To the Mundurucú, themselves, it was the most important single pursuit and characterized their way of life more than any other activity. Its results were extremely destructive to other tribes but was a source of glory and vitality in Mundurucú culture.

Religion

771 The following discussion of Mundurucú religion will be brief and will touch mainly on those points pertinent to the problem of socio-cultural integration. In conformity with Tropical Forest patterns, the religious system was of great simplicity. There were the typical Tupian spirits of animal, fish, and plant species, souls of the dead and certain malignant spirits.[22] Magic was simple and usually directed towards antisocial ends. The only specialist was the shaman. All the males participated in the ceremonials

22. cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 108-109; Murphy, 1958, pp. 55-6.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

476 women who were grating the raw tubers. Another party of women would be
482 occupied in fetching fresh tubers from the garden. Tasks were rotated frequently. The requisite co-ordination and co-operation was facilitated by the bonds of enduring coresidence and relationship in the female line between the women of the household.

476 Just as property in land was of little importance due to the practice of
423 shifting horticulture on unlimited forest land, ownership of the houses was an amorphous concept since the village was abandoned and a new one built every ten years. When the new village was built, everyone joined in building each other's houses. My male informants commonly referred to the dwelling as the property of the husband of the oldest woman of the house, while the women referred to the latter as the owner. When questioned closely, however, the men conceded that perhaps the oldest woman owned the house. Under either
572 possibility, ownership *per se* was unimportant. The work of the household was generally directed by the oldest woman, and her husband enjoyed some prestige as its nominal leader. His exact functions were ill-defined, except for the exercise of influence over the women and his sons-in-law, since the men of the household did not normally operate as a co-operative group and the women
509 went about their tasks without male direction. The controls of the house leader were informal and indirect. He owed his prestige position chiefly to age.

622 There is an obvious conflict between the patrilineal inheritance of the chieftaincy and matrilocal residence. This was resolved quite simply by allowing the son of the chief to remain patrilocal and thereby provide a continuity of residence and political control. When a younger brother or son of the former chief inherited the position, he became chief of a village in which he had been born and in which his ancestors in the male line had been born and died. The term for chief, *ewyekabat*, can be literally translated as "the owner of the village," and informants rationalized the position and title of the chief as being due to the fact that one of his lineal ancestors had first established the village. The lineal continuity of village leadership preserved integration in one respect, while weakening it in another.

An immediate consequence of the ambivalence in postmarital residence patterns was that the chief's extended family constituted a true lineage and was further augmented by the normal pattern of matrilocality through which he acquired sons-in-law. Furthermore, polygynous unions were generally a prerogative of the chief. The chief's household tended to be larger than any other in the village, and, due to the consanguineal ties of its male members, it was also the most cohesive. There is no doubt that the power of the chief was thereby considerably reinforced. During my period of residence in a Mun-
570 durukú village having substantially this structure, it was noted that there was a rather high degree of latent antagonism between the men of the chief's family and the other men of the village. The former constituted a definite ingroup within the village, which conflicted with the patterns of co-operation and egalitarianism, and which, while supporting political controls, was dysfunctional in terms of the total structure. It was not coincidental that conflict over sorcery most often revolved around the family of the chief.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1948:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:383) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *kawáki*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them. 578 476 778

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent. 622 619

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as "... one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject. 726 609 [181]

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but [186] 726 [484 501]

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the
578 women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[591] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

182 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his
622 lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of sociated village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved-type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

8. Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

unimportant. Otherwise, the husband visited his household for purposes of sex, to play with the children, or to take a between-meals snack. 543

Marital breakups caused no great social maladjustment. The woman and her children simply lived on in the household and took another husband. If the ex-husband was originally from the same village, he did not even have to move his hammock from the man's house. The husband and wife performed no economic tasks together, and the sexual division of labor operated mainly within the context of the village as a whole rather than the nuclear family. [542] [542]

The yearly cycle of activity of the pre-rubber period Mundurucú was not patterned by wave and tide seasons as in Labrador, but by rainy and dry periods. At the end of each rainy season, April on the upper Tapajós River, the trees and vegetation in each projected garden were felled by a work party composed of all the men of the village and allowed to dry out. After clearing the forest, many families went in small groups to the larger streams where fishing was good during low waters and where they could meet the many game animals which left the interior forests to feed and drink at the streams. 231 241 [224 232]

After two to three months it was necessary to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in the garden clearings before the first rains wet the forests. After the early rains had sufficiently moistened the ground, individual gardens were planted to manioc by the cooperative efforts of all the men and women of the village. Other vegetables were planted by the women of the household of the man who initiated the gardens, and she was formally considered to own it.

Maize, squash, beans, and other vegetables were harvested by January or February and eaten immediately. The root crops, including bitter and sweet manioc, matured at the end of the rainy season in new gardens. A longer period of maturation was required for root crops in replanted gardens. Bitter and sweet manioc can be harvested as needed; this natural storage made these crops invaluable for year-around subsistence.

The bitter manioc, by far the most important garden product, required considerable labor to render it edible. The tubers were grated, the prussic acid was extracted by use of the tipiti, or basketry press, and the pulp was then toasted either in the form of the native beiju, a flat manioc cake, or of farinha, the coarse Brazilian manioc flour. Farinha was sold to Brazilian traders. All phases of manioc processing were carried out by the women of the extended family households, who worked together under the direction of the oldest woman of the house. The labor was divided according to specialized tasks which, however, probably contributed as much towards making the operation pleasant as efficient. 252 [434]

Farinha was than a collective product in that it involved the communal labor of the village in garden clearing and manioc planting, and the efforts of the women of the household in processing. Moreover, it was sold to the traders by the village as a whole and not by individuals. In this barter the hereditary village chief represented the village, and the proceeds from the sale were divided equally among the contributing households. 476 439 [423]

Bates, the British naturalist, describes the mode in which this trade was conducted in the mid-nineteenth century, when the first small quantities of rubber were traded by the Mundurucú along with larger amounts of other produce:

> "They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River] make large plantations of manioc, and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajos to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lbs. each) annually, to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They 439

Despite the flourishing trade in geegaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucu economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous. 439 177

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucu and the Mektagnais are portably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucu, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inexorably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucu families, like those of the Algonkians, became impoverishes of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucu. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucu were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucu country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucu villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the chiefs, in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians. [622]

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese conquest and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the eighteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucu was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucu to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1816 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucu warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective. [797]

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucu acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucu society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucu who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy. 177 621

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucu villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large [321] 314 361 177

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Montagnais M46

to the disorganization of Cururú River society. The political authority of appointed "chiefs" was now a means of extending the influence of the whites. The continuing migration of young men from the remaining primitive villages of the savannahs caused an oversupply of men on the Cururú River, and conflicts over women became rife. Owing to the endless squabbles in villages which had lost their aboriginal basis of integration, dissidents moved off to live at their rubber streams or formed new and smaller villages. This fission process is still going on. Concomitantly, the Mission and the Indian Post are becoming more important as focal points in a new mode of integration of the Mundurucú. Over one-third of the Cururú River population make their rainy season homes at these agencies, which serve as centers of trade and of social and religious gatherings. It is from the Post and Mission, also, that the lines of authority now radiate.

M4 178 621 M4 [578]

IV. Comparative Summary

M4 M0 177 171 437 452

The accompanying table and chart present the major phases of acculturation in summary form, as abstracted from the historical continua. The basic acculturative factors in both cases exerted parallel influences, although the two societies were substantively different until the final culmination was reached. There were four causal factors common to each. First, both became involved in a mercantile, barter economy in which the collector of wild products was tied by bonds of debt and credit to particular merchants. Such involvement also occurred widely among native peoples who produced crops or livestock. This arrangement must be distinguished from cash transactions, in which, owing to the impersonality of money as a medium of exchange, the primary producer has greater freedom of choice as to with whom he will deal. In a pure credit-barter economy, all transactions are based on a personal relationship between the principals; the merchant must be able to rely upon the continued patronage of the primary producer whereby the latter liquidates past debts while assuming new ones. It seems to be a basic procedure that the pre-literate Indian is kept in debt by the trader. While the latter can manipulate accounts at will, and no doubt is frequently guilty of malfeasance, he usually allows the Indian to buy beyond his means. The debtor-producer is selling his future production, and the creditor will not extend payment unless assured of delivery. Where such an economy is found, it is common for merchants to refuse to deal with primary producers who are in debt to another merchant. This is a "gentleman's agreement" in the Amazon, although it is frequently violated by wandering traders. Second, the growing ties of dependency upon the traders are at the expense of collective bonds within the respective societies. Reliance upon individuals and institutions outside the native social system are intensified by a steady increase in demand and need for manufactured goods. This, as we have seen, goes beyond the mere initial allure of Western tools and ornaments. Luxuries soon became necessities--a process that can be found in our own culture. Third, while crude latex and animal furs are very unlike articles, they imply a common cultural-ecological adaptation. Both are natural products having a reliable occurrence in worthwhile quantity within an area which can be most efficiently exploited by one man. Both require conservation, for careless exploitation can seriously reduce the number of furbearing animals, or render rubber trees worthless. The producer has an incentive to maintain the productivity of his resources. Finally, both rubber trees and fur animals are sufficiently dispersed to require that persons exploiting them live or work at some distance from one another.

M4 M0 171 177 439 [434] M4 M0 [433]

These factors of change were essentially the same among both Mundurucú and Montagnais, and they were introduced through contact with the outside world. Their initial effects upon the aboriginal cultures were somewhat dissimilar, owing to aboriginal differences between the two groups. Whereas the Mundurucú chief served at first as intermediary with the trader, this seems not to have been true of the Montagnais chief. Montagnais family heads, however, traded on behalf of their sons. For a short time, this pattern was followed by many

M0 M4 171 177 439 622

[text continues on p. 349]

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Montagnais NH6

Mo Mu 171 177 105

Mundurucú (cont.)

village held together only by weakening kin ties and sociability.

Centripetal factors (e.g., sorcery, sexual rivalry) cause fission of these villages and results in 3 below.

B. Dispersal (follows upon 3 or 4)
Leadership no longer integrative
Individual trade undercuts kin obligations.
Conflict with agricultural cycle--resolved by moving to rubber avenue--family now in isolation except for trade bonds.

Montagnais (cont.)

Emergence of a chief who serves as intermediary with Indian agents and missionaries.

Nuclear family basic unit at all times of year.

Trapper maintains and transmits right to a delimited hunting territory exploited only by his family.

Mo Mu 171 177 [434 623]

Mundurucú during the period immediately after the Mundurucú chief had ceased to act as intermediary with the trader. After the breakdown of extended kinship bonds in both groups, individuals traded completely on their own.

The native kinship organization persisted longer among the Mundurucú than among the Montagnais, and this has been a factor in perpetuating village life today among the less acculturated tribes east of the Tapajós River. Aboriginal Mundurucú kinship structure was more extensive and socially integrative than that of the Montagnais. Moreover, the aboriginal production of subsistence crops survives even among Mundurucú families living in isolation in their rubber avenues. The Mundurucú still produce all they can subsistence, although there are some changes in emphasis, technique, and organization.

Mo Mu [605]

The Brazilian rubber tapper--a white man who has gone into the forest or the Indian of mixed blood who is completely acculturated and enmeshed in the mercantile economy--usually buys all his food from the trader and devotes the season when he could be growing his own food to tapping rubber or to working off his debt to the trader by performing personal services. At present, we know of only one case of a Mundurucú who bought part of his food, but we can confidently predict that, as the population becomes more acculturated toward dependency in all ways upon the larger society, an ever-increasing number will buy food. When they are no longer able to feed themselves by their own efforts, they will have effectively become caboclos, or neo-Brazilian backwoodsmen.

Mu 177 434

The acculturative factors operated in their somewhat different ways among both the Mundurucú and Montagnais. First, they created a succession of modifications in the native societies, which gradually converged toward typological identity in the final family level. Second, during this evolution of the total groups they produced deviant families which broke away from their fellow tribesmen to devote themselves entirely to tapping or trapping. It was not until the processes had nearly reached their culmination that the surviving but greatly modified native society began to disintegrate.

Mo Mu 171 177 543

Among the Mundurucú the bonds of leadership and kinship had undergone a steady and slow attrition during one hundred years. The end of warfare had robbed Mundurucú culture of a great deal of its vitality, and the chief was reduced to a mere figurehead, manipulated by the trader and the religious and governmental agencies. Work in the rubber avenues and dependence upon the trader had served to sever and weaken ties within the society. At the final point of transition to isolated residence, and total divorce from traditional communal life, the Mundurucú were not much more closely integrated than the Montagnais.

Mo Mu 177 621 622

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Attendance at church services is always greatest on such special holy days as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of St. Francis, the patron of the mission. The nuns serve refreshments to the participants, and dances are held in the houses of the Mundurucú who reside at the mission. These occasions unite hundreds of people and thus serve as the social equivalents of the now defunct tribal ceremonies devoted to the game-animal spirits. 797 771

Most Mundurucú ceremonies are no longer practiced by any segment of the population. The priests have made special efforts to discourage the practice of native rites in those Cururú River villages under their influence, and only the ceremony to regain stolen souls is still held. This rite requires the participation of only three or four shamans and two men who possess knowledge of certain songs, and is held in the closed house of the sick person. It is thus quite easily concealed from the attention of the priests, and the rites have been held in houses only a stone's throw from the priests' residence. Ceremonies involving a large number of participants have fallen out of practice, even among the more traditional savannah dwellers, who are not readily responsive to the dictates of the priests. As in the case of warfare, it is obvious that culture change was on the side of the missionaries and that their efforts were not the crucial factor in the decline of these aspects of Mundurucú culture. On the other hand, more individualized religious practices are still quite active among the Mundurucú. The priests recognize the psychological value of shamanism and have made little effort to inhibit its practice. They are quite realistic as to its tenacity among not only the Indians but the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon. But the position of the missionaries is of necessity ambiguous, for the ideological basis of shamanism is inextricably connected with the concepts surrounding sorcery, to which they are adamantly opposed. Frequent sermons are delivered against belief in witchcraft as the cause of illness, and the priests are extremely severe with those of their parishioners who take part in sorcery killings. Their efforts in this direction have had the net effect of causing the Mundurucú to withhold information on their religious beliefs, but it can be confidently stated that even the most acculturated Mundurucú believe firmly in witchcraft.

One of the more interesting facets of contemporary Mundurucú culture on the Cururú River is the general indifference of the people to Christian beliefs, in spite of their acceptance of the mission as an institution. There can be no denial of the fact that the priests are greatly respected by the Mundurucú and have great power among them. Chieftaincy in the Cururú villages is dependent upon recognition by the missionaries, and the major function of the chiefs is to act as intermediaries between the villages and the mission. The priests continually recruit children for the mission school in spite of the passive resistance of their parents, and they are able to bring considerable coercion to bear upon individuals through their economic power. But the Indians are only nominally Christians in spite of this influence and the intensive catechisation to which they are exposed. [622]

The following chapters describe the manner in which the Indians have integrated and syncretized Christianity into their own belief system. This process

upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early commerce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.[30] The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The regatões served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

> They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of manioca and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cachaça—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.[31]

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs. The regatão gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

[30] Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Tocantins states that many
175 Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servi-
466 tude by the whites,[24] a practice common to all of Amazonia
648 at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons
[166] to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mun-
[162] durucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Jurueña-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[25] All these scattered Mundurucú
[177] were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average pop-
[592] ulation of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

175 The population of the savannah villages decreased dur-
621 ing this period because of death from disease and loss of
622 people to the river banks. However, the villages them-
648 selves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are
439 mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became
200 a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[24] *Ibid.*, p. 143.
[25] Coudreau, 1897, p. 166.

Second, warfare, for both mercenary

pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced 175
scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because 182
of the acquisition of firearms.[24] The continuance of warfare 648
helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as 721
social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating [622]
their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional vil- 175
lages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not 439
as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian so- 648
ciety as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap [177]
rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more 175
valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the 469
end of the century was netting the traders fabulous mon- 648
etary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber col- 221
lecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional- 131
type villages no longer existed on the waters of the 175
Crepory River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[24] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

614 expected to show warmth, suppurt, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and ae expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Mundurucú is called upon to do so. Ee seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in th course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity fr the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from he results of matrilocality and also from the contemporay rarity of gatherings involving people of several villaga. The latter factor is of [619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Mundurucú tribal integrathn in tiare past.

611 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary
622 significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the eldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilineal rule. Also,
611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain
756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important in-
768 heritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Mundurucú. A young man in search of a mate

361 ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the [311] more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking [166] ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

166 The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered 361 greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this [488] was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

622 The household of the chief included 17 people, and the 592 largest house unit of the village had a population of 28. 621 The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

583 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[584] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his pri-
[582] mary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[782] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in the powers and duties of the office. Older informants said that chiefs formerly inherited the office either from their father or older brother. Lineal continuity of the chieftaincy in a village was ensured by the general exemption of most of the chief's sons from the rule of matrilocality. The chief, although never authoritarian or possessed of coercive powers among the Mundurucú, was nonetheless an important figure in the community. His was the most prominent voice in any collective decisions affecting the village as a whole; he frequently led war parties, and he represented the village in commercial or other relations with the whites. His position was reinforced in a number of ways. He was generally selected from the available and possible heirs because he had distinguished himself as a warrior through taking trophy heads and was the repository of lore and songs. And the patrilocality of the chief's family allowed him to build a strong kin group composed of sons and sons-in-law. This exemption from the normal residence rule also legitimized the line due to the genealogical continuity of the family within the village. Thus, the chieftaincy symbolized the village as a continuing entity. Furthermore, his special relations with the whites and his role of intermediary, in which he sold the trade commodities gathered by the villagers and distributed the returns among them, did much to enhance his status.

The Mundurucú look upon their contemporary village chiefs with mixed feelings. The chief is often personally respected and liked by the people, but they simultaneously feel the office to be inconsequential and of little importance today. And they quite frequently look upon their particular leader as an illegal occupant of the position. Also, the role of chief is commonly a center of latent hostility and factionalism. This change has come about through the disappearance of the more integrative aspects

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 554 578 622 of the chieftaincy and the persistence and aggravation of certain disruptive features.

First, the Munduruká chief no longer holds the all-important position of war leader. Second, he now trades on behalf of his village in theory only. In the nineteenth century the trading function of the chief tended to bolster his traditional powers and some became well-known figures in the Tapajós valley. As the rubber trade grew in importance, the control of the chiefs became increasingly important to those traders who monopolized the Indian commerce. Since this period corresponded with the declining days of warfare, some traders were able to install their own appointees as village chiefs where the rightful holder of the office was unsuitable to them. Besides, traders occasionally took Munduruká to Belém, where they were introduced to government functionaries and awarded the title of *capitão*. These new luminaries were sent back to their villages and assigned the task of representing the trader. Thus, legitimate lines of succession were broken, and the new chiefs owed their positions to the trader. The villagers were well aware of this.

178 578 622 The general patrilocality of the chief's family, no matter by what means he was selected, continued; his extended family remained the largest such unit in the village and, more important, was the only significant group of close male, patrilineal relatives. The rest of the village men were of diverse affiliations and formed organizations within the context of men's-house activities. But they were faced with a powerful kin group in which political authority was vested. If points of difference arose, the men of the chief's group rallied to his support, but antagonisms were aroused among the other men. In former times, the important functions served by the chieftainship undoubtedly overrode the potential factionalism inherent in this situation, but, in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the new setting, the position was stripped of legitimate succession and divested of the attributes that commanded greatest respect. The strength of the chief's group thus became a sore point in village life.

These problems are amply illustrated by the contemporary chieftaincies of the savannah villages of Cabruá and Cabitutá. Until two years before my investigation, an old Mundurucú whose Portuguese name is Caetano had been chief in the village of Cabitutá. He did not occupy the office by patrilineal succession, but was appointed by a trader who maintained exclusive dealings with the villagers. The residents of Cabitutá respected and accepted Caetano because of his age and the fact that he was not aggressive in promoting the interests of the trader. When the old chief of Cabruá, who possessed the office legitimately, died, the trader decided to shift Caetano from Cabitutá to Cabruá and to install Caetano's son in the vacancy created. The latter, a young man named Biboi, had been raised by the trader. In contrast to the usual unassertive, retiring, cooperative, and unaggressive Mundurucú conduct, Biboi was loud and vociferous in his claim to be "the only one in Cabitutá who knows how to tell the people to work and who can deal with the trader." The villagers looked upon an older man, who was also a shaman, as the rightful possessor of the office and regarded Biboi as a usurper and tool of the trader. They [illegible] to kill him, but refrained because of respect for his father, Caetano, and his family. To kill Biboi would have caused endless trouble, and the Mundurucú assiduously avoid such situations.

In the meantime, Caetano's tenure of the chieftaincy of Cabruá was somewhat uneasy. More than one-third of the men residing in the village did business with another trader than the one who had made the appointment, and

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175
578
622

they felt that Caetano did not represent them. Furthermore, one of these men was the son of the former chief, and many villagers confided that he, and not Caetano, was the rightful leader. One of Caetano's sons, a stepson, and a son-in-law also lived in the village, however, and he had too much support for any effective opposition that would not develop into open conflict. That the position of the chief was not a source of open strife is due not only to the strength of the chief's family but to the contemporary weakness of the office. Large-scale joint activities, such as inter-village ceremonies and warfare, no longer exist, and situations that demand firm authority are rare. Cooperative economic endeavors among the men are freely entered into within the framework of the men's organization. Thus, Caetano seldom was compelled to issue orders and formulate policies that would affect the entire village. Also, as in Cabituté, Caetano was respected because of his age and his cultivation of Mundurucú tradition.

Despite the relative placidity of politics in Cabruú, as contrasted to Cabituté, there were several points of tension. Shortly after Caetano assumed the chieftaincy, the men of Cabruú accused his stepson of sorcery and planned to kill him. But the chief and his kinsmen intervened, and the man's life was spared. Relations remained strained between the two factions, although the everyday behavior of the principals showed no evidence of this.

The situation of Biboi in Cabituté was precarious. During our stay, his father fell from a palm tree and seemed badly injured. Biboi immediately left Cabituté to rush to Caetano's side. He was motivated partly by filial devotion, but he also knew that his life would be in jeopardy if the old man died as a result of the injuries. He explained to us that in this event, he would move to the Tapajós River. When asked why he blandly evaded his true motives and

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

said, "Because it is beautiful there." Caetano recovered, and the unpopular Biboi returned to Cabituté.

Today, the role of the chief as intermediary for his village with the traders is a fiction. The intricate trading system of Cabruá will be discussed below, but it must be mentioned here that the traders weigh each man's rubber production separately and give him his own credit, and each person's purchases are also separately charged to his own account. But all transactions are conducted in the presence of the chief, and he voices his followers' requirements of merchandise. Since it is convenient to the interests of the traders that the people feel they owe to the chief, the latter is charged with the combined accounts of his followers, and he is therefore expected to encourage their productivity. Despite this ruse, persons who are deeply in debt are refused further credit while those with only a small debt or a credit are given merchandise. The fiction of the chief's position is partly maintained, however, which tends to integrate his body of immediate followers. But the people understand, however imperfectly, that their fortunes and those of the chief are not identical and that the hard worker receives goods while the shirker does not, no matter how much the chief is said to owe.

The ultimate effect of trade probably will be to individualize commercial transactions further, and the office of chief will then lose almost all function. Its contemporary weakness, combined with the factionalism latent in the creation of patrilineages in a matrilineal society, have made it the center of controversy. However, the chieftainey continues to symbolize the identity of the village, and, despite its stormy aspects, the decline of the institution is directly related to the progressive disorganization of village life.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

as the single permissible occasion on which violence was condoned. Kluckhohn's* view is well founded that the sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

Conflicts between persons and groups are not always connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men commonly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

*Kluckhohn, 1944.

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly 252
items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are consid- 422
ered to be the property of the chief, since they were pur- 415
chased through his and his extended family's labor. The [622]
large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cu- 623
rurú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate cooperative patterns. 112
Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position pri- 622
marily to recognition by the mission, but who is also ac- 554
corded some deference because of his age and his status [797]
as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão [476]
Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

622 554 182 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [758] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL I: WHAT MAKES BIBOI RUN

Robert F. Murphy

I

Biboi, the young chief of the Mundurucú[1] village of Cabituká, visited the village of Cabrua with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the ten hour round-trip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Biboi was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Cabituká, he kept a young and pretty wife in the house of his father, the chief of Cabrua. Whenever he visited his wife, his "followers" in Cabituká busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Cabrua, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Biboi, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time we lived in Cabrua, Biboi gravitated between the two communities—to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of his fellow Mundurucu.

157 622 578 857

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Biboi run. But the key questions of why the men of Cabituká plotted against him and why those of Cabrua pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Mundurucu society and culture and of Biboi's position within it. For Biboi was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reestablish the normal flow of social interaction. Anthropologically, this is a study in deviancy and social control. Humanistically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

578 857 183 626

II

Biboi's personality was most deviant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Mundurucu men and their chiefs. I know nothing of the socialization of Biboi, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who traded in the village headed by Biboi's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Mundurucu, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Biboi, he addressed me in backwards Portuguese and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Biboi, son of Cartaxo [the chief of Cabrua] and chief of Cabituká." This contrasted markedly to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Mundurucu addressed me, and

183 157 157

Like all people, the Mundurucú are, to an extent, prestige-seekers, but there are cultural differences in the mélange of status. The traditional culture placed no value upon material amplitude, and, although this was slowly changing, Sibel's tastes were inordinate and clearly derived from his experience among the Brazilians. He thus violated a value standard and at the same time offended the entire community by self-consciously and openly trying to raise himself above his fellows. 554 577 177

Sibel not only misunderstood the code of Mundurucú prestige but he also misunderstood the means for their attainment. The primary rule, and the one he most flagrantly violated, was that one should not seek prestige but let it come to him naturally. For example, bravery in war was highly valued but the posture of bravado was ridiculed. A coward was relegated to the lowest end of the status scale, but one who boasted of the damage he intended to inflict upon the enemy in the coming battle was ridiculed and placed in the vanguard of the attack. To attain prestige a man should be modest and unassuming, while observing all the traditional expectations of what constitutes valued behavior. But primarily, he should act always as if he had only the collective well-being and goals in mind. Sibel's braggadocio, individualism, and competitiveness had violated every rule of the game, and he won only dislike and contempt, rather than the esteem and power he wanted so badly.

Distorting though all this was to the delicate adjustment of Mundurucú social structure and contrary though his behavior was to the values that bound this adjustment, Sibel had committed the cardinal error. He had allowed his grievances against certain individuals and groups to come out into the open and alignments emerged for and against him that cut across both village and clan-linked role commitments. Hostilities and latent factions are part of the tribal life of the Mundurucú, but they are carefully repressed—a requisite for the functioning of Mundurucú society. The average Mundurucú is well-trained in dissipating aggression and in presenting the blank face of neutrality, but Sibel's non-socialization was in part derived from Brazilians and was not adjusted to the functional needs of the Indian society. Like any outsider, he had been shown to feel aggrieved. His error was in openly objecting to the offense against him, a normal course for a Brazilian outsider but not for a Mundurucú victim. 551 577

IV

Sibel's alienation from Mundurucú society induced severe anxiety and intensified his quest for a favorable identity. He sought this through his role of chief of the village of Cabituba. The contemporary Mundurucú chieftainty must be understood as a boundary role. The dependency of the Indians on manufactured goods, obtained through the sale of wild rubber, has given the Brazilian traders a position of great influence among them, which they exercise through the chief. When the trader seeks increased production he tells the chief, who then exhorts his followers to greater effort. Correspondingly, the chief acts as bargaining agent for the village in trade negotiations, and the people interpret his role to be in large part that of their representative to the outer world. If the trader is sufficiently well-established with a village, he can do much to influence the choice of a chief. But since he cannot completely control the patrilineal rule of inheritance of 622 157 639 639 622

6.20 In addition, it is common practice to select one or two possible heirs and recover them to his household; this is what happened to Bikel. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favor of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, as he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his orders, even at the expense of the Manuhuraru villagers.

The contemporary Manuhuraru chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both ends have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by mutual adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and minimal acquiescence to the demands of the traders. Bikel's father, Cantawa, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Cantawa would communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubber; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He simultaneously sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

6.21 Cantawa embodied many characteristics of the traditional chief. As older man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and cajoled, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Cantawa knew Manuhuraru traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

6.22 177 Bikel's position was very different from that of his father, for he was the prototype of the Indian boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he would recognize only Bikel in dealings with Cantawa. The residents grudgingly assented, but they regarded him as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was, in reality, a renowned shaman who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office. [134]

6.23 55 [141] Bikel's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To complicate matters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Cantawa. Matrilocality, I have said, is the normal mode of residence among the Manuhuraru, but the sons of chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of conscious motivation, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters to them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilocality of the chief's family is tenfold. By keeping the sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the disunitedness that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilineally related kin, a small and military patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Such as this may reinforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise unilateral authority, for the rest of the

village men are over-watchful and jealous of the chiefly family and would be quick to resist, however passively, what they considered to be high-handedness. Sibel, however, did not have the surrounding group of relatives that may have given even minimal support to his claim to leadership. Rather, he depended upon the trader and his father and relatives in Cabrub to buttress his position. 622 554

Given his delicate status, Sibel proceeded to secure it through a misinterpretation of the chieftaincy. He had listened to his father's nostalgic tales of the role of the chief in times past, and one might say that he had some knowledge, in a merely cognitive sense, of the traditional culture. It is highly dubious, however, that Sibel had internalized sufficient culture to make him an effective actor within the system of social relationships. Sibel knew that "in the old days, chiefs were powerful men who directed their people and bought goods for them." This view of the past may or may not have been true, but it surely did not apply to the present. Sibel, nonetheless, announced at large that he was eminently qualified to be chief, as only he knew how to deal with the trader and only he had the force to tell the people how, when and where to work. I was a special recipient of this information, for Sibel found it most important to gain stature in the eyes of a prestigeful outsider. But Sibel also told all the others of his importance, and the people of Cabtubli stated that he indeed relayed the demands of the trader in forceful terms. His "followers" saw his activity as an agent of the trader in their village, and they were certain that his only function was to promote their exploitation and refreshment. Their analysis was correct, but I doubt that Sibel thought his role to be at all essential. There is no evidence to substantiate this, for only he could tell us whether he was aware of the machinations of the trader, and he did not. But I believe that Sibel saw the trader as a father figure, many of whose values he had internalized and subscribed to as legitimate. And he also saw himself to be in the position of a strong and traditional leader.

Sibel had learned something else about the chiefs of times past, and this was the fact that many were polygynous. Polygyny was possible only for chiefs, for the matrilineality that applied to most of the population made it most difficult to have plural wives unless they were sisters. Even for a chief, however, polygyny was a difficult and stormy relationship, and it was eminently never of very great frequency.

Sibel did not have the implicit and unconscious ability to understand the fine points of Manburuni social structure that a man raised in a village would have, and he made some of his most serious blunders in marriage. Soon after assuming the chieftaincy of Cabtubli, he married a woman of the village, a widow several years older than himself who, through the situational variability of post-marital residence, had a strong nucleus of kin in the village. Though I have no data upon which to make a firmer statement, it is quite probable that he married the woman--literally a crone--in order to enlist the sympathies of her relatives. But Sibel was a young, handsome and virile man, and he subsequently sought a wife more to his liking. He located a pretty girl of about sixteen years in the village of Dendyen and brought her home to Cabtubli. This enraged the first wife, who berated Sibel, assaulted the girl and complained to her brothers. The latter expressed their disapproval of the polygynous union to Sibel, and the rest of the village supported them. Sibel's general behavior and his exercise of his "chieftaincy" had already enraged them, and this

offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond their endurance. Bibei refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father. The validated his polygamy by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurucú culture and social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring must inevitably close on Bibei. He had offended all the Mundurucú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Bibei returned to Cabitutá to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his time in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of Cabitutá, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover, Bibei did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant—that he was a perpetrator of black magic—could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Bibei's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Bibei thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather unpowerful girl; whatever rectitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations—and there were some exceptions even to this—were enjoying the favors of Bibei's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, on the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Bibei, for the Cabruá men, too, disliked Bibei with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered unmanly deviant. But physical sanctions against Bibei would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruá attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their sentiments, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Bibei's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Bibei soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even sentenced my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) on being among them

/27 cont./

*241
361

> 15. The complete lack of fertilization methods among the Indians of the Amazon forest is well known. It is only when fallow plots are burned that the depleted soil derives some fertilizing elements from the ashes.

has to seek new sites farther out and set up his gardens ever farther away, so that, after a certain period of time, the human group actually lives far from its source of subsistence, until the Indians themselves find transportation of the crops to their homes difficult. Then comes the time to move the village to another /28/ more favorable location. On such occasions, the original (and no doubt the most fitting) form of this reciprocal relation of garden and village becomes apparent.

When a move takes place and a new village is built, the latter
•[333] lies in the center of the new garden plot of the tuxaua, or chief of the group. The traditional shape of the garden plot is rounded, as already mentioned. In the center of it, the plaza of the new village is cleared, also in rounded shape. Within it, the houses are laid out
[345] in a square: the men's house or shed (bakua), open in front to the
[346] east, with the house of the ancestral spirits (kadabe) alongside it; the oval houses for women and children (bak-a) to the right and left; and the square is closed with another bak-a on the east side, if need be.

/Figure 3 appears here./

[331] The nucleus thus formed becomes a new center of the tribal group, of the clan or sib. The garden plot and the village thus form a unit, with the village standing within the first plot. In the years that /29/ follow, the garden plots expand outward. And if the soil is not suitable, the garden is moved farther out, ever farther, until, after a number of years, the need is felt to transfer the village and start all over again. Thus originates the cycles of intercommercial group migration.

622 significance. The undisputed right of the chief to his position was recognized by the Wumburuzú as a function of the uninterrupted occupation of the village by his family. The chief and his lineage thus gave continuity in time to the village and served as a stable element in the community, the male population of which was subject to considerable flux. The importance of the chief as a symbol of the village as a corporate entity can be derived from the attitudes of some informants who when asked why a certain village was abandoned would almost invariably reply, "The chief died" or "The chief died and there were no more old people left."

The chief's actual powers were vague. He had a position of prestige and his word was respected in decisions of a community nature, such as the choice of a new village location or the time and place of a limbo fishing trip, but he did not make unilateral decisions nor did he assume a role of direct authority at any time except in war, and that it was principally in the warpath and outside of the village that his authority was felt. The chief was generally an older man. Thus, he combined the two features of greatest importance in the Wumburuzú prestige scale, age and seniority in warfare. If he happened to be a shaman, this would enhance his status even more.

623 There was no formal system of village council among the Wumburuzú. The community decisions were discussed in the course of conversations in the men's house. The chief

623 and house leaders and other older men of the village had the greatest influence in these matters for it would have been highly impertinent of the "children" (as anybody under the age of about 30 or 40 was called by the older men) to contest the wisdom of those who were collectively referred to as "the old men."

624 The house leader was simply the oldest man of the house and generally the husband of the oldest female, who occupied the respected position of older sister, mother, and maternal aunt to the other women of the house. He was a man who carried into the village, or at least the house, from outside and his position was the result of circumstances rather than selection or heredity. In our discussion of the household organization and economy, it became clear that the house leader did little to direct the activity of the women. His sons-in-law treated him with the respect due an older man and a father-in-law, but, since most of their activity was carried out in the larger unit of the village, he exerted little authority over them.

476 571 The leadership of collective enterprises was generally invested in the person who initiated the activity and not in the chief. If a man wanted to organize a tiahé fishing trip, he notified the other men in the village of his desire and a date and place was set. The men then went out to the garden of the man who initiated the party and helped him to pull up the tiahé roots. Direction was nominally in his hands and if many people took part, he would carry com-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly 252
items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are consid- 422
ered to be the property of the chief, since they were pur- 415
chased through his and his extended family's labor. The [622]
large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cu- 623
rurú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate cooperative patterns. 82
Mundo Velho has a chief, José, who owes his position pri- 622
marily to recognition by the mission, but who is also ac- 554
corded some deference because of his age and his status [797]
as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Mundo [476]
Velho, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Mundo Velho, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Mundo Velho who were not of the chief's family were

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kuhdel," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In Mundurucú tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Steinen's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tape).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting.

[Martius (Source No. 3) says this occurred beyond, in early times -- Adams]

628 and house leaders and other older men of the village had the greatest influence in these matters for it would have been highly important of the "children" (as anybody under the age of about 30 or 40 was called by the older men) to contest the wisdom of those who were collectively referred to as "the old men."

629 The house leader was simply the oldest man of the house and generally the husband of the oldest female, who occupied the respected position of older sister, mother, and maternal aunt to the other women of the house. He was a man who married into the village, or at least the house, from outside and his position was the result of circumstances rather than selection or heredity. In our discussion of the household organization and economy, it became clear that the house leader did little to direct the activity of the women. His sons-in-law treated him with the respect due an older man and a father-in-law, but, since most of their activity was carried out in the larger unit of the village, he exerted little authority over them.

626 571 The leadership of collective enterprises was generally invested in the person who initiated the activity and not in the chief. If a man wanted to organize a tiahú fishing trip, he notified the other men in the village of his desire and a date and place was set. The men then went out to the garden of the man who initiated the party and helped him to pull up the tiahú roots. Direction was nominally in his hands and if many people took part, he would carry con-

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, balsa-rubber and Brazil beans, in the forests. The traders on their arrival at the Campos (the rain-swept region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucu beyond the rubber-rich) hope first to distribute their wares--cheap cotton cloth, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cutlass--amongst the minor chiefs, and then wait three or four months for requisite to produce". (1963, pp. 240-241)

When rubber became the major product of Amazonia the same pattern of trade was perpetuated among the Mundurucu. All of the rubber collected was turned over to the chief, who alone negotiated directly with the trader. The merchandise given for the rubber was, insofar as could be ascertained through contemporary informants, equitably distributed to each man in proportion to the rubber he had produced. But minor chiefs were commonly more prosperous than other men, it can be assumed that they did not suffer in their role of middleman. The share taken by the chief, however, was never so great as to result in truly significant wealth differences. In fact, the traders usually managed to keep the Indians in debt, and this debt was charged against the chief as the representative of the village. Smarrius, who visited the Mundurucu in 1875, published a bill presented to the chief (Smarrius, p. 124). If this bill is typical, the Indians' indebtedness was frequently very heavy. Those debts were used to force the chief to extract greater production from his followers.

As the Mundurucu depended increasingly upon trade, the chief became more subordinate economically to the trader, who manipulated him accordingly. The trader eventually was able to appoint "chiefs" to carry on the trade. An appointed chief was usually known as the *cacique*, or "captain", as distinguished from the hereditary village chief, who was called *principal* or *cabocla*. By using the "captains" as local trade representatives, the traders were able to increase their control over the villages. At the same time, by robbing the hereditary chiefs of their trade function, they destroyed the native structure of leadership. In time, the *cacique* displaced the hereditary chief almost entirely. To increase the prestige of the trader-appointed chief, the trader often took his protege on his annual trip to buy supplies in Belem, where the chief's position was confirmed by the governor or some other official.

The Mundurucu dependency upon trade at first evidently increased the prestige authority of the hereditary chief, for the villagers relied upon him to provide and secure their best interests in trading activities. The appointment of *caciques* undermined the native chief, and initially increased the trader's control over the village. The people became confused, however, as to whether the *cacique* or the *principal* should be regarded as "chief". Ill feeling towards the appointed chiefs began to develop, for the Indians were always aware of, although powerless to cope with, the many practices of the traders, and that usually assigned the *cacique* a share of the blame. Upon the latter fell the onerous task of goading the people to harder work in the rubber swamps. Since most Mundurucu do not even today consider rubber collecting a congenial occupation, the role of the *cacique* must have done little to increase his popularity. During the field research among the Mundurucu, the young, bilingual trader-appointed "chief" of the village of Jacaréuba was in danger of losing his life. Contrast of the trader, what the "chief" represented, was centered upon this young man and threatened his position so greatly that he was on the verge of flight.

In latter years, as will be described subsequently, individual Mundurucu Indians have tended increasingly to deal with the trader directly rather than through the "chief". For this reason, village political organization has been effectively shattered.

The trader-appointed Mundurucu "chief", unlike his Northwestern Algonkian counterpart, mediated trade relations between a group of followers and the

624
437
178

white. After individual trading had become strongly established among the
centers of the Mundurucú, however, "chiefs" were chosen by the Indian Agent and
by missionaries in order to control the general behavior of the Indians, and not
specifically for commercial purposes. This were nearly approximates the modern
Portuguese situation, although it was reached through a different sequence of
functional roles and from a different aboriginal base. In both cases, the Indians
themselves were very conscious that there was were not genuine chiefs in terms of
aboriginal leadership patterns, and both groups apparently suspected that the
white-recognized chief was promoting the interests of the white man rather than
those of his own people. The new leadership patterns never became fully estab-
lished. While these patterns were functional in terms of white-Indian relations,
they were dysfunctional in terms of the native socio-cultural structure.

Among the Mundurucú, therefore, the integrity of the local socio-political
groups was, in part, temporarily maintained by a change in the functional role of
the chieftain. But the changed pattern of leadership eventually became dysfun-
tional resulted in part from the ecological adaptations necessary to rubber col-
lection. These adaptations, however, did far more than contribute to the disinte-
gration of political controls. They undermined the very economic basis of village
life.

317

Hevea brasiliensis, the native and most common species of rubber tree, grows
wild throughout the upper waters of the Amazon. It can be exploited only during
the dry season, and, in the upper Tapajós River valley, the maximum length of the
gathering season is from May to early December, approximately seven months. Since
these trees are scattered throughout the low lands near the watercourses, they
are reached by circuitous paths cut through the undergrowth. The spacing of the
trees and the work involved in rubber collection generally limit the number of
trees tapped daily to one as to one hundred and fifty or less. Some collectors
improve their yield per tree by maintaining two or three separate avenues which
they visit only every second or third day. The distribution of rubber trees is
such that each person gives access to trees within an area of about three to five
square miles. The actual size of this territory depends, of course, upon the den-
sity of the rubber trees. In some sections of the Amazon drainage wild rubber is
more abundant than are others. One may travel two to twenty miles on reaches of
river where rubber is sparse without passing a single habitation, but, where rub-
ber is more plentiful, one encounters houses at intervals of a mile or even a
half-mile.

The rubber tapper must work in his process or avenues almost daily, and
therefore must live near them. Since each tapper exploits a considerable tract
of land, his physical nearness from neighboring tappers is a matter of neces-
sity. Thus, on the Tapajós River, which has a population of about 1,000 excluding
the Mundurucú, there are only two Brazilian villages of any consequence. One of
these has a population of about 700, and the other has only 150 people. The other
settlements are merely hamlets consisting of a trading post and from two to seven
houses. The majority of the population live in isolated houses on the river banks.

[34]

The exploitation of wild rubber is a solitary, individual occupation in that
the tapping of the trees, the subsequent collection of the latex, and the final co-
agulation process are one-man jobs. The last phase, carried out at the end of the
day, consists of solidifying the latex over a smoky fire. The simplicity and the
daily time-schedule of the entire rubber process in Amazonia is such that no one
can profitably leave off collection to specialize only in tapping or collection
or coagulation. For similar reasons, two men do not work in the same avenue.
However cooperative, it would not be a practicable sense of increasing produc-
tion.

This brief account of how wild rubber is exploited is necessary to an under-
standing of changes in Mundurucú society. In the earlier contact period, the

458

[illegible]tion of the village and was kept at a minimum within the family. The forceful and dominant personality was definitely discouraged and, while respect was sought through warrior status and deep knowledge of Mundurucú lore, songs, and legends, subtly veiled prestige as a mechanism to exert authority over others. It was assumed that the chief and the old men would express their opinions quietly and calmly and that the others would heed their counsel. However, a younger but respected man was also able to express himself to some effect. Controls were not rigid but they were sufficient to the needs of the culture. Cooperation was basic to the Mundurucú economy and the people were trained to it from an early age. There was no elaborate division of labor to be organized and interrelated to make a functional unit. The tasks performed for subsistence were the same that the Mundurucú had done for many generations and they were done in the same way. A military worker needs no directing hand nor does a group of people who are used to working as a unit. The economy did not call for elaborate political controls and the social organization certainly did not.

Disputes within the society were repressed. The average Mundurucú village contained its share of ill feeling and hostility, but the high interpersonal dependency made it expedient to suppress aggression. Thus, the most important functions of the village chief were to heal war parties, to provide at least a small degree of central orientation to the village and to symbolize the identity of the village as an autonomous unit with continuity in past and future.

burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú. A young man who made great claims of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent aggression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

The execution of sorcerers was the only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that pro-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karóbo is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL I: WHAT MAKES BIBEL RUN

Robert F. Murphy

I

Bibel, the young chief of the Mundurucú[1] village of Cabituká, visited the village of Cabruca with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the ten hour round-trip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Bibel was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Cabituká, he kept a young and pretty wife in the house of his father, the chief of Cabruca. Whenever he visited his wife, his "followers" in Cabituká busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Cabruca, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Bibel, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time we lived in Cabruca, Bibel gravitated between the two communities--to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of his fellow Mundurucú.

157 62 [578] [837]

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Bibel run. But the key questions of why the men of Cabituká plotted against him and why those of Cabruca pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Mundurucú society and culture and of Bibel's position within it. For Bibel was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reestablish the normal flow of social interaction. Anthropologically, this is a study in deviancy and social control. Humanistically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

578 837 183 626

II

Bibel's personality was most deviant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Mundurucú men and their chiefs. I know nothing of the socialization of Bibel, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who traded in the village headed by Bibel's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Mundurucú, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Bibel, he addressed me in backwoods Portuguese and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Bibel, son of Cartano [the chief of Cabruca] and chief of Cabituká." This contrasted markedly to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Mundurucú addressed me, and

183 157 [14] 157

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and coöperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

602 628 619 trilineal clansmen through a matrilocal residence rule resulted in cross-cutting bonds of descent and residence that constituted the very web of intervillage relations. For example, a man who married a woman of another village and took up residence in the men's house there, has most complex allegiances. He observes a tie to his affinal relatives, and he is a member of a men's organization that includes fellow moiety members and perhaps some of his clan and phratry. But beyond the village, the man is linked to his parents and extended family, as well as to the men of his native community. Since his brothers might have become similarly scattered in marriage, his bonds extend also to their villages. Finally, he has ties with all his scattered clansmen. In short, the lack of localized patrilineages prevents the compartmental segmentation of the society along conjunctive lines of kinship and territory.

571 575 619 Integration was furthered also by such groups as the *Muchacha ayen* society, the men's ceremonial group known as the *Biu li ayen* (Mothers of the Tapir), and the *Dürek li ayen* (Mothers of the Arrow), an organization to which all Mundurucú warriors belonged.

121 The thesis that contradictory modes of descent and residence are conducive to multicommunity, or tribal, integration is not new; Fred Eggan reached the same conclusion when weighing evidence that a similar organization existed among the Gros Ventre Indians.[1] And as early as 1917, A. L. Kroeber stated, with reference to the Zuni, the more general principle that the presence in a society of a number of social groups with overlapping membership results in "segmentations which produce an almost marvelous complexity, but can never break the national entity apart."[2] From the viewpoints of logic and empirical data,

[1] Eggan, 1937, p. 34.
[2] Kroeber, 1917, p. 183.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

this is a valid statement. But it conveys the impression that such integration is sufficient to social cohesion; actually interpenetrating modes of segmentation may make social adjustment a most delicate matter. r2.1

When considering the relation between structural integration and social solidarity, it may be well to keep in mind that life in society requires a degree of personal renunciation as a means of securing the corporate well-being. Conflicts in interest, between individuals or groups, are bound to follow in all human societies. The causes and intensity of conflict and the means by which it is resolved are, however, variables of the structure of the particular society. The open expression of hostility, we learn from the sociologist Georg Simmel,[8] may result in a readjustment of relations between groups that produces a measure of stability; the playing out of conflicts can thus promote the integration of a society through the correction of disbalances in power and by the cathartic release of aggression.[9] According to Meyer Fortes, battles between lineal groups in Tallensi society has just this effect.[9] But the Tallensi are significantly different from the Mundurucú. Both are patrilineal, but the former society has local groups based on patrilocal residence; conflict between kin groups is simultaneously conflict between local groups.

Conflict in Mundurucú society, on the other hand, cannot range along such simple segmental lines. The memberships of lineal groups and local groups do not coincide; in a conflict, people cannot align themselves with clan fellows, for this may well pit them against the members of 578 571 628

[8] Simmel, 1955.

[9] The latter corollary to Simmel's thesis has been more fully developed by Lewis Coser (1956).

[9] Fortes, 1945, pp. 240-244. See also Gluckman (1956) for a penetrating analysis of segmentary opposition and the part played by cross-cutting loyalties in the dampening of bend.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

571 578 629 the same men's house, or even the same household. Correspondingly, if a man is to side with his co-residents, he may find himself arrayed against his patrilineal kinsmen in another household or village. Mundurucú men have two primary sets of bonds, one based on co-residence and the other on patrilineal kinship. Since the persons affected in each set are generally not the same, the individual is placed in potential role conflict, if sides are to be chosen. To choose the tie of kinship may disrupt the village and household and their economies; to give primary loyalty to one's co-residents can destroy clanship.

There can be no balance of antagonisms in Mundurucú society; conflict can only destroy both social solidarity and social integration. Hostility is, for this reason, suppressed. Intervillage conflicts are unheard of, as are those between kin groups. And interpersonal grievances remain latent between individuals not only because of the disruptive effect of an open breach, but because the antagonists cannot expect uniform support from either kinsmen or co-residents. Covert factionalism may be rife among the Mundurucú, but open feud is impossible within their social system.

578 There are few means to express the aggression arising from the frustrations of normal social life. Real grievances, such as those arising from sexual rivalries or from the institution of chieftainship, do not result in direct retaliation against the objects of hostility. Aggression is instead buried and later displaced on surrogates. During the nineteenth century, the Mundurucú were able to use warfare as a displacement device and as a rallying point for social cohesion. The only acceptable means of purging latent hostility today is the projection of generalized antago-
[683] nisms to the shamans and their execution as sorcerers.

Although matrilocality is no longer as rigidly adhered

12:Murphy R-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the level of village organization; coöperative endeavors among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders, this may constitute a significant bloc within the community under current circumstances. 685 759

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the number of shamans. This not only includes people who were actually executed, but also those who escaped or who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay, but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced with the unhappy prospect of being the only available scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the services that village life traditionally afforded. 683 759 796

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. Fellow clan members are no longer united by 182 771 182 628 796

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a far more isolated existence than they did in former times, and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

The economic and social adjustments made by the Mundurucú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration. The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly mentioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rubber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader in the hamlet of Sao Cruza, but occasionally make transactions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá maintains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of his sons and another man maintain a separate residence not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

particular patrons. Two or three decades ago, all savannah communities were much alike and, except for differing places of dry-season residence, the populations of all maintained frequent contact through intermarriage, visiting, and joint participation in ceremonies. The cultural and social differentiation of Cururú and savannah dweller is thus quite recent.

There are two major points of difference between the migration to the Cururú and that to the more northerly rivers. First, in the former large numbers of people moved in a comparatively short period. Secondly, the patrons on the Cururú River were not Brazilian rubber traders, but a group of German Catholic missionaries who were deliberately attempting to attract the population and modify their culture. The missionaries achieved little success during their first ten to fifteen years of activity and attracted large numbers of Indians only after the price of rubber rose. On the other hand, the astuteness of this example of applied anthropology should be given recognition, for the missionaries offered high rubber prices and low-cost merchandise, and thereby accelerated the migration process.

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRATION

The population move to the Cururú occurred in piecemeal fashion, for, as in the contemporary savannahs, nuclear families or segments of extended families shifted and not whole villages. Co-resident groups of Indians who commonly collected rubber and fished on the banks of the Cururú during the dry season were lured into setting up permanent residences there by the attraction of trade goods and the persuasion of the missionaries, who sought thereby to bring the Indians more directly under their influence. Other rubber-season residents perceived the economic advantages of all-year occupation of the Cururú,

According to the same informant, some warriors from this village had returned from a war a few days previously, bringing back with them the mummified heads of two of their enemies, necklaces of human teeth, and other trophies.

As it turned out, I did not regret my choice, for I was well received in Necodemus and I encountered there, more vivid than anywhere else, the legend of Mundurucu beginnings which considers this very maloca or village the cradle of the human race.

I continued up the Cadeveri, [illegible] river! Every day we had to carry bodily our light boat over sand bars. Here was confirmed an opinion I had already formed, namely, that the Cadeveri, as well as the Araguaia, Iuruena, Miamoni, and other upper branches of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, such as the Tocantins, the Tapajos, the Madeira and others, would dry up completely during the summer months, having their channels, were it not for the falls of the middle course which serve to dam up the violent flow of the stream. The average gradient on the middle course of these great Amazon tributaries, which descend from the central plateau, is steeper than necessary to maintain a normal flow of water. [76]

Finally, on the morning of the sixth day as calculated by the Indian, we came upon a tree thrown across the river in the form of a bridge. On the bank stood a crude hut. There was no one around. We blew a horn to call out the owner of the hut, who was probably out hunting in the nearby woods. As no one appeared, we continued our journey. I left behind some trifling gifts to mark the passage of a friendly person.

I thought it best to behave in this fashion, remembering that Lieutenant Captain Soares Pinto had been attacked and killed by the savages for having destroyed some bridges which they had laid across the river. It is impossible to proceed upriver without destroying the bridges, and it is not always feasible to replace them.

For this reason, whenever I found myself unable to replace one in the same spot -- and on that day we encountered four more bridges -- I left gifts to make up in some degree for the damage I had caused the savages. At the end of the day the river became totally impassable: we could not carry the canoe any further. Happily, at this difficult moment we found another bridge over the river and a hut upon the bank. We blew our horn persistently.

[i.e., Necodemus - Ana(yr)]

IV

[IV] A Mundurucu makes me a present of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl, and tells me how and why he killed her.

[75] One of these barbarians, who was twenty-five or thirty years old, outgoing and bold, and a veritable talker, made me a present on the following day of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl. This head, which is now to be found in the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], retains its abundant hair, which is partly shaved in front as though with a razor. The forehead thus appears to be prolonged nearly to the middle of the skull; in the center of this artificial forehead stands a circular cluster of black hair. This head, which was ornamented with [86] brilliantly colored feathers, must have belonged to a girl fashionable in her own tribe.

[76] Here I must point out that the Mundurucu often make war on enemy heathens for the purpose of capturing women and children rather than killing them. They do kill the men, whose heads they preserve as trophies. When preparing for these forays, they frankly say: "I am going because I need a woman to marry, or a little one to be my wife's child."

A Mundurucu warrior would therefore be greatly concerned to capture rather than to kill a girl like the one whose head was offered me.

Indeed, the barbarian told me that he had killed her by mistake, failing in the heat of battle to discern her sex. She was running out of the hut which he and his companions had taken at dawn by surprise, and he had thrown himself upon her, piercing her through the back with his powerful spear. He felt sorry when he found that she was a woman, and a young one at that. But nevertheless he cut off her head, removing the brain, and smoked it over a green wood fire until it became mummified.

[Sorrie] It was strange to witness the extreme tenderness the barbarian bestowed on this enemy head. A deadly hatred has ruled for many years between the Mundurucu and Parintintin tribes, and wars of extermination take place between them.

[see p. 9; cat. 116, - Paraboyd]

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajos, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1768, when the miner João de Souza de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Para, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Tres Barras. [91]

In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Casal divided the province of Para into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajos, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajos, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best-known being the Juma, the Maué, the Parua, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

"The Mundurucu," Ayres de Casal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

"They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

"Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

"The inhumanity of those who still roam the jungle, unhampered as they are by considerations of sex or of age, have forced large numbers of the other tribes to take refuge [92] in the shadows of Christian settlements where they can live peacefully, safe from their heartless enemies.

"The bold Mundurucu are perhaps of the Macassar of Celebes, who are reputed to be the most valiant people of the great eastern archipelago."

VIII

Present location of the central plains villages -- Disappearance of the bands from the valley of the Tapajoz

Yet this vast savage population, which according to Ayres de Cazal still roamed the territory of Mundurucania sixty years ago, no longer wanders through those parts.

On the Lower Tapajoz there are christianized Indians who are descendants of the savages of old. On the Upper Tapajoz there is only the Maué maloca which goes by the name of Acará and another maloca of Apiaca Indians, both of which maintain petty trade relations with the few frontiersmen who penetrate that far. In addition to these two malocas, bands of Parintintin occasionally visit the banks of the Tapajoz and its tributaries; but they do not settle anywhere, for the Mundurucu pursue them implacably and relentlessly.

It should be noted that in earlier times the Maué and the Apiaca were also often pursued and beaten by the Mundurucu, who only left them alone after those two tribes had established relations with the Christians. The Maué no longer paint their faces; the Apiaca only retain a blue-black line which runs down from the outer corner of the eye to the chin and strongly resembles a tear streak. [93]

It should also be noted that the central Mundurucu villages, known on the Upper Tapajoz as malocas das campinas [villages of

[3] the pistol] are not located in the district which Ayres de Cassi named Mundurucania. They stand in the territory which the geographer called Tapajonia, between the Tapajoz and the Xingu and close to the sources of the certain tributaries of the Tapajoz, namely the Cadeneri, Caliminum and Curuts rivers, the Rio das Tropas (which the Mundurucu call Pimaui) and the Rio do Creputi.

In the course of my journey I encountered a great many small streams that were sources of the Cadeneri and tributaries of the Tapajoz.

Had I proceeded in the same direction beyond Necodemus a few days longer, I would undoubtedly have come upon the sources of the tributaries of the Xingu.

IX

Wars of the Mundurucu -- waging procedure -- End of those wars.

[72] We have already noted that the wars of these barbarians are [97] waged with the sole aim of capturing young women and children of both sexes. Within the tribe, however, the captives are treated no differently than native Mundurucu. They are painted with the same arabesques of indelible dyes; the woman immediately gets a husband, and the child finds an adoptive father who is almost invariably the same Indian who captured him. When preparations are made for one of these forays, the warrior's sister, his mother, or some other relative places an order for a child, saying: "Bring me a boy to be my son."

[98] The Mundurucu's chief victims are the Parintintin; in addition to a desire for captives, the deadly hatred [94] which has long ruled between the two tribes is another motive for frequent attacks.

[73] Whenever it becomes known that a band of Parintintin have appeared somewhere, the Mundurucu immediately set off after them. To my knowledge, however, this inveterate hatred is not directed toward other tribes. Among the Mundurucu there runs a

[72] when they feel or fear they are being pursued. At night they
[313] guide themselves with torches made with fragments of a resinous wood which they call cuichique-taque, and which the Indians of the Lower Tapajos know by the name of pau candeia [(Port.) "lamp wood"]. This wood, when dry, catches fire easily; it blazes brightly when carried on the run.

[74] Almost invariably these expeditions last so long that the
[314] Indians run out of provisions and subsist on chestnuts rather than manioc flour and sweet potatoes. They suffer long privations; some of them return thin.

It is maintained that the Mundurucu make these forays every year and that they always bring captives.

A very old Indian woman, probably a native of the interesting Tapajos tribe which gave the river its name and which is now extinct, told me that more than once during her youth [96] the Mundurucu had come down the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajos, striking cruelly at the many malocas then extent, cutting enemy heads, and spreading boundless terror throughout the region.

A well-verified tradition also has it that these barbarians once reached the mouth of the Tapajos, and besieged the fort built by the Portuguese in the Christian Tapajos village which is now the site of the flourishing city of Santarém.

X

Facts about some native tribes whom the Mundurucu fight and who wander through the valley of the Upper Xingu and toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

[75] The Mundurucu say that they still find many heathen bands
[315] in the extensive regions they roam, and that towards the east there runs a broad and mighty river, full of waterfalls, which they call Carumunzi and the banks of which are inhabited by many pagans.

This must be the Upper Xingu, which is indeed one of the major tributaries of the Amazon and one of those which run closest to the capital of Pará. Its upper course, however, is still entirely unknown.

I: Tocantins--II C-6 (1870) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians 54.4

M
649
B
101

In 1842 the Crown Prince of Prussia, Adalbert, accompanied by Count Oriola and Count von Bismarck, set out from Belém in a canoe up the Lower Xingu as far as the first waterfalls and the maloca of the Juruna Indians. These gentlemen, I believe, provided the first rough outline of the course of the Lower Xingu.

The upper course of the river, however, remains unknown to this day.

The Mundurucu often move from the valley of the [97] Upper Tapajos to that of the Upper Xingu, for they reside nearly on the dividing line between the two. They can thus provide information about the heathens they meet in the course of their journeys, not only along the banks of the Upper Xingu but also toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

The major groups are as follows:

Pugarutõte -- They are distinguished by a dark line which runs from the outer corner of each eye down to the chin, and which resembles a tear streak. About three years ago, some five hundred savages marked in this way appeared on the banks of the Lower Tocantins near the falls; they were later decimated by smallpox, but those who survived still live there.

Biche-bamerau -- Their lower lip alone is painted black.

Ipitiuãte -- They are not painted; they shave their head all around; they are corpulent, bearded, fierce, feared even by the Mundurucu; they do not use hammocks but sleep on mats, and make use of formidable warclubs.

Pararaõte -- They have canoes and paint a snail-like design on their temples.

Uirasoãte -- The Mundurucu call them "the jaguar tribe" and say they scream like that animal.

Peren-an-an.

Parinrinrin.

Titidhuãte.

Jurupuá. -- Corpulent and fierce.

Tupaiuna -- They paint themselves black.

Paribitat -- They live on the plains toward Cuiabá.

Paribitetê -- They inhabit the headwaters of the Dom [São] Manuel River, a tributary of the Tapajoz.

I: Tocantins--22 C-5 (1870) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Brazilian Indians 347

M
648
S
[8]

In former times the Mundurucu also fought the Bacaíri, whom they call [98] "Maravilhas," and forced them to move to Mato-Grosso where they were massacred.

They fought the Apiacá, and only left them alone when the latter settled on the Juruena River, at the foot of the Salto-Augusto Falls. Even today they are very much afraid of the Mundurucu, and when the latter pass through the Apiacá malocas on their way to war, the occupants furnish them with cassava and other supplies.

Itáuíte -- They have already withdrawn toward Cuiabá. They are bearded.

Tapuraíte -- They live toward the Xingu.

Nhamatabá -- This band belongs to the Parintintin tribe, and lives by the falls of the Jamanxin River, a tributary of the Tapajoz.

The Mundurucu of Necodemus know Cuiabá, but they say that many bands of fierce heathens roam those parts.

In the course of their journeys they meet yet other bands of savages whose names they do not know.

It may be assumed that part of the native populations that disappeared from the banks of the Tapajoz and of the Tocantins may now roam the valley of the Upper Xingu.

It might prove of scientific interest to study the movements of these unknown savage populations.

XI

There appears in the malocas an elegantly dressed Mundurucu who claims to have been baptized in Rio de Janeiro.

M
123

It was only natural that I should invite the Mundurucu to come and share with us the advantages of life in society, and especially to [99] send us their children so they might be properly educated and return to the malocas knowing how to build houses and make bows, ovens and other things that would prove of great usefulness.

village hunters during the coming year by keeping her children close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

In addition to those ceremonies consecrated to the tutelary deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer. [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called ken; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers" of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way:

"Oh, 'mother' of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we entreat thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu runs as follows:

"Mucêipixi eirũ beré bereme u tiedié imenedié diei chipanme mucê dê aipanem itabungue diée taraibote ama epôtepôte diée imenedié tutu utiê-die araiarai utêcôpe jxi abimé pame euatu abimé eirũ berereme bate que mêaipanhate uéré mon utie caroi diêai panme tuman."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the lap of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

source of violent complaints on the part of the leading citizens of the Itaituba District.

To give an idea of the obstacles the Government must face in its great endeavor to christianize [135] the aboriginal tribes, I shall relate here the history of the Mission of Bacabal, which managed to gather together five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe, indubitably one of Brazil's principal aboriginal groups.

So that I may not be accused of bias, I shall transcribe textually certain documents written by the citizens of the district and by the missionary, which bring out the animosity between the two sides.

The leading cultivators and tradesmen of the Itaituba District sent a petition to the Legislative Assembly of the province of Pará on the first of March, 1874, complaining that the missionary of Bacabal did no more than monopolize the labor of the peaceable Indians on the banks of the Tapajoz, without troubling to christianize the savage bands of the central villages.

This petition is here reproduced in full:

"To the members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. -- At the end of the year 1871, the missionaries Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva and Fa. Antonino came to the Upper Tapajoz to found a mission in a location more easily accessible to the aboriginal tribes which still inhabit, in large numbers, the interior of the region. This event was lauded by all, for it would ensure the growth and flowering of this part of the Empire, which lacks manpower in its dwindling agriculture and in other areas that underlie and maintain our trade. The missionaries chose the spot named Bacabal, the seat of a very old settlement of Indians who were already civilized, working in agriculture and the extraction of rubber, lending their skillful knowledge of canoe navigation, and bartering the products of their husbandry. The missionaries, ill-informed and reckless, [136] listening as they did to tramps and adventurers, immediately declared war on the tradesmen, calling them all without exception thieves and scoundrels. They advised the Indians not to pay their debts because they owed nothing, and prevented them from lending their skill to the dangerous canoe trips along the falls, thus causing terrible damage in the years 1872 and 1873, such as the loss of

648 797 twelve canoes with their loads and several lives!... These facts were related to the Government in the columns of a newspaper published in the town of Santarem. Unhappily, it seems that the higher authorities have been deceived and do not believe the true accounts provided by the press. This evil waxes greater day by day, for the missionaries, protected as they are by a government that entertains the most laudable intentions toward the process of christianization, keep in Bacabal those Indians who resided there and suborn into their service many who were employed by the tradesmen, as well as Negroes who led an irregular life. They put these people to tasks that benefit only the missionaries themselves, to singing hymns, and to performing other acts which decency demands to pass over in silence. The enclosed documents will make clear the behavior of these missionaries, who to this day have contributed nothing to the cause of christianization. This has already moved the Municipal Chamber of Itaituba to report to the Government the manner of behavior of these missionaries, which runs altogether counter to the ends of their mission and which to date has achieved no results whatever. -- The undersigned therefore request this illustrious body to recognize the growing evils which threaten the Upper Tapajoz, and to authorize the president of the province to send a delegation of competent men to investigate the facts and uncover the truth, so that measures may be taken to abolish the distress [137] which forces us to present this petition to the elected rulers of the people. Itaituba, March 1, 1874." (The signatures follow.)

The missionary father, on the other hand, does not bitterly indict all the citizens who signed the petition, but only those tradesmen named regatões [hucksters] who yearly penetrate the Upper Tapajoz, carrying in small canoes a few articles to barter for rubber, sage, copaiba oil, and other natural products of the region.

In a letter dated January 20, 1876, the missionary Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva relates the following events to the president of the province of Pará:

"It was on July 10 of last year that Mr. Tocantins visited this Mission; a few days after his departure I had to come to the capital, as Your Exc. knows, for reasons concerning the welfare of the Mission.

648 797 "During my absence the public morality of the village was thoroughly disturbed by some illicit peddlers.

. . . . . .

"These hucksters and their crews, having learned that the Mission was empty, made for the village one by one without delay and there committed excesses of robbery and licentiousness.

"According to their custom, they first intoxicated the Indians with cachaça [a kind of rum], thus depriving them of their reason, and then took from them everything they could -- manioc flour, ducks, chickens, etc. -- giving them in return nothing but the cachaça they could drink.

"They carried out public whoring day and night, in the harbor and in the houses; and, oh! Sir, in this respect they were truly [138] excessive! There was not one family of poor Indians whose dearest honor and decency they did not abuse horribly, and even the stones shed tears before such a clamity!

"The demoralization went so far that in their intoxicated state the Indians themselves copied the licentiousness of the hucksters, forgetting all they had learned and turning the Mission on those days into a veritable brothel!

"As a result of these unusual goings-on in the village during my absence, which lasted but 49 days, a notable retrogression took place.

"At that time also, ten Indians seized by some superstition (which possibly was also spread by strangers) kept saying that now that the missionary was gone the government had ordered them all to be killed, and that Mr. Tocantins had been sent here to this end; whereupon they fled into the depths of the woods.

"Others, numbering more than twenty, were deceived by the peddlers and left the village with them to help with the extraction of rubber.

"Several others contracted agreements with hucksters and rubber extractors, and were about to leave the Mission when I returned.

"Had the Mission remained abandoned a few days longer, it would have been completely destroyed.

"My unexpected return caused much perturbation among the Indians and much surprise to the enemy.

648
797 "Thanks to Divine Providence, public order was restored. Those Indians who had been led away from the Mission were sought out, and soon I was able to bring them all back [139] into the fold. I redoubled the discipline in accordance with the regulations, forbidding sharp dealing strangers to stop at the Mission or to contract agreements with the Indians in my absence and without my permission.

"The protection which the Government has so justly and wisely granted to the Mission has caused the despair of its enemies; and now that they are perfectly aware of this, they are slowly giving up the whole scheme.

"Following my return to the Mission there occurred only one unfortunate event, as follows:

"One of the greatest deceivers of the Indians, one Boaventura Alves Pereira, a licentious man who deals in cachaça and for this reason has often been expelled from the Mission, came one night secretly to some Indians, between December 10 and 15 of last year, and invited them to come and trade with him at a nearby harbor. The Indians, though somewhat wary, consented and accompanied him. The usual episodes were repeated: everything took place, though with greater moderation.

"As soon as I became aware of his presence, I immediately sent out some Indians in military uniform (who form here a sort of detachment), ordering them to bring me the huckster so that I might take back from him what he had stolen from them. They went; but on sighting soldiers the huckster untied his canoe from the dock. As the corporal attempted to hold the canoe and seize him, the huckster threatened to kill him with his gun.

"The disappointed corporal and his comrades ran to get a canoe and set out after him; but in order to avoid a conflict I did not allow them to do so.

"I punished the chiefs of the guilty Indians; and the huckster being a repeated offender, I denounced him to the sub-delegate of Itaituba in accordance with mission regulations. [139]

"However, Sir, knowing the hostility which rules in Itaituba against the Mission, nothing is to be expected from those quarters. For this reason I turn to Your Exc. and request and beg

M
648
797

that two individuals who are highly injurious to the development of the Mission be ordered out of its territory.

. . . . . .

"I am certain that Your. Exc. will rid the Mission of this human plague by ordering them to be expelled five leagues beyond the boundaries of the district, in accordance with the pertinent regulation."

XXIV

The Mundurucu attack a band of Parintintin -- The Parintintin attack some inhabitants of the Tapajoz river banks.

M
C
648
726

Around that time,[1] a band of Parintintin appeared on the banks of one of the tributaries of the Tapajoz, not far from the Mission.

These poor savages, far from being greeted by Christians and invited into the pale of labor and into life in society, met only with executioners.

Some adventurers, of the kind that comes to those parts in the summer months to extract rubber, lost no time in warning the Mundurucu of the neighboring village. The latter immediately set out, met the Parintintin, defeated them, killed a few, set the others to flight, and returned to the village with several woman and child captives.

No wonder the Parintintin have never managed to settle in the valley of the Tapajoz, which they have roamed [141] incessantly for many years. But these barbarians, whose fate is a continuous state of alarm and dread -- pursued as they are into the deepest recesses of the forest and ever threatened with the forced abduction of their wives and children -- also nurture in their trembling hearts the thirst for vengeance.

Unable to strike at the enemy or at those frontiersmen who had joined the Mundurucu ranks in the wretched hope of obtaining a few Parintintin child captives, these barbarians nevertheless

1 [i.e., ca. January, 1876. -Analyst]

CM 648 726

attempted to express as they could the profound rancor this infamous slaughter had awakened in them.

C 648 726

Here is how Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva described the Parintintin attack on the house of some frontiersman neighbors of the Mission, in a Report to the president of Pará dated August 14, 1876:

"The Parintintin -- another populous tribe that leads a savage way of life, roaming the woods and maintaining a state of continuous warfare with the Mundurucu -- would accept civilization without delay if the Mundurucu were to be all gathered together. Since the Mission was founded the Parintintin have been less fiercely attacked by their foe, and as a result have occasionally appeared around here in the course of their journeys. They were seen at various points of the Tapajoz riverbanks, and appeared last at the mouth of the Jauanchim River, a tributary of the Tapajoz, at the beginning of last July.

"At that very spot three people lived in a small hut by the stream -- two men and a woman who had come from Itaituba on the Upper Tapajoz to extract rubber. One day at the beginning of last July, around five o'clock in the afternoon, they saw filing through the woods by the hut a large band of savages -- naked, [142] armed with bows and arrows, some of them adorned with macaw feathers. The three alarmed individuals imprudently trusted that the savages would proceed on their way and that nothing would happen, as had sometimes proved to be the case elsewhere when these Indians made an appearance.

"But it was not to be so: around six o'clock in the morning of the following day, their house was surrounded by Parintintin who screamed and howled like ferocious beasts as they attacked. The three occupants defended themselves with firearms, and a close battle ensued. The Parintintin chief was killed and many others wounded; the two frontiersmen were severely wounded -- one of them was hit by six arrows, some of which went right through him.

"In the midst of the battle the Parintintin ran out of arrows and went to get some more from their women who waited a short distance away. The two frontiersmen, taking advantage of this short respite, took to flight; and the poor woman, who amid the general alarm failed to accompany them, was captured by the

C
648 savages. When the latter returned, they were furious on finding
726 the men gone, and they cut off her head with wooden knives and
[412] carried it with them, leaving behind the rest of the body, a large
number of arrows thrust into the roof of the hut and into a canoe,
[201] and others set in the form of a cross as a sign of vengeance.

"As a result of this episode, all the rubber gatherers who lived in those parts left for the islands, abandoning a stretch along the right bank of the Tapajoz some fifty leagues in length, from Apuí to Montanhas.

"When I heard about this at the Mission, I should have liked to fly out in search of those wretched aborigines; but after seriously considering the facts and the information [143] provided by the Mission Mundurucu, I realized that any such attempt would be futile. The thick impassable forests, the lakes, the dense network of streams branching all over the interior, all this makes the passage of a missionary altogether impossible."

XXV

Further antagonism between the missionary of Bacabal and the leading citizens of the Itaituba District.

M
648
749

The hostilities between the missionary and those he called foes of the Mission were steadily maintained.

The Imperial Government has to heart the cause of Christianization and was eager to investigate the case, but it was difficult to determine the truth in those faraway parts.

The honorable president of the province of Pará, Commander Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, took it upon himself to visit the Mission of Bacabal in order to study all that pertained to the cause of christianization and to submit a detailed report to the Ministry of Agriculture.

I had the opportunity to observe that this mission which is one of the largest in the Empire, numbering as it does five hundred Indians, is in a position to perform great services by inviting to Christianity not only those Mundurucu who still live in the

● 648 jungle, far from the banks of the Tapajoz, but also the unruly
787 Parintintin and all the heathen bands that roam the valley of the Upper Xingu and the borderlands of the province of Mato Grosso. [144]

The grave accusation had been levelled at Fa. Pelino that by reason of his own private interests he paid more attention to commerce than to catechism.

It is true that the missionary carried out a significant amount of trade with the Pará market, selling rubber, sage, copaiba oil and other natural products of this rich territory which had been extracted by the Mission Indians, and in turn buying foreign goods.

The citizens who lodged the complaint against Fa. Pelino maintained that the greater part of this trade was carried out for his own account, and that he had actually remitted important sums of money to Europe.

But the missionary denied this, asserting that the trade was carried out not for his own benefit but for that of the Mission Indians, who extracted these products from the forest and to whom he submitted accounts.

Be that as it may, in the absence of convincing proof that the missionary actually was enriching himself at the expense of the Mission -- proof all the more needed in view of the gravity of the accusation -- the Government decided to uphold the missionary and the Mission and in fact did so.

Unfortunately, however, new events occurred which placed a heavy strain on the missionary's repute.

These events grew in consequence, the matter was widely debated in the daily press and on the rostrum of Pará's Legislative Assembly.

In the Chamber of Deputies, the authoritative voice of my distinguished friend, Dr. Cantão, rose in defense of the missionary.

The enlightened opinion of the nation, which is not indifferent to such matters, expressed itself strongly. [145]

It was unfortunately established beyond doubt that the missionary had not always lived up to the trust which the Imperial Government had invested in him.

648 797 The Minister of Agriculture, in an order dated December 22, 1876, excused Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva from his duties as head of the Mission of Bacabal; at the same time, immediate and equitable measures were taken to maintain the Mission and to serve as vigorously as heretofore the cause of christianization in those remote parts.

XXV

Trade between the hucksters and the Indians of the Upper Tapajoz.

648 797 439 The bitter fight waged between the leading citizens of the Itaituba District and the missionary of Bacabal had no other cause than the Indian trade.

I refer here to those Indians who live at the Mission of Bacabal and at other points of the Upper Tapajoz riverbanks, and [184] not to the Mundurucu of the central villages, such as Necodemos and others, which are called villages of the plains.

The latter, who are truly savage, carry out no trade whatever, and indeed appear to avoid contact with both missionaries and petty tradesmen.

The missionary of Bacabal held the combined functions of director of the settlement, head steward, schoolmaster to both male and female pupils, and parson. He was not eager to obtain assistants from the government to help him in his various tasks, and kept the Mission totally isolated from any contact with the inhabitants of the district and especially with the hucksters. [146]

All the Indian trade in Bacabal was carried out through him directly with the Pará market, and he gave no account whatever of these transactions to the government.

We shall now endeavor to provide a general idea of the manner in which trade is carried out on the Upper Tapajoz.

The district of Itaituba, which stretches beyond the Mission of Bacabal to the borders of Mato Grosso, is one of the richest in natural resources in the valley of the Amazon.

Ma 248 797 439 It produces excellent rubber in large quantities, and the provinces of Pará and Amazonas owe the rapid development of their export and import trade to this commodity.

Rubber sells on the Pará market for $1.50 to $2.00 a kilogram; the Tapajoz alone yearly exports some 150,000 kilograms of it, and this amount would be larger if there were sufficient manpower to gather all the natural resources of the soil. The Ma 249 378 439 district also produces guaraná, a highly precious commodity of acknowledged medicinal worth.

The Maué Indians alone cultivate this plant and prepare the product, which they usually make into cylindrical loaves, sometimes, however, they mold it into the shape of animals native Ma [532] to the region, such as tapir, snakes, turtles and others, lending to this task considerable intelligence and artistic taste.

Ma [435] Guaraná sells on the Pará market for $4 to $5 a kilogram; and in Mato Grosso, where it is in great demand, the price is four times higher.

Each crew member of the canoes that sail in those parts takes a guaraná decoction every morning and even several times a day as a fever preventive. The results are positive.

Ma 439 The district also furnishes copaiba oil, sarsaparilla, [147] and other natural products which are priced high and esteemed greatly on all markets.

On this very day I find the following notice in a reputable newspaper of the capital of Pará [Belém]:

"Indians -- Sixteen Mundurucu Indians from the Mission of Bacabal, accompanied by their chief, have arrived in this capital to appear before the Presidency and to promote the sale of 292 arrobas (over 4,000 kilograms) of rubber.

"The chief's attire and the face paintings of these Indians have attracted public curiosity."

Commerce on the Upper Tapajoz is carried out by tradesmen known as regatões [hucksters or traders], who appear in those parts in small canoes loaded with goods during the summer months and the rubber harvest. Navigation through the falls is difficult Ma [505] and risky; it is often necessary to unload the canoe and carry the burden on land for several kilometers; then the canoe in turn has to be carried and reloaded; and farther on the whole procedure

439 is repeated, with the additional danger of foundering on one of
[505] the innumerable rocks which obstruct the course of the stream. To this must be added privations, fevers, and possible attack by fierce Indians such as the Parintintin. Some of these peddlers, setting out from Itaituba, course upriver through the region for a month and sometimes two.

They find no one to trade with but the Mundurucu and a few Maué savages, who go naked or nearly naked, who have not the slightest notion of our language, of our alphabet, of our system of weights and measures, or of the current price of the goods they sell and the commodities they purchase.

Incredible as it may seem, the traders sell on credit [148] to savages who own no capital other than a hatchet to bleed the rubber trees, commodities which add up on running accounts to such enormous figures as 5, 6 or 7,000,000 reis or even more! Possibly every Indian in those parts is indebted to a considerable extent. When asked how much they owe, these Indians always reply: "Who knows! Only the patron can tell!" They always call their creditor "patron" [patrão].

439 The trader, himself a creditor [sic], regards his Indian
● 648 debtors as serfs: as best suits his needs, he sends them into the forest to gather rubber, forbidding them expressly to sell it to other traders; or makes them paddle his canoe; or takes them to his home when the harvest is over and puts them to work under his very eyes. He carries this odious exploitation practically to the point of slavery; denies them the right to go where they wish; and if by chance they secretly run away, he sets out after them and captures them by sheer force.

Many cultivators also have a certain number of Indians at their service and under their rule. I have seen many of these savages -- men, women and children -- forcibly retained in the homes of cultivators. When one of these creditors passes away, the Indian moves to the home of whoever happens to inherit his share of the debt. Once on the Upper Tapajoz I asked to whom an Indian "belonged" who interested me, and got the following reply: "We don't know yet, because the household of his former master, who died a short time ago, has not yet been parcelled out."

Ma 484 brook that winds every which way through the fields and through the shade of the virgin forest.

Ma [562] Following the evening meal, each would string his hammock; those who had not brought one would prepare couches Ma of branches and leaves.

Ma 648 The Maué and the Mundurucu, formerly implacable enemies who could not meet without fighting, now slept peacefully side by side.

ooo I have often been told about the profound silence of the desert. But in these parts, during the night, there is not a single instant of absolute silence. A thousand loud voices, now near, now far, hoarse or sharp, shrill or mellow, form a strange orches- Ma tration: the creaking of branches, the chirping of insects, the 825 hissing of reptiles, the mournful cries of nocturnal birds.

TTo And in the midst of these discordant sounds a cry echoes, piercing and plaintive, which appears to move constantly about.

The Maué, heathens of the Tupi nation, said that it was the "cry of the anhangá." Yet although I questioned them repeatedly on the subject, I was unable to find out whether they attributed the cry simply to the small white deer they call anhangá, or to the evil spirit which according to their beliefs is wont to take the form of a deer in order to deceive them and lead them astray when they go hunting. When they spoke of the anhangá, however, they showed no signs whatever of superstitious fear.

ooo Indeed, Tupi mythology portrays the principle of evil simply as a cunning deer that invents ingenious tricks to lead the hunters astray.

It is not Siva, portrayed by the oldest Sanskrit [161] civilization as forever thirsty for blood; nor is it the Aritman of the Persians.

It is also very remote from Satan, that combined figure of dread and masquerade which the missionaries of old so often mentioned in their sermons and in their chronicles.

At the headwaters of the Cadereri I spent my last day and night with the Mundurucu who had come with me from Necodemos.

I gave them all I had in my canoe, including those personal possessions which were not indispensable to me, and deeply regretted my inability to do more.

776 The only trace of higher belief
I could find is in the language, [394] which has a word (gettut) for God and another (cäuschi) for devil. The pajé is also considered by them to be a powerful and fearful person. He is thought of as a relative of the devil or as a person possessed [Inspirirter]. For his medical help he is rewarded with cotton thread or weapons as he is among the Apiacas with whom, in fact, the Mundrucus have a number of customs and usages in common.

175 Before 1770 the Mundrucus were hardly known in Brazil by name.
648 But then they burst forth in numerous hordes all along the Rio Tapajôz, destroyed the settlements and made themselves so dreaded that troops had to be despatched against them, troops they resisted fearlessly. In the 1780's a troop more than two thousand men strong came out of their malocas, crossed the Xingund Tocantins rivers and marched to the western border of Maranhão province spreading war and despoliation as they went. But there they suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the warlike Apinayes and only remnants from the murderous battle were left to move north to the Mojú rivers where they devastated the Portuguese farms. * Forced back by the united planters, they finally

* The so-called "Guajajaras" are supposed to be a splinter group dating from that time. In 1818 they were put into villages near Cerzedello on the Rio Gurupi Corografia paraënse p. 117. Perhaps Guaia-jaz? p. 383.

retreated to the rest of the tribe on the Tapajôz. The government sent after them a detachment of 300 men which came upon a heavily populated maloca ten days after leaving the river. Encircled by enemies they fought their way through with great difficulty and finally reached the banks of the river. The Mundrucus are reputed to have lost nearly 1,000 men. The statement comes from a chieftain who made the first treaty and who used his notched stick as reference. Their inclination for war allowed them only a short rest. They went to war against the Muras, who for a long time had rendered the waterways of the Amazon uncertain and had plundered many a settlement. They waged against them so horrible a war of extinction that the Muras in 1785 yielded in Maripi to the Portuguese and promised permanent friendship. Then they

turned on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintins (Parárauítes or Uauvrivait), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajoz with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. *

* Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas Diccionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 206.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajôz, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on the Tapajôz 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Mauhe 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,000. **

438

** This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajoz produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1.05 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Mauhé 1,500 and those of Canomá 600. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canamá gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

174 A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucús originaly

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes. 131 [197] 175 648

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestizo colonists. The population of their Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Urituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost." 175 [197] [16] [177]

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river. 175 438

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliatives, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

wars. The necessity of ever having to defend their home territory was denied, and provocation by other groups was not remembered as a cause of war in Mundurucú tradition. It might be said that enemy tribes caused the Mundurucú to go to war simply by existing, and the word for enemy meant merely any group that was not Mundurucú.

Despite this seemingly undirected aggressiveness, it was possible to establish through direct questioning and by analysis of field data that certain individual and social goals were realized through warfare. The more important of these goals will be analyzed and their significance as causes of the institution of warfare will be evaluated in the following section.

The Mundurucú were partially motivated to war by the quest for manufactured goods, which, as noted earlier, were obtained from the Brazilians in return for service as mercenary warriors against unpacified tribes. The symbiotic relationship that became established was noted by Chandless (1862:276) who wrote that the Mundurucú were "honest and faithful," and "very friendly toward white people, warring only against unpacified Indians while protecting those friendly with the whites."

The scope and importance of Mundurucú mercenary activities is impressive. In the early 19th century, the whites urged them to attack the troublesome Mura Indians of the lower Madeira River, and so great was their success that the Mura were scattered as far as the vicinity of Ega, hundreds of miles up the Amazon River (Bates 1863:168–9). Ayres de Casal (1817:237–8) reported that many of the victims of the Mundurucú, among them the Mura, were forced to seek the protection of the white settlements. The traders who employed the Mundurucú thus obtained a dual advantage; the hostiles were not only quelled but were driven into the arms of the labor-hungry whites.

Later references also attest to the alliance with the Brazilians. The Mundurucú were enlisted by colonial officials during the Revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–36, and one of their leaders in the war was given an honorary commission in the army in recognition of his services (Hartt 1885:132). Bates (1863:162) reports that in about 1853 the Mundurucú were instrumental in helping the Brazilians of the Madeira River to suppress the Arara Indians, and Tocantins (1877:140) states that shortly before his journey to the Mundurucú, the latter struck at a marauding group of Parintintin Indians at the behest of the Brazilians. Coudreau (1897:39–40) relates another case of mercenary service by the Mundurucú, whom he characterizes as a people "known for selling their military valor to whoever wants to pay for it." On this occasion, three traders of the Madeira River had been killed by hostile Indians, and their colleagues went to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River and offered merchandise in return for a retaliatory expedition. The offer was accepted but the sortie was a failure, for most of the 60 men and 40 women who took part in the raid died of illness before contacting the enemy.

Although mercenary service is one of the more interesting aspects of Mundurucú warfare during the 19th century, contemporary informants hardly thought it worthy of mention. They acknowledged their alliance with

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated-village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

577 different in kind, for the central theme
186 makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between desirable behavior within Mundurucú society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

648 The Mundurucú first came to the
[131] attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forests and savannah country east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú
[724] warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a
[105] peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

181 Mundurucú warfare represents one
577 side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[2] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[2] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946). [p. 370(2)]

186 more, children were captured from
[597] other tribes and raised as Mundurucú
without prejudice. To adult "outland-
186 ers" of either sex, however, the Mun-
727 durucú gave no quarter; the enemy was
summarily dispatched and the head
severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

648 The establishment of peaceful and
177 symbiotic relations with the whites
726 added a further dimension to the
577 values connected with warfare, which
the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The
726 means used to attain the new ends were
traditional. Enemy villages were

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

1

the setting

In the Amazon valley, a region where ferociousness was the mode, the Mundurucú Indians enjoyed a reputation for unalloyed, untempered savagery until the turn of the century. Their war parties ranged outward almost every year, striking indiscriminately at tribes anywhere within a radius of five hundred miles, burning the villages, kidnapping children, and taking heads of adults as trophies of their exploits. They did not indulge in cannibalism, as so many of their neighbors, but the terror they inspired was so great that they themselves were seldom preyed upon and eaten. Their homeland on the upper Tapajós River, south of the Amazon, was rarely attacked, and though they no longer go to war their reputation still protects them from the hostile tribes of the region. 181 648

Wild and lawless though the Amazon may still seem by 182 648

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE SETTING

182 American standards, it is tame in comparison with the sit-
648 uation of a century ago when the Mundurucú were still in the heyday of their militarism. The lives of the native peoples are shorn of the elements of excitement and danger; pacification has no doubt been a relief to the weaker tribes, but to the Mundurucú it has been destructive. The tribe is now a society without important goals or a future, and its members know this well. Even more important in the progressive deterioration of the social fabric, though more insidious in its operation, has been trade and the activities that go into the acquisition of salable commodities. The effects of the relations of the Indians with the whites are obvious to the most casual inspection. When my wife, Yolanda, and I first walked into a Mundurucú village in 1952, we hardly expected to encounter a flamboyantly warlike people, for we knew well that the warring had ended some half-century ago. But we were psychologically
[177] unprepared for the dismal sight of Indians dressed in tattered cottons, for the cheap metal pots and pans, the rubber-tapping apparatus, and the little suitcases that sat in the rafters of every house and in which the people packed their clothes for journeys to their rubber trees or to trading posts. Little children with distended abdomens played in the dirt, hollow-ribbed dogs fought over scraps of fish entrails, and an occasional, and very unaboriginal, rooster crowed. The effect of the sun beating mercilessly on the mud huts in the village clearing, of the surrounding monotonous forest, of our inability to communicate with the people, and of our total incapacity to fend for ourselves in this strange environment, was a most depressing experience. This, I believe, is what some anthropologists refer to as "culture shock."

123 We settled in the village, acquired a Brazilian interpreter who spoke Portuguese and Mundurucú, and began to

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

161 of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Mundurucú in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantini's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Mundurucú population of the upper Tapajós River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Mundurucú should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Mundurucú in the upper Tapajós area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

648 The Mundurucú enjoy a solid position of importance
[181] in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of attacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter the Mundurucú were the friends and military allies of the whites. The capitulation of the Mundurucú was a recognition of both superior force and the material advantages to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Mundurucú continued their pursuit of warfare against other tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colo-
[727] nists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of the major goals of their wars.

171 Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that distinguished the Mundurucú from their Tupian neigh-
[273] bors. The Mundurucú have never manufactured any of the common intoxicants of the region, although they are now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

meters, but during July in the same period an average of only 6.05 mm. fell. The extremes during this seven-year ranged from 530.4 mm. in January, 1947, to no rainfall in July, 1945, and again in 1951. The rivers rise and fall with the rains, overflowing their banks in November or December and receding in May. 132

Contrary to popular belief, the heat is seldom excessive in this part of Brazil. Although the sea breezes that blow up the Amazon from the sea as far as Manaos every evening are not felt in the upper Tapajós, the temperature usually drops at night to very comfortable levels. It was my experience that one could use pajamas and two cotton blankets at night; the Mundurucú, who do not possess such luxuries, generally sleep in their cotton clothes and awaken at three or four in the morning to light a small fire beneath their hammocks. There are no great variations in temperature from one month to another. Days are slightly warmer and nights cooler during the dry season, but the lower humidity makes it more agreeable than the rains. Maximum temperatures throughout the year range between 87° and 95° F. (30° and 35° C.), minimum temperatures between 63° and 77° F. (17° and 25° C.). During June, a cold wind blows from the distant Andes and chills the entire region for two to four days. Temperatures then fall to as low as 63° F. (17° C.). [291] [513]

THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT

The Mundurucú habitat is surely not an earthly paradise, but neither is it the "green hell" so often pictured by royalty-minded travelers and writers. The Brazilians of the Tapajós River, however, do live in a social and economic hell. They distinguish themselves from the Indians by the self-designation of *civilizado* or, less often, *cristão* (Christian). The Indian is commonly called *caboclo* by them, 101 648

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

101 648 which, ironically, is what the townsman calls the backwoodsman. The Brazilian residents in the upper Tapajós are scattered along its banks and the lower sections of its larger tributaries as far south as 9° S lat. on the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. Beyond this point the country is inhabited by the Nambikuára, Tapayuna, and Tupí-Cawahíb Indians, who are all hostile to the whites and effectively prevent further penetration. The Gê-speaking Northern Kayapó Indians, who live to the east of the Mundurucú, have raided the upper Tapajós in recent years, and at the time of our visit fear had induced all inhabitants of the east bank of the river between the Tropas and Jamaxím rivers to move to safer areas.

511 249 The local Brazilians have an enormous fear of hostile Indians. This is especially true of recent immigrants to the Amazon, and it is reinforced by a general feeling of insecurity in the jungle environment. The natives of the States of Ceará and Piauí who have been attracted to the area through aspirations of wealth in rubber, are frequently heard to remark that "life here is a sacrifice"; or "it is better to starve in town where there is movement and people than in this desolation." Inhabitants born in the area are, of course, accustomed to it, but they recognize their own poverty and the despair of their condition. Life in the jungle is difficult; the people are poor and often hungry and deprived of the barest necessities of life. Rubber, the basic export of the area, once offered rich returns to collectors, and especially to traders, but the latex of [439] the wild *Hevea* is now submarginal on the world market; the population engaged in its extraction has correspondingly experienced a forty-year period of depression.

648 The governments of Brazil and of the State of Pará are remote from the region. On rare occasions, one or two policemen from the town of Itaituba, the seat of the mu-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper 648
Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a
prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or 743
private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém 759
visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but
medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There
is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company
rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural
experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for
most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants 371
who read and write usually learned to do so in another [212]
area or through literate parents. Actually, the Mundurucú 648
are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, be- 658
cause both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service
post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educa-
tional facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the 361
Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical [342]
habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle
and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower
Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher sec-
tion of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods.
These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the
major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers,
often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the
barracões (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local
traders, who buy the produce of the caboclo and sell him
needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm
clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses ad-
jacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same
forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the
houses of rubber tappers whose rubber avenues are
nearby, and others belong to people who live there during
the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 customers of the patron remain in their isolated dwellings the year round.

439 Every rubber collector deals steadily with the same
648 patron, because the latter controls the section of forest land in which his clients work. The trader usually has no legal title, but receives rights of exploitation by paying
[651] the state tax on the gross cash return from the land. The right of exploitation, perpetuated by the state tax, usually rests on a nebulous title, and, according to Wagley, it is
[423] "control over the land, and not legal documents" which establishes ownership in the Amazon.[5] The patron grants permission to the rubber tapper to extract rubber from his lands and, in return, exerts a trade monopoly in which his client sells rubber to him and buys goods from him.
[651] The patron profits from both sale and purchase and, since he passes the state tax on to the rubber collector, the latter receives but small return in terms of the prices prevailing in the urban markets. The client has freedom of movement only when he is not in debt to the patron, which rarely happens. If he owes money, he can transfer to another patron only if the new one settles the debt and transfers it to his own books. The rubber collector sometimes deals with the *regatões,* or itinerant merchants who ply the rivers, but these transactions are infrequent and in small amounts because the patron does not tolerate a substantial loss of commerce. The rubber collector who deals too often with the *regatão* might be denied credit by his regular patron or, less frequently, evicted from his avenue.

311 The economic power of the trader is especially strong
439 on the upper Tapajós River because of a combination of
648 geographic and economic factors. The lower Tapajós, from its mouth at Santarém to the first rapids 150 miles upstream, is economically diversified, and its rubber pro-

[5] Wagley, 1953, p. 92.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

duction is overshadowed in value by agricultural products, 311
cattle, and hardwoods. Some rubber is still produced at 439
the old Ford plantations, now government-owned, at Bel- 648
terra and Fordlandia, but both installations are currently
mainly used for experimental cattle breeding. Commerce
is correspondingly brisker on the lower Tapajós. The in-
habitants are not only visited regularly by several traders,
but they have access to the market facilities of small towns
and the city of Santarém.

The upper Tapajós and its two main tributaries, the São 133
Manoel and Juruena rivers, are broken by a series of heavy
rapids, some of which are impassable in the dry season.
The first set of rapids, the Cachoeira de Maranhão, can be
passed during the flood stage of the river only with con-
siderable danger. For this reason, a five-mile-long road 439
was built around them early in the century with the re-
sult that the trading company that controlled the road
could force the local patrons to deal only with it, and thus
effectively monopolize trade on the river. This is done by
allowing only freight bought from the company and des-
tined for freightage on the company launches to be trans-
ported on the road. Several attempts at competition by
passing cargo through the dangerous rapids have ended
in failure. Whatever company has controlled the two-way
trade of rubber export and consumer-goods import has
been able to fix consumer prices at whatever the market
would bear. These prices have usually been too high to
keep a stable, permanent working force, and there has
been a chronic labor shortage on the Tapajós, even after
the great rubber boom ended. The prices charged by the
company for freight and goods are based on a cost index
already made high by lack of the deep-water transporta-
tion available on the lower Tapajós. On the upper river,
the rapids force the use of shallow-draft diesel launches

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 that carry only ten tons of cargo. This limitation prohibits the diversified economy of the lower Tapajós from developing further upstream, for the only worthwhile product in terms of transportation costs is natural rubber, which sold in 1952 for the artificially supported price of Cr. $25 (approximately U.S. $0.75 at the open-market rate of exchange then prevailing) per kilogram at the government-operated Rubber Bank of Brazil in Belém.

439 The economic hierarchy of the Tapajós River consists of the company, with headquarters in Belém; the patrons,
452 who are by necessity customers of the company; and the rubber collectors, who are the clients of particular patrons. Transactions between all parties are made on credit. The company advances commodities to the traders and the latter to the rubber collectors against expected deliveries of rubber. Very little cash passes hands.

The river valley can be conceived of as a socioeconomic
439 unit for it is bound together by economic ties from the
621 company through the patron down to the rubber collector;
648 and to the man born on the river, it is the only world he knows. Most ties of kinship, marriage, and friendship are confined to the river banks from the rapids to the limits of Brazilian penetration on the São Manoel and Juruena rivers. Most of the approximately 2,000 inhabitants of this huge region are either personally acquainted or have knowledge of each other.

Within the broad social framework imposed by the river
621 system, the local community consists of the patron and his
648 dispersed rubber-collecting clients. The patron serves as the focal point of community life: he is usually the *padrinho*, or godfather, of the customer's children; it is at his house that devotions to the saints are usually held; it is there that secular festivals such as dances occur; and his store serves as the gathering place on Sundays or alternate

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Sundays when the people come to trade and to enjoy social contacts. The patron is also expected to intervene in cases of serious violation of the law, and he is frequently called upon to settle disputes among his clients. The latter depend heavily on the traditional mutual obligations between patron and client. If the rubber collector falls ill and cannot work, the patron is expected to continue to extend credit to him so that his family may subsist. The patron is also supposed to offer food and coffee when his client visits and to show generosity to the latter's children, even if he is not their godfather. In turn, the client is expected to produce as much rubber as possible and to be loyal to his patron. But it is, at best, a very loosely knit community, for membership shifts frequently and the daily life of the people is carried on in one- or two-family isolation. The most important factor holding the community together is trade with the same patron.

This paucity of social interaction and the loose cohesion of the community is generally caused by the extraction economy prevailing in Amazonia and especially by the collection of wild rubber. The wild rubber trees exploited in the Amazon are scattered along the streams and are usually found on land flooded during the rainy season. Access to the trees is along paths that wind through the forest from one tree to another. The average rubber gatherer has one to three such "avenues" that he visits in rotation every third day to make a fresh cut in the bark of the tree and, later in the same day, to collect the latex that has accumulated in a metal cup placed below the incision. The trees are so widely distributed, except in the richest areas, that he usually works from dawn to late afternoon just to tap one avenue. The great area necessarily exploited by each rubber tapper, plus the fact that large riverine areas are found with few rubber trees and are thus unoccupied,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

2

the contact period

The Mundurucú explain in the form of legendary history how and why relations were established with the white man: 173 648

> In the old days our grandfathers were still wild and fought against the white men. The whites used to come up our rivers in their canoes, and we always battled. One day a group of them came up, and there was a fight and our men were driven off. Two of our young men were wounded and were left behind. They were captured and taken away.
>
> The next time the white men came we were about to attack when the two men who were captured stood up in the canoe and told us not to do anything as these people were our friends. They then came forward and showed us clothes, knives, axes, and many other good things that the whites gave them. They said that if we gave rubber and *farinha* to the whites, we too would receive these things. The elders decided to do this and ever since we have been friends of the white men. [439]

[p. 27]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE CONTACT PERIOD

439 This account is hardly the complete story of the Mun-
648 durucú's contact with Western society, and, since more than one hundred fifty years have passed, it cannot be taken literally. But it explains summarily how the Indians became engaged in the Amazonian barter economy and were induced to accept the whites. Trade with the white men had much to offer. Steel tools are so far superior to stone axes and bamboo knives that they have been sought after eagerly by almost all aborigines. The efficacy of firearms, also, was early and forcibly demonstrated to them by the whites. The traders had many other things that attracted the primitive population of the Amazon. Among them were trinkets and glass beads, the raw Brazilian rum, *cachaça,* clothes to protect them from insects and the cool nights of interior Brazil, and all the gewgaws and gadgets of the civilized world.

177 Once exposed to these mixed benefits of Western cul-
648 ture, it is as difficult for the aborigine to turn away as it is for the American; he is caught in the trap of his own newly
439 induced needs. So strong is the Indian's desire for manufactured goods and so great is his dependence upon them that the Brazilian Indian Protection Serivce commonly uses the lure of Western commodities to establish communication with hostile tribes preliminary to their pacification. Traders in the Amazon region have classically used this technique to attract and hold native labor, which they have always desperately needed in their efforts to extract wild products. The Mundurucú have not suffered from the worst excesses committed by the commercial interests, but other means, including torture and degeneration by rum, have been used to recruit them and other Indians throughout the Amazon Valley. The net effect has been to draw the native population into a client status under white patrons and to integrate it into the mercantile econ-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural change in this part of South America.

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong attacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2]

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Tapajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the

[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[2] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.
[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 Tapajós in 1779, which located the "Mondruci nation" on
175 the "Rio Vermelha," probably either the Cadirirí or Cururú River.[4] Also, although Martius was personally acquainted only with the Mundurucú living between the Tapajós and Madeira, he confirmed the upper Tapajós to be their area of greatest strength in 1819.[5]

175 The Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River remained
648 relatively isolated during the early contact period, al-
[166] though large numbers of migrants from these villages moved north to the proximity of the white settlements. This population shift, caused by the lure of manufactured articles, was facilitated by the rapid decimation of the intervening Indian tribes. The complementary, and frequently identical, agencies of colonization and catechization had broken and absorbed those groups, such as the populous Tapajó, which had occupied areas near the Am-
[165] azon, and disease had reduced the ranks of the surviving societies. Mundurucú warfare aided the process. For example, Serra located the Hiauain tribe in an area several days' travel above the first rapids of the Tapajós in 1779,[6] but in 1817 Manoel Ayres de Casal placed them on the east bank of the lower Tapajós, to where they had fled from Mundurucú war parties.[7] The net effect of these demographic changes was to provide the Mundurucú with uninterrupted avenues of access to trade facilities.

175 The Mundurucú who moved into the lower Tapajós val-
648 ley soon entered into close relations with the whites. The
797 mission of Santa Cruz was established in 1803 and was followed by other missions to the Mundurucú at Boim and Pinhel, all on the lower Tapajós.[8] The inhabitants of these

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 3–5.
[5] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[6] Almeida Serra, 1869, p. 3.
[7] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 232.
[8] Martius, 1867, p. 395.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

settlements traded to obtain Western goods. The process of assimilation proceeded with such rapidity that by 1817 Ayres de Casal was able to say, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians."[9] The Mundurucú occupants of the lower Tapajós were not, however, completely mission-dominated, as "a quite considerable distance above Vilanova de Santa Cruz on the west bank of the Tapajós, there is a village inhabited by another horde of Mundurucús, still pagans, and already having gardens, some already using trousers, and the women skirts, all of cotton."[10] There is no mention in the sources of the presence of the traditional village and men's house on the lower Tapajós. Apparently, the migrants did not transfer the native community organization to their new habitat.

The Madeira River area was likewise a region of post-contact penetration by the Mundurucú. This contradicts the information given to Lt. Herndon of the U. S. Navy by Alphonse de Lincourt, a French engineer of Santarém. According to the latter, the Mundurucú, after becoming friendly with the whites, moved out of the region between the Tapajós and the Madeira and retired to "the deep solitudes of the Tapajós above the cataracts."[11] It is much more probable that the Madeira region was an area of late eighteenth-century hostilities in which members of the marauding Mundurucú war parties had settled near the Brazilians and were later followed by other migrants.

Johann B. von Spix and Karl von Martius state that in 1819 the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River in the lower Madeira drainage had 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[12] The Indians were settled at the mis-

[9] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[11] Herndon and Gibbon, 1854, p. 311.
[12] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 sion and were also scattered throughout the surrounding
648 forest. They were already conducting trade with the
[797] whites in manioc flour, sarsaparilla, and *guaraná* and ap-
[459] parently did not have the men's house and the other accoutrements of the traditional men's organization. According to these explorers, the Indians were found mainly on
[131] the Canomá and its tributary, the Secundurý. About forty years later, Mundurucú inhabitants lived also on the Abacaxís and Maué-Assú rivers, two other tributaries of the Paraná-Mirim, a channel that connects the Amazon with the lower Madeira.

The Mundurucú of that area are of interest, because the earliest assimilation of large numbers of the tribe took place in the Madeira River region. It was there too that a long tradition of friendly relations with the whites was established; this friendship was to a large extent sealed by the coöperation of the Mundurucú in the quelling of tribes of the region still hostile to the colonists. In the late eighteenth century, two tribes of the lower Madeira, the Mura and the Arara, especially the former, waged incessant warfare against the white settlements and did much to impede the colonization of the central Amazon Valley. Unable to cope with the Mura, the whites enlisted the aid of the Mundurucú and from this date, according to Charles F. Hartt, the whites and the Mundurucú were allies.[13] By 1819, Ayres de Casal reported the lower Madeira River town of Borba to have a nearby settlement of Mura who had sought refuge from the Mundurucú,[14] and in 1852, Henry Walter Bates, the noted English naturalist, found fugitive remnants of the tribe scattered along the Amazon as far as the town of Catuá, a short distance below the mouth of the Rio Teffé.[15] At the time Bates wrote, the at-

[13] Hartt, 1885, pp. 116–117.
[14] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 238.
[15] Bates, 1863, p. 168.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tentions of the Mundurucú had already shifted to the Arara Indians, with similar results. In addition to their activity in quelling hostile Indians, the Mundurucú also assisted the Portuguese authorities in the revolution of the Cabanas in 1835–1836. This aid consisted mainly of mop-up operations conducted against the rebels after the strength of the revolt was broken. 175 648

With friendly and mutually profitable relations established through coöperation in warfare and continued within the framework of a social and economic system relating Mundurucú and Brazilians through trade, the tribesmen who moved to the Madeira and lower Tapajós became progressively assimilated into Amazonian society. In the latter region, Mundurucú society was losing its boundaries and cohesiveness by the middle of the nineteenth century. Bates reported that in 1852 the Mundurucú living on the Cupari River, an affluent of the lower Tapajós, had recently abandoned village life and were scattered for six or seven miles along the river in twenty to thirty houses.[16] Most of these houses were of the Brazilian type or transitional to it. Few people were tattooed, all were clothed, and some spoke Portuguese in addition to their native Mundurucú. The Indians were under the control of Brazilian "captains of workers" on the lower Tapajós. Ostensibly, the duty of the latter was to supply crews for trading boats, but the Indians were also exploited by the captains for their own profit. Mundurucú society was becoming fragmented throughout the lower Tapajós region, for Bates reported the Santa Cruz mission to contain only thirty to forty families in 1852,[17] and by about 1880 it was a caboclo village. Similarly, Coudreau states that the population decline in the mission village of Uxituba, near modern Itaituba, was as follows: 1833, 485 Mundurucú; 1848, 343; [182] [361] [177] 175 182 648 [161]

[16] *Ibid.*, 1863, p. 240.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 225.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

1889, 100; 1895, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirím and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[22] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco and the collection of *guaraná*, sarsaparilla, and *copaiba* oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[20] Agassiz, 1869, p. 308.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 434.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

of the Campinas [savannahs] are numerous."[28] Contact between the two regions has completely terminated since that time, and the modern Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós know of their brothers on the Madeira waters only by vague reports. I did not visit the latter region, but verbal accounts from Brazilians acquainted with the area indicate that the Madeira population is well assimilated.

The assimilation of these Mundurucú has been made complete by extensive intermarriage, usually of the common-law type, between Mundurucú and caboclos. These unions are almost always between Brazilian men and Indian women, because the rural Brazilians regard it degrading for a "civilized" woman to marry an Indian. Also, there has historically been a shortage of women in the Amazon, because the immigrant rubber tappers have generally been unmarried men. The children of such marriages are reared to be Brazilians and are no longer considered Indians despite their mixed ancestry. Genetically, the present neo-Brazilian, or caboclo, population of the Tapajós is partly Mundurucú. The mother of the mayor of the municipality of Itaituba was Mundurucú, and he is quite proud of this. He and the rest of the people of the Tapajós agree that the Mundurucú are "good people and hard workers."

THE LATER CONTACT PERIOD

The first half of the nineteenth century saw intensive contact between Brazilians and Mundurucú in the region adjacent to the Amazon, and in the second half of the century these Mundurucú merged progressively with caboclo society. But the bulk of the tribe had remained in their homeland on the upper Tapajós River and did not experi-

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 423.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 ence any large-scale direct contact with the whites until a
648 comparatively late period.

Before the rubber boom, the hinterlands of the Amazon Valley were only marginally penetrated and exploited by white settlers, and colonization was largely restricted to the great river itself and the lower reaches of its tributaries. Exploration for minerals, however, had attracted white men to the headwaters of the southern affluents of the Amazon. Access to these regions was generally from the south, across the Planalto de Mato Grosso. The middle reaches of the Tapajós remained relatively undisturbed. The only major exception to this isolation of the Mundurucú country and the tribal areas to the south took place during the long period of Paraguayan-Brazilian hostilities, which closed the Paraguay River to Brazilian trade and isolated Cuyabá, the commercial and political center of Mato Grosso. Most of Cuyabá's commerce then had to be conducted with cities on the Amazon, and the southern tributaries were used as trade arteries. This trade gained considerable magnitude on the Tapajós. Chandless reported that several fleets of ten to fifteen canoes made one round trip a year between Cuyabá and Itaituba, at the head of deep-water navigation on the Tapajós.[24] The members of these fleets undoubtedly had contacts with the Indians along their routes, but without deep or lasting effects on the latter. The Brazilians' task was to freight goods from one port to the other in the shortest possible time. They neither tarried nor traded with the natives.

Until the expansion of trade relations to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós, the most important relation between the tribe and the whites was through its service to them as mercenary warriors. The early action against the Mura and Arara Indians of the lower Madeira River was prob-

[24] Chandless, 1862, p. 278.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ably principally undertaken by Mundurucú who had emigrated to this section. But their rapid engagement in trade and the resultant fragmentation of the native social organization made the migrants ill adapted to warfare, and the burden of mercenary activities shifted to those Mundurucú who had remained on the upper Tapajós. 175 648

Raiding on behalf of the whites continued throughout the nineteenth century. Coudreau described one such expedition in 1895.[21] Three white traders had been killed by hostile Indians on the Madeira River, and a group of merchants approached the Mundurucú to enlist their aid. The Indians were promised advance payment in manufactured goods, and a war party consisting of sixty men and forty women set forth. They traveled to the upper Secundurý River across an area of savannah between that stream and the Tapajós; this route had long been the major means of communication and emigration between the Mundurucú settlements of the upper Tapajós and those on the Madeira waters. This particular expedition met disaster, however, for the virulent malaria of the Secundurý River killed almost all participants. [721]

Their military service for the whites was an important factor in maintaining the stability of Mundurucú culture. The Indians had already become dependent on Western commodities, and warfare provided a means of obtaining them that did not necessitate direct labor for the whites in an extraction industry. Since the latter occupation is, as shall be seen, destructive of the traditional society, the Mundurucú were, in effect, granted a reprieve from more complete participation in commerce and its effects. Furthermore, they were encouraged by the white men to destroy other tribes and thus to continue a pattern that was dominant in the culture. Warfare contributed greatly to 175 182 648 721

[21] Coudreau, 1897, pp. 38–40.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 social cohesion also, because it provided a rallying point
182 for tribal coöperation and a common goal in the pursuit
648 of which factional differences were forgotten. And it af-
721 forded an escape valve for aggressions that could not be safely unleashed within the society.

These factors helped to preserve the integrity and autonomy of Mundurucú society during a period of stress and encroachment. Their coöperation with the whites set a pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship. Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade
(439) goods, and restricted their military activities (which were not by any means always or even usually at the immediate behest of the whites) to tribes that were not yet pacified. And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucú were gradually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in contrast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the transition is no doubt partly attributable to the ties of economic dependency and friendship which had become established.

Trade and exploitation of natural resources came late
175 to the upper Tapajós because of the impediments to nav-
439 igation imposed by its many rapids, and also because of
648 the specific commodities available there. The rich Tapajós rubber did not begin to assume great economic importance until well into the second half of the century, while the Madeira waters had abundant resources of *guaraná* and sarsaparilla, both of which were intensively sought in the early nineteenth century; and agricultural products were traded in the latter area on a large scale at an earlier date, also, because Brazilian markets were not far.

Shortly before the mid-century the Mundurucú of the

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

upper Tapajós began to supplement their sporadic income as warriors with the proceeds of trade. The early commerce with these Indians was carried on entirely by the itinerant traders, *regatões*—as late as 1852, there were no permanent Brazilian settlements south of Itaituba.[26] The region was still only occasionally penetrated by Brazilians, and trade was too small to warrant permanent commercial posts. The regatões served the purpose, traveling throughout the region in canoes of from five to ten tons capacity, selling the merchandise that they carried aboard, and receiving garden and forest products in return. Bates described this early trade as follows:

> They [the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós] make large plantations of mandioca and sell the surplus produce, which amounts on the Tapajós to from 3000 to 5000 baskets (60 lb. each) annually to traders who ascend the river from Santarem between the months of August and January. They also gather large quantities of sarsaparilla, india-rubber, and Tonka beans, in the forests. The traders, on their arrival at the Campinas (the scantily wooded region inhabited by the main body of Mundurucús beyond the cataracts) have first to distribute their wares—cheap cotton clothes, iron hatchets, cutlery, small wares, and cashaca—amongst the minor chiefs and then wait three or four months for repayment in produce.[27]

As Bates noted, the trade was not conducted between individuals but between the trader and the village chiefs. The regatão gave merchandise to the chief and told him what he wanted in exchange; it was the chief's duty to exhort his people to production and, also, to distribute the trade goods among them. The people themselves had little or no contact with the traders, and only the chief had an account. It seems almost unnecessary to say that the exploitation of the illiterate Indians was extreme and that

[26] Bates, 1863, p. 233.
[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 243–244.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 439 648

the Brazilian traders cheated the Indians mercilessly. Accounts were and are to this day arranged so as to keep the Indian almost continually in debt. The trader thereby attaches the labor of his Indian clients and induces the creditor chiefs to exact as much work from their people as possible. As a case in point, in 1875 Antonio Tocantins found one Mundurucú chief to owe the then phenomenal sum of 6,876 milreis.[28]

The Indian trade reported by Bates was mainly in manioc flour, which was also a major product of the Mundurucú of the Madeira waters visited in 1819 by Spix and Martius. Only small amounts of rubber were collected on the upper Tapajós in 1852, but the importance of this commodity soared rapidly in the next quarter century. Tocantins reported it to be the principal item of commerce in 1875.[29] By 1860, Brazilian rubber tappers had begun to penetrate the Tapajós valley during the dry season. They were found in greatest concentration below the Cachoeira de Chacarão, although some drifted further upstream. Chandless, in 1860, encountered a group of clothed Mundurucú working for two runaway Negro slaves on the Juruena River, a tributary of the Tapajós.[30] More Mundurucú were noted in small settlements on the banks of the Tapajós far downstream.[31] During the period of which Chandless wrote, only a small percentage of the Mundurucú of the savannah country were working in rubber. He commented that "the people here [the Mundurucú] trade in salsa [sarsaparilla] and sell provisions to the parties of India-rubber makers."[32] During the next twenty years, they became more completely committed to the

[28] Tocantins, 1877, p. 154.
[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 149–154.
[30] Chandless, 1862, p. 275.
[31] *Ibid.*, p. 277.
[32] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the establishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Tapajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to protect the Indians from the traders and is said by Tocantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for yourselves, your women, and your children." [33] The priest's technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were powerful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon complaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Bacabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of commerce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was extended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little, although the violence of the boom days has subsided and the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant, poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client system and they also came into closer proximity to the whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian population remained in the savannah villages and collected rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

[33] Tocantins, 1877, p. 149.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

Tocantins states that many Mundurucú were also being pressed into household servitude by the whites,[34] a practice common to all of Amazonia at that time. Many Mundurucú accompanied their patrons to work in different regions, and others remained all year at their rubber avenues in the valley of the Tapajós. Illustrative of this spread of Mundurucú over the upper Tapajós region are Coudreau's figures, which give the Mundurucú population of the banks of the upper Tapajós in 1895 as 173; of the Juruena-Bararaty rivers, 72; and of the São Manoel River, 49.[35] All these scattered Mundurucú were living in Brazilian-type houses with an average population of ten in each house. This process was obviously a continuation on a local scale of the earlier spread of the Mundurucú to the lower Tapajós and the Madeira tributaries.

The population of the savannah villages decreased during this period because of death from disease and loss of people to the river banks. However, the villages themselves persisted as strong social units. Two factors are mainly responsible for this: First, the chieftain, instead of losing function, actually became more important, and for some time the villages became politically more tightly integrated. The chief now had the additional position as intermediary with the white man and as such was the source of trade goods; the modern Mundurucú still speak of the days when "chiefs were strong and bought everything for the people." After the patrons became firmly established and gained influence among the Indians, they began to appoint their own "chiefs," frequently without regard for the traditional system of inheritance. In time, as will be seen, this undermined the chieftaincy and became a source of conflict. Second, warfare, for both mercenary

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 148.
[35] Coudreau, 1897, p. 166.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Second, warfare, for both mercenary pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because of the acquisition of firearms.[36] The continuance of warfare helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional villages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian society as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the end of the century was netting the traders fabulous monetary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber collecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional-type villages no longer existed on the waters of the Creporý River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

[36] Hartt, 1885, p. 131.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

131 pajós,[37] although Chandless had stated that they inhabited
175 the headwaters of that river in 1860.[38] Thus, by 1895 at the latest, the territory of the savannah Mundurucú had diminished to its present confines between the Cururú and Tropas rivers, and the number of communities was no doubt correspondingly smaller. The rest of the region in which Mundurucú were scattered in rubber production was occupied jointly with the Brazilians. Those remaining
[177] on the savannahs had already been exposed to civilization. They had acquired steel tools and clothes from the whites, and their warfare was more restricted; they had suffered losses in their material culture, and they had been exposed to Christianity. But the bulk of Mundurucú culture persisted.

175 By 1912–1914, depopulation, the demands of the rubber
182 economy, scarcity of nearby hostile Indian tribes, and
●648 mission influence had combined to end warfare. This was
177 a severe blow to the native culture, for one of its central foci had now disappeared; the primary interest of the Mundurucú male had been valor, trophy-head and captive taking, and the great ceremonies centering on the heads. It is a loss still felt today by the older Mundurucú men, who now look skeptically at the future and nostalgically at the past.

175 It was in this period, also, that the rubber boom col-
439 lapsed, with the ultimate effect of giving a short extension
648 to the life of the native society. Rubber collection decreased in importance and yielded decidedly less return. The produce and labor of the Indians were no longer so eagerly sought, and there was a decrease in numbers of Brazilian rubber tappers and traders in the area. But the Mundurucú had already become completely dependent

[37] Coudreau, 1897, p. 30.
[38] Chandless, 1862, p. 277.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

on manufactured goods and continued to tap rubber, although on a reduced scale. 175 439 648

In 1911, a German priest, Fr. Hugo Mense of the newly established Franciscan diocese of Santarém, ascended the Tapajós and chose a site on the Cururú River where he established a mission. The location decided upon was about two miles north of the Cururú on the boundary between the savannahs and the gallery forest that borders the stream. In 1912, the mission personnel numbered two priests and three nuns. The priests attempted to catechize the Indians while the nuns were in charge of the mission school, which, according to William C. Farabee, had twenty-six Indian and Brazilian children in 1916.[39] At that time, the Cururú region was populated only during the dry season, when the Indians moved from the savannahs to the Cururú to collect rubber. During this period, they were visited regularly by merchants who plied the river. Many people of the savannah villages, within a range of from three hours to two days by foot from the Cururú, did not, however, tap rubber. 175 797

In 1918, a new priest arrived at the mission who urged the relocation of the mission because of the distance from the river bank and the shortage of agricultural land in its immediate vicinity. Plans were made for a larger, permanent, self-sustaining establishment and to that end, the mission moved to its present site on the banks of the Cururú, began to raise its own crops, and instituted a policy of trading with the Indians. That policy gave the mission an income and simultaneously removed the Indian from his dependence on the traders. The priests had recognized the great influence held by the patrons over their Indian clients and saw that it would be to the advantage of the mission if it assumed this role. But in the beginning [439]

[39] Farabee, 1917, p. 138.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

6

social solidarity and social fission

619 [621] Each Mundurucú village is an autonomous political unit, and there is no permanent multicommunity decision-making body. However, the Mundurucú feel themselves to be a unitary group and divide humanity into the *we dji* [101] *nyö*, which can be loosely translated as "we the people," and the *pariwat*, a term which is applied to all non-Mundurucú. All the "people" consider themselves to be related, and their mutual comportment is structured by the kinship system. All, however, are expected to show coöpera- [183] tion and hospitality to each other and to unite in the face of the outside world. Except for the neighboring Apiacá • [648] Indians and the whites, the *pariwat* are enemies and, in former times, were the objects of warfare.

[p. 126]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to
628 the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a
796 far more isolated existence than they did in former times, and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

314 The economic and social adjustments made by the Mun-
439 durucú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be
648 described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration. The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly mentioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rubber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader in the hamlet of Sae Cinza, but occasionally make transactions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá maintains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of his sons and another man maintain a separate residence not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the Tropas, but some do business with the trader of São Martinho, on the Tapajós. The people of Cabruá live in three separate hamlets on the Tropas. At one, the most powerful shaman of the village lives with two younger men of his household, and another is occupied by another man of the same house and his son-in-law. These two men trade on behalf of their rubber-avenue co-residents, and the chief of Cabruá is not considered to be their representative in trade. The Cabitutú River has only one or two all-year residents, and these are Brazilian. A number of families of Brazilians and eight Mundurucú families maintain regular homes on the Tropas, however. The latter Mundurucú associate to a varying extent with the villagers during the rubber season and occasionally come to Cabruá to seek the services of a shaman or simply to visit, but they remain marginal to village life.

The Mundurucú of the savannah communities collect less rubber than those of the Cururú and far less than the the Brazilian tappers. The latter generally commence production as soon as the flood recedes in May or early June and collect until the rains and rising waters make their rubber avenues inaccessible in November or December. The efforts of the campineiros, however, are limited by their alternating residence between village and rubber-avenue dwelling. The residents of Cabruá have to clear land for gardens before they may depart, and this generally holds them until May. But only the more industrious Mundurucú leave at this time; many linger in the village until June or July, and in 1952 one man stayed until August. Rubber is collected until August, at which time the trees lose their leaves, and the yield drops off sharply for two to three weeks. Some Indians use this occasion to return to the village to burn the felled vegetation in their garden sites and then return to the rubber avenue until

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 an individual one. The patron is seen as the person who
466 gives valued objects and who must be given something in
648 return. Most residents of Cabruá gave sincere personal loyalty to their particular trader. This was often rationalized by the claim that one's own trader sold at cheaper prices and had more merchandise, but actually this is an interpersonal tie, defined by traditional status positions and role behavior, that has evolved through more than a century of commerce with Brazilians.

439 The client-patron relationship applies also to that be-
609 tween the Mundurucú and all white men of similar pres-
648 tige position. The trader is called *katiwat;* or also *compá,* a corruption of the Brazilian term *compadre,* or co-father. The latter title was evidently learned from the white rubber collectors, for although the patron seldom acts as godparent to the children of Indians, he commonly does so for his Brazilian clients. Upon our arrival among the Mun-
123 durucú, I found myself being called by these terms, and I was expected by the Indians to assume the patron role. Many Indians understandably misunderstood our mission, and our large amount of supplies convinced them that I was a trader. Accordingly, some appeared with balls of smoked latex, in return for which they wished merchandise. After it was realized that we did not fit into the patron-client relationship, the people of Cabruá were willing to integrate us into the collective village economy and to designate us by kinship terms.

Firsthand contact between the Mundurucú of the savan-
439 nahs and their Brazilian neighbors can hardly be termed
648 intensive or large-scale, but it is regular. The trader gen-
484 erally visits his customers at four- or six-week intervals during the rubber-collection season and sporadically during the rains. He brings two or three employees, some of whom are Mundurucú, on these trips, and rarely remains

for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes 439
one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys 648
have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and [484]
secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Mundurucú clients are a 437
source of continual aggravation to the traders, although 439
they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the In- 648
dians. Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Mundurucú society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were di- [T13]
vulged simply through the insistence of the questioner. Since few Mundurucú have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

439 484 574 648 The Mundurucú also take great pleasure in their excursions to the Tapajós River. Although their main business is with their own patron, they often make side trips to other trading posts. During these stays, they attend the *rezas*, or prayer sessions, held by the patron's wife, and usually are welcomed at parties given by Brazilians. They sleep wherever there is room to hang a hammock and spend the days helping the patron or merely watching what little activity there may be. In the evenings, the visiting Mundurucú go to the patron's house, where they are served demitasse coffee. After one or two weeks they go home.

171 648 Since the traders' trips to the Indians are infrequent, and of short duration, these visits to the Tapajós shores constitute one of the principal means of learning the ways of the white men. The Mundurucú are extremely observant and sensitive to cultural differences. When in the houses of the traders, they usually remain silent except for an occasional exchange among themselves; but they watch intently and with interest. They are well aware of the [123] depth of cultural and linguistic differences, and they occasionally subjected me to lengthy, and quite intelligent questioning on the speech and manners of Americans.

191 648 Linguistic differences present a great barrier to cultural interchange. Only a few Brazilians possess any fluency in Mundurucú, and competence in Portuguese is similarly limited among the savannah dwellers. Most of the men speak a few words of Portuguese and understand a somewhat greater number. But their vocabulary is largely limited to simple and common words and phrases and to the names of items of commerce. No extensive direct communication of ideas between Mundurucú and Brazilian takes place.

177 648 This linguistic gulf is partly bridged by those bilingual

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú who work for the traders or live among the Brazilians. Some of these people maintain relations with the savannah dwellers and communicate to their residents knowledge of Brazilian culture. Other Mundurucú spent time among the Brazilians when young and later returned to the savannahs. They are few, but so are the remaining campineiros, and this is accordingly an important mode of influence. These sojourns among the whites take various forms. Some Indians are raised in the households of the traders, who claim that they do this only to "educate" and Christianize them. Actually the children perform household service without pay, but they are fed and treated well and are integrated into the household and family of the trader. They become well indoctrinated in Brazilian culture, as are other Mundurucú who have spent some years in the employ of the traders. Most such people do not return to the savannah villages, but the few who do go back for varying periods are significant in the introduction of Brazilian culture. But the structure within which this communication operates is set up by the patron-client relation —that is, cultural knowledge is transmitted through the agency of a social system that was established for the exchange of commodities.

COHESION AND DIVISION IN THE SAVANNAHS

This section summarizes the factors that promote the cohesion of the savannah villages and the opposing factors that disturb social norms and cause losses in community membership.

The Mundurucú feel that their way of life can only be conducted successfully in the traditional village locales of the savannahs. To leave these communities is to become almost a foreigner. Considerable sentiment is thus attached to life in the savannah villages and many people,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 796

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campinciro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú 439 are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, 648 although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more 177
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- 422
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [323]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear
and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress.
The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men
of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these
articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and
a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the
overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [658]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected,
the people are not deeply affected by the missionary
teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and re-
spected without any commitment or great interest on the
part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who
have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in encouraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and therefore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives upstream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the Indians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up 439
and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are 797
more frequent in September, October, and November 648
when rubber is still being collected and the river has be- [484]
gun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets [527]
provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands, [594]
and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
•648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 *The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually*
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his fathes-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[596] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[476] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[594] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

THE CHANGING SOCIAL SYSTEM

177 182 648 439 The problems of leadership and sorcery are not the only causes of contemporary breaking up of traditional Mundurucú society. Forces external to the society merit consideration. It was stated that the rubber industry caused no immediate ecological disruption, but this is true only as long as the Indian remains a marginal producer. His absorption into Amazonian economy and his obligations to the patron eventually increase to such an extent that the Indian cannot participate effectively in the native social system. His role as a member of a village and of an extended family becomes incompatible with the obligations of clientship because the latter demands a period of rubber production that overlaps the village horticultural cycle. When access to and dependence on trade goods grow, dependence on the individualized labor and personal holdings of the rubber avenue grow also. This, too, is incongruent with the coöperative labor and collective economy of the native social system. As the participation in the two social systems becomes increasingly incompatible, the fears and factionalism of village life cause the Mundurucú to move more completely into the patron-client relationship. The dilemma of role conflict and group tensions is resolved by withdrawal from village life and by the restructuring of their interpersonal relations in the looser framework of Amazonian society.

The Mundurucú are forced into their new mode of existence by several factors. Some of these are elements of the native heritage, such as the conflicting modes of residence and descent, chieftaincy, and sorcery. Others, as for example, trade relations and rubber production, originate from the outside. Social systems are not self-contained structures that respond only to their own needs; they are related to other social systems through networks of structured relationships. For this reason Mundurucú society can

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

be understood only with reference to the well-defined social roles of the enemy and the trader, to name the two most important. The relations of the Mundurucú with their enemies were sudden and violent. Communication and, therefore, diffusion of the forms of culture were minimal due to the mode of interaction, but this by no means vitiates the importance of the hostile outer social world for an understanding of inner social processes.

The trader, on the other hand, is met under peaceful and mutually desired circumstances, and relations with him have different effects. In contrast to the enemy, he communicates knowledge of a different culture to the Mundurucú; his role in this regard was formerly mediated through the chiefs with whom he dealt but is now more potent, for he has face-to-face relations with a much broader segment of the population. This, however, has not been the most important concomitant of the trader role. It is rather to the trader as the purchaser of commodities and the purveyor of goods that attention must be turned, for it is through these activities that Mundurucú society has been most deeply changed and the populace become dependent upon outer sources for felt necessities. Economic autonomy, once lost, is rarely regained. As Mundurucú wants grow, their bond to the trader tightens at the expense of similar ties to kinsmen and co-residents. When the economic life of the individual Indian is confined to the traditional relation of patronage-clientship, he is effectively a caboclo. The trader, like the enemy, is regarded by the Mundurucú as given in the nature of things and beyond the control of the members of the society. Thus, while individual traders are often mistrusted and despised, the institutionalized obligations to the patron and the role itself are never questioned. But, in the final analysis, the patron is the surrogate of the Western economy, and his

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 182 439 648 primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study. for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock[4] is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

182 439 591 182 591 [114]

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

114 121 171 182

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–202.

/2 cont./

*241 resettled on the Maué-assu River /Maués-Guassú ?/ and in the former mission of Vila Nova da Rainha in 1800 and 1803 respectively, he [195] says that they "... showed little inclination to prepare gardens for manioc flour." (3)

3. Monteiro Baena, 1843: 283.

Later, Martius, in his more extensive report on the Mundurukú, does not mention qualitative cultivation but refers merely to the quantitative production of the gardens, i.e., he alludes to the large volume of manioc flour produced by the Tapajós Mundurukú, but /3/ he is not familiar with, or at least does not mention, the plant varieties they cultivate, although they undoubtedly raised more than the cotton and manioc roots he mentions. He attributes the quantita- [648] tive development to the power and warring strength of the tribe, which thus protected its gardens against the attacks, thefts, and raids frequently carried out by other tribes, especially the Mura. Martius speaks as follows: "In the arts of agriculture, the Mundurucú merely appear to be ahead when compared with the others, while /actually/ the power of the populous and warlike tribe ... makes the gardens [161] safer, and because the somewhat dense population can no longer de- [248] pend exclusively on hunting and fishing. They plant a little cotton [251] and a lot of manioc roots, the flour of which, packed in baskets and [439] large palm leaves ..., they have been selling to the boatmen of the Tapajós ever since they established peaceful contact." (4)

4. Martius, 1867: 390: "In den Kuensten des Landbaus scheinen die Mundurukú nur insoweit Andern voranzustehen, als die Macht des zahlreichen und kriegerischen Stammes ... den Pflanzungen mehr Sicherheit verleiht, und die etwas gedraengtere Bevoelkerung nicht mehr bloss von Jagd und Fischerei abhaengig seyn kann. Sie bauen

2: Steinen- -472 E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1894 SP7 Bacairi SP7
Apiaca SP2
Cayabi
Mundurucu SQ13

B /391 cont./
175 enemies of the Bakaïrí, but there is no more specific informa-
648 tion about them. The Nambiquara and Tapanhuna, enemies of the Apiaká, lived in the Arinos region; of the Tapanhuna, Joaquim Ferreira Moutinho* states that they spoke the Bakaïrí

B
[113]

* Noticia da Provincia de Mato Grosso, S. Paulo, 1869, p. 216.

language; unfortunately no notes were ever made on the language of the Bakaïrí, let alone on that of the Tapanhuna, /392/ and unfortunately the author has no claim to any credibility in these matters, as we shall see among the Bororó.

B A statement in the fortieth volume of the Revista Trimensal
M do Instituto Historico (Rio de Janeiro, 1877, II, p. 97) is worth
175 mentioning; it refers to the tribe of the Mundrukú /Mundurucu/,
648 once feared far and wide, which today sits along the middle and
[113] lower Tapajoz, but formerly lived farther upstream. Antonio
M Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, who visited them in 1875, remarks:
[131] "In former times they also overcame the Bakaïrí, whom they
B call Mureufuâtes and whom they forced to go into the Matogrosso
M where they ('aldeïert) settled in villages." The latter addition
[101] shows that this can only refer to events of relatively recent times, in the Brazilian era. Nor should one believe, on the basis of this
B passage, that the Baikïrí lived in the province of Pará; among
M the dwellers along the lower Tapajoz, the region of the upper
[131] course and of the source arms Juruena and Arinos is called "Matogrosso"; the Mundrukú themselves lived next to the Apiaká in the province of Mato Grosso, where they are called Saruma, and harassed all the tribes of the Arinos and Schingú area with
B their attacks. The Bakaïrí, who called them "Mandurukú," re-
M membered them vividly, but said that their attacks no longer
[101] occur, since they have moved to the north.

B The chief enemies of the West Bakaïrí, and probably even
A of the united Bakaïrí, if the tradition is correct, were the Kayabí.
173 "Unvanquished savages in the vicinity of the salto," says the
648 report of the Directoria dos Indios. The following is what I was

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

361 customers of the patron remain in their isolated dwellings the year round.

439 Every rubber collector deals steadily with the same
648 patron, because the latter controls the section of forest land in which his clients work. The trader usually has no legal title, but receives rights of exploitation by paying
[651] the state tax on the gross cash return from the land. The right of exploitation, perpetuated by the state tax, usually rests on a nebulous title, and, according to Wagley, it is
[423] "control over the land, and not legal documents" which establishes ownership in the Amazon.[5] The patron grants permission to the rubber tapper to extract rubber from his lands and, in return, exerts a trade monopoly in which his client sells rubber to him and buys goods from him.
[651] The patron profits from both sale and purchase and, since he passes the state tax on to the rubber collector, the latter receives but small return in terms of the prices prevailing in the urban markets. The client has freedom of movement only when he is not in debt to the patron, which rarely happens. If he owes money, he can transfer to another patron only if the new one settles the debt and transfers it to his own books. The rubber collector sometimes deals with the *regatões*, or itinerant merchants who ply the rivers, but these transactions are infrequent and in small amounts because the patron does not tolerate a substantial loss of commerce. The rubber collector who deals too often with the *regatão* might be denied credit by his regular patron or, less frequently, evicted from his avenue.

The economic power of the trader is especially strong
311 on the upper Tapajós River because of a combination of
439 geographic and economic factors. The lower Tapajós,
648 from its mouth at Santarém to the first rapids 150 miles upstream, is economically diversified, and its rubber pro-

[5] Wagley, 1953, p. 92.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 797 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose somewhat as a result of export restrictions imposed on the planters of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a greater return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to grow up on the river banks. This population shift proceeded so rapidly that by 1950 there were only about 360 Mundurucú left on the savannahs, whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

175 439 797 [361] [166] [162]

Of less importance in attracting a permanent population to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadiriri rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

175 439 657

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175
439
657

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

175
166
361
[177]
[342]

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

175
184
361
175
184
186
[797]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the right to exploit the trees reached by the path; no concept of land or territorial private property is implied. Also, a man's right to a rubber avenue is recognized as valid and absolute only as long as he works it. If he abandons it, it may be worked by another after the former owner's permission is asked. If the owner of a rubber avenue dies, it passes to a son or son-in-law, who may either work it or dispose of it. Rubber avenues are not bought and sold by the Mundurucú and are not in themselves subject to commercial transaction. But despite this, they form the only type of natural resource subject to private ownership in this society. This fact gains increasing social importance in direct ratio to the dependence of the Mundurucú on the returns of rubber production. As this dependence increases, so does its individualizing effect on the society.

Almost all Mundurucú tap rubber on land reserved by the government for their use. The traders do not have any right of allocation of these rubber avenues, as they do in the areas under their control. Technically, the Indian is an independent producer, working on his own property as a free laborer, and selling on the market. But the same system of exclusive patronage and debt obligation that prevails in the Amazon has been extended to the native population, and the market is not an open one. That the Indian cannot be dispossessed from his rubber avenue, and that he does not rely on the trader for food give him somewhat more independence than the Brazilian rubber tapper, however.

Other, traditional bonds, reinforce the patron-client relationship. The tie is sometimes conceived of as between the trader and the leader of a group of Indians, as in the instance of the chief of Cabruá, who trades on behalf of a bloc of villagers. The patron thus counts on the loyalty of these followers to their chief. In other cases, the bond is

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper 648
Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a
prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or 743
private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém 759
visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but
medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There
is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company
rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural
experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for
most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants 871
who read and write usually learned to do so in another [212]
area or through literate parents. Actually, the Mundurucú 648
are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, be- 658
cause both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service
post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educational facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the 361
Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical [342]
habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle
and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower
Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher section of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods.
These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the
major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers,
often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the
barracões (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local
traders, who buy the produce of the caboclo and sell him
needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm
clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses adjacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same
forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the
houses of rubber tappers whose rubber avenues are
nearby, and others belong to people who live there during
the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more 177
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- [422]
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [323]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear
and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress.
The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men
of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these
articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and
a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the
overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [658]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected,
the people are not deeply affected by the missionary
teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and re-
spected without any commitment or great interest on the
part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who
have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond their endurance. Bihei refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father. He validated his polygamy by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurucú culture and social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring must inevitably close on Bihei. He had offended all the Mundurucú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Bihei returned to Cabituto to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of Cabituto, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover, Bihei did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant—that he was a perpetrator of black magic—could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Bihei's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Bihei thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl; whatever rectitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations—and there were some exceptions even to this—were enjoying the favors of Bihei's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Bihei, for the Cabruá men, too, disliked Bihei with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered undeniably deviant. But physical sanctions against Bihei would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruá attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Bihei's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Bihei soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those

time. Many other peoples, if not all, have afforded posterity the sad spectacle of this aberration of human reason.

The Mundurucu hold fast to this fatal error: the sorcerer among them is irrevocably sentenced to death, but this is the only instance when capital punishment is applied.

The missionary from Bacabal, Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva, relates the following case in the Report he submitted to the President of Pará on the fourteenth of August, 1876:

"First of all, Your Excellency must know that one of my greatest concerns, during my five years of office in this Mission, has been to blot out from the Indians' heads some stubborn superstitions, especially those which stood most directly opposed to religion and to the well-being of society.

"Now, one of the strongest superstitions I had to battle was that of witchcraft.

"All I did not say, all I did not do, to wrench from their hearts this evil superstition! And how many deaths were not caused by those mistaken beliefs before the Mission was founded! However, when I already believed that I had persuaded them to loathe this abominable sin, lo and behold [108] one day when the missionary was not there they reverted to the same practices.

"Your Excellency is aware that last year I came to the capital [of Pará] to attend to some affairs of the Mission. Well, while I was away, several people in the Mission sickened and died.

"And some of the Indians began to cry: 'It is witchcraft! It is witchcraft!'

"We must kill the sorcerers. They want to kill us all: we must kill them! They selected four young men of the Mission to be sacrificed as sorcerers. They were able to find one of them, by the name of Ismael; the others, warned in time, fled and came back to the Mission after my return.

"The young man was killed with two gunshots, and finished off with blows on the head.

"The executioners were Silvano da Silva and another boy (now dead).

"The commander was Capt. José da Gama who, around noon of the day when he gave orders to kill Ismael (who lived on

683 the other side of the Mission, across the stream, in the midst of
[1877] the woods), seeing that the envoys he had dispatched at dawn did not return, said impatiently: "These people are no good at killing people, I'll go myself!" But when he got there he found the victim already sacrificed. They returned satisfied, leaving the body to the vultures, without giving it burial."

[622] This Capt. José da Gama, mentioned by the missionary father, had been the chief of a village which formerly stood on the banks of the Tapajos and came with all his people to the Mission of Bacabal. His aboriginal name is Mari-Baxi; the missionary father always left him in charge of the Mission when he had to leave for any period of time. He is an energetic and bold Indian, and already before the Mission was founded he sacrificed several of his companions who had been accused of witchcraft, among them his own brother whom [109] he cast down the waterfalls with a stone tied to his neck.

If Mari-Baxi, alias José da Gama, still commits such acts in a mission which is under government supervision, we can imagine what the chiefs of the central villages may do. The above episode took place in 1875, while I was traveling beyond the Mission of Bacabal, visiting the plains villages. Upon my return I stayed two days at the Mission, where José da Gama was in charge during the absence of the missionary who had gone to the capital.

The chief greeted me with numerous tokens of regard and friendship, but said not a word about the crime he had just committed. He, as well as his accomplices, preserved the greatest secrecy on the subject. Even the missionary, who returned a few days after my stay at the Mission, only came to know the facts much later.

683 Around that time, the following episode also took place in one of the villages. Several Indian women went bathing in a
[682] brook near the village; upon returning, each carried on her head
[415] a gourd of water for her household. When they least expected it, four Mundurucu came out toward them, got hold of one of the poor girls who was about eighteen years old, and pierced her with their tremendous spears. Her companion tarried a moment and

involuntarily glanced at the lamentable sight; but the executioners told them: "Keep going, she is a witch."

The body of the girl remained lying on the path all day. On the morrow they threw it on a fire and reduced it to ashes.

Another episode: On the bank of the Tapajoz, [110] in the house of a frontiersman, lives a Mundurucu girl, all painted, and about twenty years old; she is pagan, but owns the Christian name of Sebastiana; she already speaks a little Portuguese and she is very outgoing. She says that her family used to live in the village of Curucupi. Some dangerous fevers came to rage there, and several people died.

It so happened that her mother took it upon herself to treat some of the sick.

One day, as the old Indian woman returned from her work in the fields, an intimate friend of hers told her in secrecy: "Look out; your patient died; it is already rumored that you are a witch." Without losing time, the woman makes a decision with her husband's agreement. They leave the village the same night, taking with them two young daughters and a young son. And indeed, while they fled, the barking of the executioners' dogs followed them all through the night and the following day.

This poor family, after several days of steady marching through the forest, finally came out onto the banks of the Tapajoz and never returned to Curucupi or to any other maloca.

Sebastiana says that the prime mover of the plot aiming at her mother's death now lives in the Mission of Bacabal.

This same girl told me of another case, no less sad, which occurred at the time of the same outbreak of fevers. A few days before the family's flight, this girl and a few others had arrived in Acupari from a neighboring village. That afternoon, they still ate together on the grounds of the house. Around dawn, however, she was rudely awakened by a scream of despair and agony which rose nearby. Immediately afterwards two Mundurucu passed by her hammock, nearly dragging behind them [111] the body of her companion, into whose breast they had thrust the sharp blade of a spear; they had rounded off this horrendous sacrifice by strangling the unfortunate victim in her own hammock. The body,

683 nude and bloody, was found in the middle of the grounds at daybreak, and there remained exposed until evening. All passed by it in silence and without a complaint.

There are many other such cases, for unfortunately executions on account of witchcraft are still frequent. It is said that in those times when Caru-Sacaebe lived among the Mundurucu, there existed no witchcraft and no sorcerers.

Indeed, the criminal code of the Mundurucu is based exclusively upon this.

There is no record of one Mundurucu ever being killed by another except on account of witchcraft. When violent hatred erupts between two Indians who inhabit the same village -- and this is extremely rare -- one of the two merely takes down his hammock, goes to some other village which attracts his fancy, chooses a place in the *ekcá*, and remains there as long as he pleases.

XVI

Social feelings among the Mundurucu -- The family -- The characteristic painting pattern of the tribe.

A remarkably strong social spirit, or indeed national spirit, binds the individual members and the villages of this tribe, preserving, if I may say so, the autonomy of the Mundurucu republic in a wilderness which lies beyond the contact and influence of our civilization. [112]

It is no cause for wonder that the Quechua of the Andes, herding as they did vast flocks of llama and alpaca and cultivating in large quantities the potato native to their mountains, should have founded great population centers and established a powerful monarchy. An agricultural and pastoral people, they possessed those elements necessary to live in the midst of plenty and to develop their intellectual and moral qualities under the stimulus of life in society.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucú SQ13

746 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
635 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
224 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

746 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals
786 play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants. At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the ab ancestors the sacred
746 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the ab ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[976] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibó, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
[578] When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the man's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kaibó (Caro-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

571 578 629 the same men's house, or even the same household. Correspondingly, if a man is to side with his co-residents, he may find himself arrayed against his patrilineal kinsmen in another household or village. Mundurucú men have two primary sets of bonds, one based on co-residence and the other on patrilineal kinship. Since the persons affected in each set are generally not the same, the individual is placed in potential role conflict, if sides are to be chosen. To choose the tie of kinship may disrupt the village and household and their economies; to give primary loyalty to one's co-residents can destroy clanship.

There can be no balance of antagonisms in Mundurucú society; conflict can only destroy both social solidarity and social integration. Hostility is, for this reason, suppressed. Intervillage conflicts are unheard of, as are those between kin groups. And interpersonal grievances remain latent between individuals not only because of the disruptive effect of an open breach, but because the antagonists cannot expect uniform support from either kinsmen or co-residents. Covert factionalism may be rife among the Mundurucú, but open feud is impossible within their social system.

578 There are few means to express the aggression arising from the frustrations of normal social life. Real grievances, such as those arising from sexual rivalries or from the institution of chieftainship, do not result in direct retaliation against the objects of hostility. Aggression is instead buried and later displaced on surrogates. During the nineteenth century, the Mundurucú were able to use warfare as a displacement device and as a rallying point for social cohesion. The only acceptable means of purging latent hostility today is the projection of generalized antagonisms to the shamans and their execution as sorcerers. [683]

Although matrilocality is no longer as rigidly adhered

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 [683] The shaman is said by the Mundurucú to be "angry at everybody," and he continues his practice until apprehended and executed.

The sorcerer is thus visualized as the bearer of latent and generalized aggression that is expressed by covert means, and it is possible to infer, from the beliefs surrounding the institution, the projection and expurgation of repressed hostility within the society at large. Witchcraft has particular tenacity because it serves to provide the practitioner of the art with a means of aggression release, and it provides the members of the community with a technique for displacing their own hostilities to his person and deriving further catharsis through his execution. Witchcraft also serves to explain the ills that inflict humanity, and provides a means of defense against them. The problems resolved by belief in sorcery and shamanism are almost universal in scope—disease, death, and social tensions—and are not so narrowly keyed to the variables of Mundurucú society and economy as were the defunct ceremonies. The problem of repressed antagonism is especially acute among the Mundurucú, however, because of the injunction against the open display and playing out of hostility. [578]

683 754 Ideally, the execution of a sorcerer is carried out with the consensus of nearly all members of the community. Such agreement was probably more easily obtained in the past when political controls were firmer and less subject to dispute and the bonds of mutual interdependence among villagers stronger. Today, however, sorcery accusations frequently bring factionalism perilously near the surface. In one savannah community, the chief and one of his sons were slain as sorcerers, and in another only the intervention of the chief and his family saved his stepson from the same fate. That chiefs and their families are so com-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders, this may constitute a significant bloc within the community under current circumstances.

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the number of shamans. This not only includes people who were actually executed, but also those who escaped or who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay, but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced with the unhappy prospect of being the only available scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the services that village life traditionally afforded.

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. Fellow clan members are no longer united by

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neghbors in other households for aid. 182 476

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence. 182 592 562 [602]

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe. 182 578 [621]

The lapse of wafare left only the execution of sorcerers 182 578 754 693

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 578 754 683 as the single permissible occasion on which violence was condoned. Kluckhohn's* view is well founded that the sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

182 578 [537] Conflicts between persons and groups are not always connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men commonly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the [622] numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

182 591 596 [578] Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

*Kluckhohn, 1944.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

occurred. If all the planned moves took place, however, the net loss to the village would be 36 out of 90 people, the residents of three of the ten occupied houses. As a footnote to this episode, Antonio fled shortly after our departure, but he made the fatal error of settling in a Mundurucú hamlet on the lower Cururú River. His reputation was, of course, widely known, and he was slain by his new fellow-villagers.

To our knowledge the dispute never flared into an open display of aggression. On a few occasions the accused man was seen to talk to one of the men who wished to kill him and, more rarely, there was mutual visiting. Hostility between Mundurucú is generally more open on the Cururú than in the savannahs, but violence is still suppressed. Here, too, the only escape valve consists in killing suspected sorcerers; otherwise, one may move away from the object of hostility. The latter is easily done in the socioeconomic framework of the Cururú settlements, for interpersonal and interfamilial dependence is low, and individuals have correspondingly greater mobility than on the savannahs.

Although no personal violence attends these disputes, the facts of conflict and withdrawal are socially disruptive beyond their effects on village membership. In the above-described conflict, two brothers were ranged in opposite factions, because one had chosen to follow the stand in defense of the accused taken by the oldest member of his household. And the position of the latter placed him in conflict with one of his wife's brothers, who favored killing Antonio. An even more interesting split occurred in a household whose inhabitants were absent from the village during my research. The oldest man and head of the house wished to avoid strife by taking no action against the condemned man, but his son, who resided with the father, was

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

made the tribe useful to the whites. It was important to the Brazilians to maintain the friendship and virtual autonomy of the Mundurucú; the group was accordingly spared some of the severe contact traumata experienced by other Indian tribes of the rain forest.

The social system resulting from the first set of changes in Mundurucú social structure of which we have record persists (with some further modifications) in the present-day savannah villages. From one point of view, it might be said that these early alterations had one over-all function: they fulfilled the new social need of accommodation to Brazilian society. Peaceable relations were established through mercenary service and trade in manioc flour, and these were the means through which the Mundurucú acquired trade items. But the fact of a system of interrelations between Brazilians and Mundurucú meant that the social system of the latter had become vulnerable to changes in the former. Thus, when the direction of the Amazonian economy turned to rubber extraction, the Mundurucú were accordingly affected.

The rubber boom was roughly concurrent with the general pacification of the middle Amazon region. The Mundurucú were needed then as workers, and not as warriors. For the most part they turned to rubber tapping to get merchandise. The total lapse of military activity undercut some of the bases of Mundurucú social solidarity and exposed the institution of leadership to the strife inherent in the political organization. Witchcraft and the execution of sorcerers continued—there are no data to indicate either an increase or decrease of the practices—but in a new social setting. The formerly prevailing consensus in executing sorcerers, which was a reflection of social solidarity, is now difficult to obtain, and the custom today disrupts cohesion.

Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I believe that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband appeared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are extremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village homes.

When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- 'a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to epoeymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kadaké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads.[1] The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting. 726 562 [482]

[1] [Martius (Source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs. The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants. At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special beverage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house; the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibö, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons. When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusakaibö (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

58 the same residence or village. There is no evidence that polygamy was ordinarily covered nor did the sororate and levirate have significant occurrence. Some of these traits, so common in many primitive societies, was felt to be obligatory or even especially desirable.

684 Adultery was common and a frequent source of strife in the village. The men regarded their own adulterous escapades as highly diverting, harmless adventures. However, they did not take so lenient a view towards those of their wives. A husband whose wife was unfaithful usually beat her and verbally harangued her. No physical action was taken against the offending male, although an argument might ensue. [illegible] then the wife became so numerous that she lowered her husband in the eyes of the community, he left her. The woman whose husband was unfaithful had little recourse except to fight with his and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself." If the husband's behavior became outrageous to the wife's family he might be invited to leave. The problems of sex caused few open ruptures in the Mundurucú village, but they were always a source of ill feeling.

684 The sib-moiety system

The Mundurucú social organization is rather complex for a Tupian group. They had thirty eight sibs divided into red and white moieties. The red moiety had sixteen sibs while the white had twentytwo. Of these thirty eight, eight are already extinct and my informants indicated that there were several more old sibs that they could no longer remember.

operate to the detriment of integration within the wife's household. Among the Mundurucú, however, there is no matrilineage (or patrilineage), and a man is bound to his natal household primarily by affect. As his own group of brothers becomes dispersed in matrilocal residence and his parents die, such emotional ties become correspondingly attenuated. From the point of view of social structure, the process by which he is integrated into his new matrix, however loosely, is reinforced by the gradual attrition of bonds of the old; and as part of the same process, his marriage becomes more stable. We see then that Mundurucú matrilocality contributes to the brittleness of marriage in its early phase, but the lack of corporate, bounded lineages leads in time to the strengthening of the conjugal tie. Later sections will explore more completely the position of the married couple and the nuclear family within the larger framework of social life.

Adultery is common and a frequent source of strife between mates, but generally results in divorce only when the wife is promiscuous. The men regard their own adulterous escapades as highly amusing incidents, but take a far less lenient view when cuckolded. An offended husband may beat his wife or harangue her, but no direct physical action is taken against the guilty male. The woman whose husband is unfaithful has little recourse except to chastise him verbally and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself."

Adultery causes few open conflicts among the Mundurucú, but it is a chronic source of ill feeling. To a certain extent, latent hostility probably contributes to adultery. One of the more amusing episodes of our field trip was the plight of the trader-appointed, and thoroughly hated, chief Biboi, of the village of Cabitutú. Biboi had two wives, one in Cabitutú and the other in Cabruá. The

good taste and decency, although the seriousness of the 585
delict depends on distance of relationship in the paternal line. Thus, incest within the nuclear family is considered absolutely unthinkable by the Mundurucú, but they frown in decreasing degree upon sexual relations within clan, phratry, and moiety. There is no defined punishment, [659]
however, for incest with any category of relative; the Mundurucú say only that people would be "ashamed" to commit such a breach.

In a society in which all people are believed to be re- 592
lated, moiety exogamy implies that any union with a per- 616
son of the same generation and of the opposite group will be with a cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. Marriage with first degree cross-cousins is said by the Mundurucú to have been a highly preferred union at some time in the past, and it is still regarded as a most suitable match. I found only three cross-cousin marriages during the course of my field work, however, and it no longer occurs frequently. The levirate and sororate are, of course, 587
permissible within the moiety system and occasionally [646]
occur, but persons are not and, within the memory of informants, were not formerly under any compulsion to enter such a marriage. Martius's report of the levirate[*] suggests that it may have been more prevalent during the period when partrilocality was still the residence rule. The levirate is a simple recognition of the right of the man's kin group, as a whole, to the woman. It may be hypothesized that the fractionation of the sibling group after the change to matrilocality dispersed the unit that formerly exercised corporate rights over the girl and made the levirate unworkable. And, since leviritic marriages are frequently polygynous, matrilocality imposed the same inhibitions as discussed above.

[*] Martius, 1867, p. 361.

595 offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond
678 their endurance. Sibel refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly
attached, but took her to Cabruk where he left her in the care of his father.
[122] He validated his polygamy by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

183 This brings us through most of the key features of Manduruku culture and
577 social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this
578 is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring
must inevitably close on Sibel. He had offended all the Manduruku canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Sibel returned to Cabitutu to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabruk. This was an important collective decision by the residents of
[186] Cabitutu, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would
681 seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruk and with the trader. Moreover, Sibel did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant—that he was a perpetrator of black magic—could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Sibel's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

559 In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Sibel
686 thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather upward girl; whatever restitute she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruk. Now, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations—and there were some exceptions even to this—were enjoying the favors of Sibel's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, on the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men could express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Sibel, for the Cabruk men, too, disliked Sibel with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered somewhat deviant. But physical sanctions against Sibel would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruk attended his national festival. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their sexbattles, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Sibel's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Sibel soon heard of the events in Cabruk from members of his family and immediately returned. He made fruitful accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among them

who had outlived him. The village reacted to his charges ambivalently. They were highly amused at his discomfiture and humiliation, but they were seriously concerned about the open accusations and threats of violent reprisal. Not only was this a breach of fundamental rules of deportment, but if violence were to break out the social system would be seriously threatened. The village soon became ranged on two sides. Bibel's family supported him, but the majority of the population were ranked solidly against him. Thus, the threat of conflict had spread from Cabitaki to Cabruk. And Bibel ran back and forth between Cabitaki, where they plotted against his life, and Cabruk, where they took more covert measures against him through his wife.

The balance of power and of moral correctness lay with Bibel's opponents, and the task of his supporters was made most difficult by virtue of the fact that Bibel had almost ceased to be a social person—the rules no longer applied to him. We left the field before the curtain fell on our little drama, but one could already predict the conclusion. This was seen most clearly when, shortly before our departure, Cactano fell from a palm tree and lay seriously injured for several days. Knowing that the people of Cabitaki would kill him as soon as they were assured of his father's death, Bibel came immediately to Cabruk and remained there until the old man's recovery was certain. During this period, Bibel approached me and said, "You know, if my father dies, I will leave this land and go to live on the banks of the Tapajós River." I asked his why, and, in fine Bibel style, he answered, "Because it is so beautiful there." Bibel knew that his life as a Mundurucu was finished.

NOTES

(1) Mundurucú Indians are a Tupian-speaking people of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil. My wife and I carried out a one year fieldwork program there in 1952-53 with the support of the William Rayner Gutting Travelling Fellowship granted by Columbia University, and a Research Training Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

(2) A more complete description and analysis of the relation between Mundurucu social structure and the positive evaluation of male solidarity has already been published in an article entitled "Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion" (American Anthropologist 59:1018-35, 1957).

(3) I have discussed the general structure of authority and its relation to Brazilian society in detail in my book, Headhunter's Heritage (Berkeley, 1960).

361 ever, and the village plaza and the surrounding underbrush become dense and the lair of snakes and scorpions. As a result of this rapid decay, a new village is built every ten years, but, since the people live in the old one while building the new, it is usually constructed nearby. The remains of four old villages, representing about forty years of occupation, can be discerned within a half mile of the present location of Cabruá. Gradual exhaustion of the [311] more favored forest lands and the necessity of walking [166] ever farther to the gardens eventually forces a move to the vicinity of fertile soil. Accordingly, the people of Cabruá decided during our stay to build a village on a site some two miles away, and they planned to start construction during the following rainy season.

166 The village of Cabruá and its households have suffered 361 greatly from depopulation because of disease and emigration. Although many of its residents had not made definite plans, at the time of our departure the new village probably would have had no more than three households, for several people were considering migration to the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. At its site in 1953, Cabruá had five dwelling houses. One was deserted, for the previous inhabitant had lost a son through an accident, and this [688] was interpreted by the shamans to be the result of the family's inattention to their ritual duty to the sacred trumpets. The family left for another village before the trumpet spirits could exact further revenge.

622 The household of the chief included 17 people, and the 592 largest house unit of the village had a population of 28. 621 The other two houses of the village numbered 8 and 16 people. These groups constituted matrilocally-based extended families, although the continual flux and constant loss of population in recent times has disturbed this organization.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534 complied under the condition that they could occupy the
562 men's house and play the trumpets there. The men ac-
773 ceded, and the women, their position supernaturally re-
778 inforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beijú* (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the *eksá* and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

534 Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to
562 the karökö is one of the social charters of male superordi-
778 nation. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the
831 classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karökö, although nobody can remember
[688] this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karóbè is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú. A young man who made great claims of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intergroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

The execution of sorcerers was the only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 lived in different villages, but the sorcerer leaped the distance to his brother's village and stalked him in the forest. The married brother heard the approaching whistle of the jaguar and backtracked and lay in wait for it. When it appeared, he shot the creature in the head, the only vulnerable point in its body, and thus killed it. He then cut the jaguar's throat, thrust his hand into its body, and dragged out its liver. He mixed the liver with gunpowder and left it on the trail. After he returned home, a group of men from his brother's village arrived with the intent of killing him. The sorcerer, whose jaguar form had been slain, had returned to his village sick and had accused his brother of bewitching him. The brother explained that he had merely defended himself against his own brother, who was the real sorcerer. The assembled men believed him, and the guilty brother wasted away and died.

Cases of jaguar sorcery were extremely common among the Mundurucú. During our residence with them, one of the residents of the mission was suspected of making and spreading roads and turning into a jaguar at night. It was further believed that he had created other jaguars that were constantly lurking behind his house. But the presence of the priests prevented the Mundurucú residing at the mission from killing the suspected man, and they merely avoided his person and his dwelling. Even the powerful shaman who lived in the mission village had resolved to move away rather than live near such a dangerous personality.

Although all disease is believed to be caused by witchcraft, a single occurrence 753 of illness within a community does not generally provoke direct action against 754 an accused sorcerer. When, however, sickness becomes rife within a village, and 689 especially when deaths result, the responsible sorcerer is sought out and killed. 756 The practice of destroying a witch is resorted to only when the community is found by a major threat, and the inevitability of occasional illness is usually rationalized as owing to stray roads. In spite of this inconsistency, the simple [illegible] of the sorcerer, cannot be more rigorously applied if shamanism is to continue. Even under this modified application of the rule, the shaman's position is most precarious. One or two shamans are executed as sorcerers during an average year, and their numbers are steadily dwindling. Those shamans who are fortunate enough to escape accusation are visibly insecure, especially when the rainy season reunites people in their villages and the annual cycle of colds and epidemic diseases begins.

This constant fear induces many shamans to leave their villages and to migrate 756 to the vicinity of the Brazilian population. As an example, there were three 754 shamans in the village of Cabruá, one of whom rarely practiced for fear of accusation. He had been suspected of sorcery once before and had escaped retribution only because of membership in the strong family of the chief. The numerical strength and influence of his family was, however, his only protection from execution, for one need not actively practice shamanism to be accused of sorcery. The possession of the latent hereditary power of the shaman suffices

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kadukí," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Steinen's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

[1 [Martius (Source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time -- Analysis]

197 101 The Mundurucú are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite its Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors 302 101 and with the *lingua geral*. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

726 701 The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never [578 19] between Mundurucú villages. The idea of violence between two Mundurucú individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Intermecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Mundurucú warfare in more detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the [420] chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Mundurucú prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Ourupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Trubú Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Norton, 1948, p. 273.

726 river.[11] By drawing their warriors from a number of villages,
701 the Mundurucú were able to leave enough men in each village to support those women, children, and old people who were not able to leave. They were also able to amass a greater number of warriors, especially when it was necessary to face the Portuguese colonial troops that were sent against them in the late 18th century.

619 Such efforts called for a series of social linkages
620 between villages. This was provided by the social organization which crosscut the society in two ways: by bonds of matrilocality and by the system of sibs and moieties. This meant that those men of the village who came from other villages through marriage were linked to those villages by birth and by the residence there of the mother's family. Such linkages formed a chain whereby all villages ultimately were bound to one another by interpersonal ties. The bonds tying each
614 individual to the rest of the society were further tightened by the patrilineal sib system. In most Mundurucú villages, a person could find other members of his sib. To these people he had especially close ties and obligations, but he also considered all the members of his exogamic moiety to be relatives. Ultimately, but to a diminished degree, Mundurucú of the other moiety were felt to be related and were called by kin terms. The people themselves say, "We are all kin, one of another."

11. This was reported to the writer verbally by Dr. Darcy Ribeiro, Chief of the Section of Studies, Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Dr. Ribeiro has conducted extensive ethnographic research among the Tribes and heard of these attacks from his informants. This confirms Martius' report of the same event (Martius, 1867, p. 374).

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry [132] season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly 554 for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the pariwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent [561] direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

721 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party 202 was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group [578] of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs [701] and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he [534] sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he *delivered the invitation and proceeded on his* itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties 701 in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this 722 was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was secondary.

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers.

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own.

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajebolik was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Machacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means.

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world.

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Darekík, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads.

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe.

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of consider, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming incorporated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house.

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú. 619 [727] [304]

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might cooperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to cooperate in valued activity. 621 476 619

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and cooperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha ooyes*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage cooperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages. 721 619 [721] [575]

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa- 602 629 619

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains. [132]

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly
559 for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the parrot. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status. [561]

721 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party
202 was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and magic and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities. [575] [701] [594]

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties
701 in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this
722 was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1831:131) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness.

No warfare rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments abroad to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew ant-eater hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow-shaft, were ignited and loosed at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support.

The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in rigor mortis. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the waiting warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran

IV

[77] A Munduruco makes me a present of the mummified head of a Purizinzin girl, and tells me how and why he killed her.

[78] One of these barbarians, who was twenty-five or thirty years old, outgoing and bold, and a voluble talker, make me a present on the following day of the mummified head of a Purizinzin girl. This head, which is now to be found in the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], retains its abundant hair, which is partly shaved in front as though with a razor. The forehead thus appears to be prolonged nearly to the middle of the skull; in the center of this artificial forehead stands a circular cluster of black hair. This head, which was ornamented with [84] brilliantly colored feathers, must have belonged to a girl fashionable in her own tribe.

[79] Here I must point out that the Munduruco often make war on enemy heathens for the purpose of capturing women and children rather than killing them. They do kill the men, whose heads they preserve as trophies. When preparing for these forays, they frankly say: "I am going because I need a wonka to marry, or a little one to be my wife's child."

A Munduruco warrior would therefore be greatly concerned to capture rather than to kill a girl like the one whose head was offered me.

Indeed, the barbarian told me that he had killed her by mistake, falling in the heat of battle to discern her sex. She was running out of the hut which he and his companions had taken at dawn by surprise, and he had thrown himself upon her, piercing her through the back with his powerful spear. He felt sorry when he found that she was a woman, and a young one at that. But nevertheless he cut off her head, removing the brain, and smoked it over a green wood fire until it became mummified.

[80] It was strange to witness the extreme tenderness the barbarian bestowed on this enemy head. A deadly hatred has ruled for many years between the Munduruco and Purizinzin tribes, and wars of extermination take place between them.

[see p. 7, col. iii, - Revised]

[3] the plains] are not located in the district which Ayres de Cazal named Mundurucania. They stand in the territory which the geographer called Tapajonia, between the Tapajos and the Xingu and close to the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajos, namely the Cadeseri, Cabeutum and Cururu rivers, the Rio das Tropas (which the Mundurucu call Pituesi) and the Rio do Crepuri.

In the course of my journey I encountered a great many small streams that were sources of the Cadeseri and tributaries of the Tapajos.

Had I proceeded in the same direction beyond Necodemus a few days longer, I would undoubtedly have come upon the sources of the tributaries of the Xingu.

IX

Wars of the Mundurucu -- waging procedure -- End of these wars.

[7] 547 We have already noted that the wars of these barbarians are waged with the sole aim of capturing young women and children of both sexes. Within the tribe, however, the captives are treated no differently than native Mundurucu. They are painted with the same arabesques of indelible dyes; the woman immediately gets a husband, and the child finds an adoptive father who is almost invariably the same Indian who captured him. When preparations are made for one of these forays, the warrior's sister, his mother, or some other relative places an order for a child, saying: "Bring me a boy to be my son."

[8] The Mundurucu's chief victims are the Parintintin; in addition to a desire for captives, the deadly hatred [94] which has long ruled between the two tribes is another motive for frequent [illegible].

[9] Whenever it becomes known that a band of Parintintin have appeared somewhere, the Mundurucu immediately set off after them. To my knowledge, however, this inveterate hatred is not directed toward other tribes. Among the Mundurucu there runs a

721 tale, probably inaccurate, that whenever one of them is captured by the Parintintin he is devoured alive by the mouthful, "as if they were jaguars and we were deer."

Inaccurate or not, this tale serves to fire even more the Mundurucu desire for vengeance.

726 Those wars to which we have referred are usually mere forays.

When summer comes, a number of Mundurucu get together, make ready their bows, arrows, horns and provisions, and then set off.

Whenever possible, each warrior is accompanied by his wife or by a sister. The role of this sutler, who sometimes is no older than fifteen or sixteen, consists of slinging the warrior's hammock on a tree, preparing his chestnuts, carrying the load, and helping to prepare the enemy head and to bring in the captives; in short, she does whatever is needed to leave him entirely free for the attack.

They go hunting leisurely along the way, and these raids last for weeks and even months. At night they all gather and camp together.

If they find some trail in the depths of the woods, or some other sign pointing to the passage of a human being, they study it with rare prudence and subtlety. If they spy a hut or a village, they make a reconnaissance [95] in the greatest possible silence; and they walk so adroitly that not even the dry leaf they crush underfoot can be heard. It is as though they walked on a thick rug. They surround the hut and silently wait for dawn. Then they set it ablaze with a long staff, its end covered with flaming pitch, and post themselves in ambush near the door.

Suddenly awakened, the besieged occupants immediately let out the terrible cry, "Mundurucu!"

Those confused men who attempt to break through the ring of besiegers are immediately pierced with enormous spears.

The children, aware that they are at the mercy of the enemy, give themselves up.

The women nearly always offer resistance, put up a fight, and are made prisoners only by sheer force.

727 And then the Mundurucu retreat on the double. The enemy heads are cut off and hastily prepared. They travel day and night

726 A campaign might start at the beginning of the dry season in one year and end at the end of the next dry season, a total of a year and a half in the field. During its course, several villages of different tribes might be attacked. The warriors sustained themselves principally by hunting, and the collection of wild foods.

721 The purpose of aboriginal Mundurucú warfare was to secure trophy heads and to bring back captive children to adopt into the tribe. Wars were usually initiated by young men eager to gain war prowess and prestige by taking heads and captives. These young men would resolve among themselves to go to war and would then approach the chief to ask him to lead them. If the chief and the older men approved of the project, the chief took over the organization of the party. [208] Invitations were sent to other villages via a messenger who [729] belonged to the Muchacha'anren, a society of older, valiant [575] warriors having an intimate knowledge of certain songs. On [534] his route, the muchacha carried a special trumpet known as the pem, on which he gave a distinctive signal when just outside one of the villages to be invited. A muchacha of that village gave an answering signal and then went out to meet him. Upon their encounter they played a song of the society on their trumpets and danced slowly back and forth towards each other. They then proceeded to the men's house where the messenger, in front of the assembled warriors, addressed an invitation to join in the war. The two most distinguished chiefs of the participating villages assumed

721 the leadership of the party, but the other chiefs were influential, also.

726 The warriors who accepted the invitation then busied themselves in making an enormous number of arrows, bows, and fresh bow strings. The warrior usually was accompanied by his wife or a female relative who carried hammocks and utensils, and with the other accompanying women, prepared food. The warrior carried only his arms and confined himself to hunting and scouting. The party moved slowly as it was necessary to procure subsistence and to scout the territory ahead. When the enemy village was neared, a temporary shelter was made in the forest and the women left there. The men then proceeded under cover of darkness to surround the village. At the first signs of dawn the warriors were already assembled in the forest on the village perimeter and the chief gave the signal to attack. The signal was sounded by two mucharks on their special war trumpets. Arrows, the points of which had been coated with resin, were ignited and launched into the roofs of the houses, and the warriors charged into the village making as much noise as possible to confuse and terrify the inhabitants. As the latter ran from their houses and attempted to escape they were seized by the Mundurucú.

727 Men and women were slain and decapitated while the children were taken captive. Loot was confined to a small amount of arms and ornaments that had more trophy value than anything else. Surprise was the major element in the attack and the Mundurucú always retired before the enemy had the opportunity to regroup and inflict losses on them. They retreated rapidly

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 100 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry [132] season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly 554 for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the parwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent [564] direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party 722 was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group [535] of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs [569] and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and [534] was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties 701 in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this 722 was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives, the Dajebolli spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores.

The Dajebolli was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Dawkli* or "mothers of the arrow." The Dawkli was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Dawkli. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajebolli and his wife resumed their normal life.[8]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Foelsner (1954:138) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental—it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

721 wars. The necessity of ever having to defend their home territory was denied, and provocation by other groups was not remembered as a cause of war in Mundurucú tradition. It might be said that enemy tribes caused the Mundurucú to go to war simply by existing, and the word for enemy meant merely any group that was not Mundurucú.

Despite this seemingly undirected aggressiveness, it was possible to establish through direct questioning and by analysis of field data that certain individual and social goals were realized through warfare. The more important of these goals will be analyzed and their significance as causes of the institution of warfare will be evaluated in the following section.

721 The Mundurucú were partially motivated to war by the quest for manufactured goods, which, as noted earlier, were obtained from the Brazilians in 698 return for service as mercenary warriors against unpacified tribes. The symbiotic relationship that became established was noted by Chandless (1862:276) who wrote that the Mundurucú were "honest and faithful," and "very friendly toward white people, warring only against unpacified Indians while protecting those friendly with the whites."

715 The scope and importance of Mundurucú mercenary activities is impressive. In the early 19th century, the whites urged them to attack the trouble- 726 some Mura Indians of the lower Madeira River, and so great was their success 698 that the Mura were scattered as far as the vicinity of Ega, hundreds of miles up the Amazon River (Bates 1863:168-9). Ayres de Casal (1817:237-8) reported that many of the victims of the Mundurucú, among them the Mura, were forced to seek the protection of the white settlements. The traders who employed the Mundurucú thus obtained a dual advantage; the hostiles were not only quelled but were driven into the arms of the labor-hungry whites.

Later references also attest to the alliance with the Brazilians. The Mundurucú were enlisted by colonial officials during the Revolution of the Cabanos in 1835–36, and one of their leaders in the war was given an honorary commission in the army in recognition of his services (Harris 1965:132). Bates (1863:162) reports that in about 1853 the Mundurucú were instrumental in helping the Brazilians of the Madeira River to suppress the Arara Indians, and Tocantins (1877:148) states that shortly before his journey to the Mundurucú, the latter struck at a marauding group of Parintintin Indians at the behest of the Brazilians. Coudreau (1897:39-40) relates another case of mercenary service by the Mundurucú, whom he characterizes as a people "known for selling their military valor to whoever wants to pay for it." On this occasion, three traders of the Madeira River had been killed by hostile Indians, and their colleagues went to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River and offered merchandise in return for a retaliatory expedition. The offer was accepted but [69] the sortie was a failure, for most of the 80 men and 40 women who took part in the raid died of illness before contacting the enemy.

715 Although mercenary service is one of the more interesting aspects of 721 Mundurucú warfare during the 19th century, contemporary informants hardly thought it worthy of mention. They acknowledged their alliance with

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was secondary. 175 721

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 19th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers. [439]

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own. 721 727 [442]

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajebuili was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and internal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means. 555 701

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that 721

7: Murph E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

721 the individual who demonstrates proficiency in the attainment of a socially desirable goal will himself be valued and that this will motivate him to appropriate acts, but this still does not answer the question of why the goal and the accompanying activity is valued. Newcomb (1950:329) has stated the same case with cogency in regard to Plains warfare.

727 The trophy head was prized as a symbol of Mundurucú prowess and of its owner's status but it was also sought because it was the center of a number
782 of magico-religious observances. The trophy was thought to be pleasing to
[825] the spirit protectors of the game animals because it had inherent power, contingent upon the proper observance of connected ritual acts. The possession of a trophy head thus resulted in greater economic abundance, and in this sense served the same general purpose as does the Jívaro tsantsa. However, this aspect of the trophy quest does not cast much light upon Mundurucú headhunting, for alternate ways of pleasing the spirits were known and practiced. The ceremonial and shamanistic techniques of propitiating the spirit protects of game animals were complex both in practice and in ideational contents; contrast, the linkage of the trophy head and the spirits was vague and ephemeral; it is probable that headhunting developed subsequent to the rites concerned with the animal spirits and had become only loosely integrated with them. It is to be expected that any important social activity will become vague and belief catherected in this manner, but it would be erroneous to proceed to explain the activity by its supporting ideology.

724 Finally, it could be considered that the Mundurucú looked upon fighting as a source of sport and excitement. The enemy was looked upon as game to be hunted, and the Mundurucú still speak of the partwar in the same terms that they speak for peccary and tapir. War was a relief from boredom, but it is not surprising that peace would be boring to people who consider themselves warriors. One might ask why they did not relieve boredom in log racing as do some groups, or in drinking bouts as did many of their neighbors. In short, can we n look upon activity and play drives as being inherent within the species and proceed from that vantage to explain the particular way they are manifested particular cultures?

FUNCTIONS OF MUNDURUCÚ WARFARE

724 The manifest goals of warfare provide us with an understanding of the incentives that motivated the Mundurucú warrior. The religious and sportive
182 aspects of warfare were found to be considerably more ephemeral than were the economic and prestige goals involved, but even the latter two depended upon the existence of a social organization that allowed and encouraged intensive military activity by its very nature. Moreover, the most important single motivation to hostility was a generalized aggressiveness that recognized no specific aim and this latter yields the most important single clue to an understanding Mundurucú warfare. If specific goals do not fully explain the extent and intensity of the partwars, and if the pressure of external circumstances did not use battle, then the main dynamics of warfare must be sought

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world.

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Dawéki, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads.

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe.

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of consistent, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was resolved through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house. This provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house.

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be vigorously suppressed, for if men became aroused in some

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for
578 male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in male-female relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that
[591] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilineal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief prevented *and* of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

[31] Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and residence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of
721 Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his
622 linearly eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

7: Murphy E-S (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world an an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of chieftainship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

CONCLUSION

721
182
578
[2]

Our analysis of the functions of Mundurucú warfare has concluded that the institution operated to preserve the integration and solidarity of Mundurucú society. These findings accord closely with Simmel's theory of conflict and are also substantiated by Fernandes' (1952:354) conclusion on the functions of Tupinambá warfare. The means by which this social end was accomplished can be viewed as a variable of the Mundurucú type of society. The latter was of a unique order; it was structured so as to ramify kinship bonds throughout the tribe, but it was extremely vulnerable to any open display of aggression within the group. This, and the ambivalent position of the men, resulted in the suppression of hostility and the emphasis upon solidarity that characterized male social relations. Such solidarity could be maintained only through the release of latent aggression in a socially valued manner upon surrogate objects. Mundurucú warfare thus corresponds to Coser's (1955:48) formulation of the "safety valve" mechanism in society:

> Social systems provide for specific institutions which serve to drain off hostile and aggressive sentiments. These safety valve institutions help to maintain the system by preventing otherwise probable conflict or by reducing its disruptive effects. They provide substitute objects upon which to displace hostile sentiments, as well as means of abreaction. Through these safety valves, hostility is prevented from turning against its original object.

The achievement of specific ends or the defeat of a particular enemy were secondary considerations in Mundurucú warfare. They fought any group and they fought for the sake of fighting. The ultimate source of their bellicosity was the repressed hostility generated within the society, and the ultimate source of repression was the potential destructiveness of intrasocietal aggression.

Safety valve institutions of one kind or another are probably universal in culture. Coser (*Ibid.*:41) distinguishes two means by which aggressiveness may safely be released by the members of a society. These are:

> . . . *Ventilation*, which provide a socially sanctioned framework for carrying out conflict without leading to consequences that disrupt relations within a group, and those safety-valve institutions which serve to divert hostility onto substitute objects or which function as channels for cathartic release.

Mundurucú warfare and sorcery fall into the class of "safety-valve institutions"; the structure of the society is such that Ventilation would be impossible insofar as the Mundurucú cannot publicly acknowledge the existence of intrasocietal hostilities. The institutionalized public arguments and wrestling matches of the Trumai Indians (Murphy and Quain 1955:37–39) and the spear throwing bouts between Upper Xingú tribes (Galvão 1950:366) are illustrations of cases in which hostility is allowed to appear in a controlled and sanctioned context and is thereby dissipated. Sides are drawn and the issue is resolved among the Upper Xingú groups; the Mundurucú cannot even afford to take sides openly.

7; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Coser (1956:156–7) has considered the relationship between conflict and the rigidity of the social structure, which he defines as "the degree to which it disallows direct expression of antagonistic claims," and concludes:

> Our hypothesis, that the need for safety-valve institutions increases with the rigidity of the social system, may be extended to suggest that unrealistic [i.e. cathartic and not oriented toward the frustrating object] conflict may be expected to occur as a consequence of rigidity present in the social structure.

Mundurucú warfare was clearly "unrealistic" and the social structure was rigid in Coser's sense. It is possible to broaden our example to include a larger category of rigid social structures and to consider their functional concomitants. I would propose as a statistically testable hypothesis that matrilocal societies must repress open aggression in order to insure cohesion and continuity. If we take any matrilocal and matrilineal or bilateral society as our model, the system of residence tends to disperse males at least throughout the local community. Thus, any male will have close ties of kinship and economic interdependence with his housemates, his natal household, the households of his maternal uncles, and the households of his brothers. The same is true of patrilocal societies from the viewpoint of the women, but males are the principal political role-players in all human societies. Any conflict involving men therefore becomes a matter of deep community concern. As among the Mundurucú, if the lines of allegiance in a conflict situation are drawn according to kinship in any matrilocal society, bonds of local contiguity will be sundered; if primary loyalty is given to bonds of residence, the ties of kinship will be broken. In short, when the residence and kin groups of the male do not coincide, he acquires multiple commitments that may come into conflict. Also, the individual male will more readily repress his grievances if he cannot rely upon the full support of a solidary group.

Brief reference to the ethnographic literature suggests that the social solidarity of matrilocal groups is not restricted to my model. Writing of the Apinayé, Nimuendajú (1939:129) says:

> I have never heard of a case of rape nor witnessed anything of publicly scandalous adultery, larceny, or slander. Only when intoxicated do these natives inflict damage on property and bodily maltreatment on persons or commit manslaughter. Compared with any Šerente settlement the village of Bacaba, at least, is a model of internal peace and harmony, and this would hold for Cato Preto, too, in the absence of alcohol.

The Šerente and the Apinayé are Gê-speaking groups of eastern Brazil and are culturally quite similar. The principal difference between them is that the fractious Šerente are patrilineal and patrilocal, while the harmonious Apinayé are matrilineal and matrilocal. Turning to North America, we have the classical example of the matrilocal and "Apollonian" Pueblo[illegible]. Ellis (1951:190) has noted of Pueblo warfare:

> Beyond protection, warfare served to provide legitimate outlet for the frustrations and aggressions arising from unremitted competition or suspicions thereof among people of the same general culture.

?: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The repression of open conflict among the Pueblo accounts for the latent hostility that many ethnologists have seen seething below surface relations. Under modern conditions this often results in community fission, and the same process can be noted among the contemporary, nonwarring Mundurucú. Lacking adequate safety-valves for the release of aggression, the Mundurucú now tend to withdraw from the frustrating situation.

Not all matrilocal groups repress aggression to the same extent as do the Mundurucú, nor are they as warlike. The greater emphasis of the Mundurucú upon social cohesion and external aggression stems from the persistence of patrilineal clans in a matrilocal society. This factor, combined with inter-village matrilocality, made hostility even more explosive and internal release systems less workable. It oriented the group toward warfare and provided the organization for its effective pursuit. Some deviation from our model is expectable, for there is no fixed and unvarying reservoir of aggression in society; it has its roots in the social structure, as does its expression. Our thesis states only that matrilocal societies must repress the open expression of intracultural conflict and that this repressed hostility, variable in intensity, will be released through acceptable and nondisruptive means within the society, or through warfare, or through both. But warfare, it can be concluded, is an especially effective means of promoting social cohesion in that it provides an occasion upon which the members of the society unite and submerge their factional differences in the vigorous pursuit of a common purpose.

NOTES

[1] The field research upon which this article is based was conducted by my wife and me during 1952-53, and was supported by a Research Training Fellowship, granted by the Social Science Research Council, and the William Bayard Cutting Traveling Fellowship, awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. Grateful acknowledgment is made to these institutions.

The present article was read in manuscript by David M. Schneider and profited greatly from his suggestions.

[2] This seemingly incredible series was still remembered by the Urubú Indians of the upper Gurupí River in the state of Maranhão, according to a personal communication from the Brazilian ethnologist, Dr. Darcy Ribeiro.

[3] A fuller description of the ceremonies held subsequent to a successful raid will be published in a forthcoming monograph (Murphy n.d.).

REFERENCES CITED

AMARAL SOUSA, RICARDO
1949 Navegação do Rio Tapajós (1779). Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro 9:1-66.

ARAUJO DE CARVAL, MANUEL
1817 Corografia brasileira. Rio de Janeiro.

BATES, HENRY W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazons. London.

CHAPMAN, W.
1862 Notes on the rivers Arinos, Juruena, and Tapajós. Journal of the Royal Geographic Society 30:119-129.

COSER, LEWIS A.
1956 The functions of social conflict. Glencoe, The Free Press.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND CULTURAL CHANGE

Despite the flourishing trade in geegaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucu economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous.

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucú and the Kwakiutl are probably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucú, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inevitably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucú Fazendeiro, like those of the Kwakiutl, became components of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates reported that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucú. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of impoundment and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucú were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucú tribal proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucú villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The pacific warfare, although frequently necessary in character and auxiliary to Brazilian occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. Then, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucú was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Seasonal devotion of the Mundurucú to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1924 a Freedman mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucú warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective.

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucú acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic interdependence in producing food for the group held Mundurucú society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The shamanism had been undermined, warfare had ended, and religious ideas the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucú who had difficulties with their correspondents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy.

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucú villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas dragging the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between the village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior permanent and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large

22 burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

22 It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual ego. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú. A young man who made great claims of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intra-group tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent aggression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

23 The execution of sorcerers was the only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that pro-

[S.4] to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
S77 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

159 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
S77 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[S.4] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

16. The duality of Mundurucú ethics
S77 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[S.2] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[S.5] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

16. Manly virtues were esteemed in
S77 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-military or-

[5] ganization of the men's house, which
577 also formed a focus for male social participation. Cooperation in the econ-
[70] omy was elaborated far beyond the minimum necessary for effective exploitation of the environment; warfare
[71] was pursued beyond the requirements of security and its overt magico-religious purposes.

War and fraternity were ritualistic in nature. The relationship between them was causal in the sense that they were interdependent: intense militarism was made possible by male cohesiveness and male cohesiveness was fostered by warfare. Mundurucú society was welded by kinship and the ethic of harmony and cooperation. No
[72] commitments were owed to those outside the system; the humanity of others was recognized, but it entailed no duties. To have extended the intense moral obligations between Mundurucú to persons outside the system would have effectively vitiated and devitalized it.

Robert F. Murphy
University of California

[p. 374 (a)]

[pp. 374 (a) – end not processed for the files – Analyst]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ably principally undertaken by Mundurucú who had emigrated to this section. But their rapid engagement in trade and the resultant fragmentation of the native social organization made the migrants ill adapted to warfare, and the burden of mercenary activities shifted to those Mundurucú who had remained on the upper Tapajós. 175 648

Raiding on behalf of the whites continued throughout the nineteenth century. Coudreau described one such expedition in 1895.* Three white traders had been killed by hostile Indians on the Madeira River, and a group of merchants approached the Mundurucú to enlist their aid. The Indians were promised advance payment in manufactured goods, and a war party consisting of sixty men and forty women set forth. They traveled to the upper Secundary River across an area of savannah between that stream and the Tapajós; this route had long been the major means of communication and emigration between the Mundurucú settlements of the upper Tapajós and those on the Madeira waters. This particular expedition met disaster, however, for the virulent malaria of the Secundary River killed almost all participants. [721]

Their military service for the whites was an important factor in maintaining the stability of Mundurucú culture. The Indians had already become dependent on Western commodities, and warfare provided a means of obtaining them that did not necessitate direct labor for the whites in an extraction industry. Since the latter occupation is, as shall be seen, destructive of the traditional society, the Mundurucú were, in effect, granted a reprieve from more complete participation in commerce and its effects. Furthermore, they were encouraged by the white men to destroy other tribes and thus to continue a pattern that was dominant in the culture. Warfare contributed greatly to 175 182 649 721

* Coudreau, 1897, pp. 26-41.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

social cohesion also, because it provided a rallying point for tribal cooperation and a common goal in the pursuit of which factional differences were forgotten. And it afforded an escape valve for aggressions that could not be safely unleashed within the society.

These factors helped to preserve the integrity and autonomy of Mundurucú society during a period of stress and encroachment. Their cooperation with the whites set a pattern of friendship and mutual respect. The Indians were valuable to the whites, and the latter did not take any action that would disturb the symbiotic relationship. Similarly, the natives relied on the Brazilians for trade goods, and restricted their military activities (which were not by any means always or even usually at the immediate behest of the whites) to tribes that were not yet pacified. And in no case did they war upon the whites. When the great rubber boom arrived, the Mundurucú were gradually and peacefully recruited into the labor force, in contrast to the experience of other tribes, and the ease of the transition is no doubt partly attributable to the ties of economic dependency and friendship which had become established.

Trade and exploitation of natural resources came late to the upper Tapajós because of the impediments to navigation imposed by its many rapids, and also because of the specific commodities available there. The rich Tapajós rubber did not begin to assume great economic importance until well into the second half of the century, while the Madeira waters had abundant resources of guarana and sarsaparilla, both of which were intensively sought in the early nineteenth century; and agricultural products were traded in the latter area on a large scale at an earlier date, also, because Brazilian markets were not far.

Shortly before the mid-century the Mundurucú of the

Second, warfare, for hire mercenary,
pay and trophy heads, persisted on a somewhat reduced 175
scale and was especially successful, as Hartt notes, because 182
of the acquisition of firearms.* The continuance of warfare 648
helped to maintain the cohesion of the tribe and village as 721
social units for the reasons already discussed, and also because it bolstered the positions of the chiefs by activating [422]
their roles as war leaders.

The Mundurucú who remained in their traditional vil- 175
lages in the savannahs east of the upper Tapajós were not 439
as completely absorbed into the invading Brazilian so- 648
ciety as the people who migrated to the river banks to tap [177]
rubber. But they, too, sought trade goods, and these, increasingly, were available only through rubber production. The most troublesome tribes of the region were largely pacified, and the demand for Mundurucú military service had consequently declined. Also, the Indians were more 175
valuable to the traders in collecting rubber, which by the 464
end of the century was netting the traders fabulous mon- 648
etary returns. The recruitment of Indians into rubber col- 221
lecting did not cause the immediate disintegration of their village life. Rubber was collected by them only from June to September, during which period they left their savannah villages to live in temporary shelters at their rubber avenues. This seasonal fractionation of the society had a precedent in the traditional practice of scattering along the streams to hunt and fish during the dry season. As in times past, when rubber collection was finished, the dispersed population reunited in their villages, where the native round of activities persisted throughout the remaining nine months of the year.

The Mundurucú territory also shrunk, for traditional- 131
type villages no longer existed on the waters of the 175
Cururú River in 1895 when Coudreau ascended the Ta-

* Hartt, 1885, p. 132.

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic 619
matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated [727]
into the society and are said to have remained loyal even
in wars against the villages where they were born. The
unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic
and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members
was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elab- [304]
orate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was
the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, 621
but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two com- 476
munities might coöperate. But a number of villages usu- 619
ally participated in war expeditions and the major cere-
monies. These occasions provided the opportunity for
scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse
residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, be- 721
cause it called for a high degree of organization and co- 619
operation. When the initiative was taken by the men of
one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a
member of the *Muchachu ungen*, a society composed of [701]
particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other [575]
communities and extend invitations to take part in the
hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village ac-
cepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to
protect the women, children, and old people and to contin-
ue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervil-
lage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable
war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses
of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within 602
the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa- 628
619

/2 cont./

*24 174 mythological and legendary traditions of the Mundurukú lead us to believe that they were not always a people given to the cultivation of plants. This, however, /applies to/ a remote past, which is no longer verifiable nowadays. In historic times, ever since they came *24 175 into contact with civilized people and came to be known, they have been observed to cultivate gardens and to make manioc flour. It is [269] true that the Mundurukú gained greater fame as warriors, for when- [121] ever the opportunity arose they did not hesitate to attack even cities such as Santarém (1780) and Gurupá (1784). (1)

1. Horton, 1948: 272-273.

As colonial rule was strengthened, however, and warring activities decreased, these Indians seem to have tended increasingly toward a more stable way of life and a more extensive and more diversified agriculture. I believe that available texts must be interpreted in this light. Even though they are not all in agreement, the traveling writers provide glimpses of a development in the cultivation methods of these Indians.

*24 [361] Martius, speaking in a general way of the Tupi tribes of the upper Tapajós, including the Mundurukú, regards them, precisely because of this incipient agriculture, as seminomadic. He says: "They practice a primitive agriculture and, therefore, they are not nomads in the strict sense of the term; their villages, however, do not remain immutably in the same place." (2) Monteiro Baena

2. "Sie treiben einen nothduerftigen Landbau, sind daher im strengeren Sinne keine Nomaden; doch bleiben ihre Niederlassungen nicht unveraenderlich an derselben Stelle." Martius, 1867: 201.

[175] testifies that at first, in the years following the pacification of the Mundurukú, their propensity for agriculture was not very great or very strong. Referring to the "Mundrucús" forcefully brought to and

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home, and 200 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams in no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry [132] season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly 559 for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the parawat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent [561] direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

721 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party 202 was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group [575] of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs [701] and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he [534] sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties 701 in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who 722 took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

deer were also more effectively hunted in groups, not only because of the advantages of the ambush, but because an arrow wound is frequently not fatal, especially at longer range, and, if there are two or three hunters, the possibilities of successfully dispatching the animals are increased.

Fishing

Fishing was an economic activity definitely secondary to hunting, although as we will see later, the circumstances of acculturation have changed one large section of the tribe to a group which relies primarily on fish for proteins. The aboriginal Mundurucú generally built their villages in places several hours inland from the nearest navigable stream. Thus their defensive position was improved while in no way impairing their attacking power. This settlement pattern was well adapted to a warrior society, but removed them from the best fishing sites. The small streams within easy reach of the villages yielded only smaller species of fish and in limited quantity. That the Mundurucú relied little on the water system for food or transportation is shown by the fact that only in recent times has the dugout canoe been adopted on even a small scale. The usual modern Mundurucú canoe is of the double ended plank type made by the Brazilians and sold to the Indians by the rubber traders. In pre-contact times, the only water craft used was the bark canoe of the type described by Von den Steinen on the upper Xingú River.[8] But even this canoe was native to the Mundurucú for they assumed-

8. Steinen, 1894, pp. [illegible].

tale, probably accurate, that whenever one of them is captured by the Parintin he is devoured alive by the mundéhé, "as if they were jagua and we were deer."

Inaccurate or not, this tale serves to fire even more the Mundurucu deer for vengeance.

Those we to which we have referred are usually more forays.

When manor comes, a number of Mundurucu get together, make ready the bows, arrows, bows and provisions, and then set off.

Whenever possible, each warrior is accompanied by his wife or by a sister. The role of this rather, who sometimes is no older than fifteen summers, consists of slinging the warrior's hammock on a tree, preying his clothing, carrying the load, and helping to prepare the army load and to bring in the captives; in short, she does whatever is needed to leave him entirely free for the attack.

They grunting leisurely along the way, and these raids last for weeks or even months. At night they all gather and camp together.

If they fil some trail in the depths of the woods, or some other sign pointing to the passage of a human being, they study it with rare prudence and subtlety. If they spy a hut or a village, they make a reconnaissance [91] in the greatest possible silence; and they walk so adroitly that not even the dry leaf they crush underfoot can t heard. It is as though they walked on a thick rug. They surround w hut and silently wait for dawn. Then they set it ablaze with *long* staff, its end covered with flaming pitch, and post themselves ambush near the door.

Suddenly awakened, the besieged occupants immediately let out the terrible cry, "Mundurucu!"

Those colored men who attempt to break through the ring of besiegers are immediately pierced with enormous spears.

The chiefs, aware that they are at the mercy of the enemy, give themselves up.

The women nearly always offer resistance, put up a fight, and are made prisoners only by sheer force.

And then the Mundurucu retreat on the double. The enemy heads are cut off and hastily prepared. They travel day and night

"24" when they feel or fear they are being pursued. At night they
[97] guide themselves with torches made with fragments of a resinous wood which they call cuichique-cague, and which the Indians of the Lower Tapajos know by the name of pau canderia [(Port.) "lamp wood"]. This wood, when dry, catches fire easily. It blazes brightly when carried on the run.

"26" Almost invariably these expeditions last so long that the
[98] Indians run out of provisions and subsist on chestnuts rather than manioc flour and sweet potatoes. They suffer long privations, some of them return thin.

It is maintained that the Mundurucu make these forays every year and that they always bring captives.

A very old Indian woman, probably a native of the interesting Tapajos tribe which gave the river its name and which is now extinct, told me that more than once during her youth [96] the Mundurucu had come down the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajos, striking cruelly at the many maloccas then extant, cutting enemy heads, and spreading boundless terror throughout the region.

A well-verified tradition also has it that these barbarians once reached the mouth of the Tapajos, and besieged the fort built by the Portuguese in the Christian Tapajos village which is now the site of the flourishing city of Santarem.

X

Facts about some native tribes whom the Mundurucu fight and who wander through the valley of the Upper Xingu and toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

"75" The Mundurucu say that they still find many heathen heads
[99] in the extensive regions they roam, and that towards the east there runs a broad and mighty river, full of waterfalls, which they call Caramunzi and the banks of which are inhabited by many pagans.

This must be the Upper Xingu, which is indeed one of the major tributaries of the Amazon and one of those which run closest to the capital of Pará. Its upper course, however, is still entirely unknown.

1: Twentieth--58 C-5 (1870) 1877 SQ12 Mundurucu SQ12
- Cayubi SQ

that two individuals who are highly injurious to the development of the Mission be ordered out of its territory.

. . . . . .

"I am certain that Your. Exc. will rid the Mission of this human plague by ordering them to be expelled five leagues beyond the boundaries of the district, in accordance with the pertinent regulation."

XXIV

The Mundurucu attack a band of Parintintin -- The Parintintin attack some inhabitants of the Tapajos river banks.

Around that time,[1] a band of Parintintin appeared on the banks of one of the tributaries of the Tapajos, not far from the Mission.

These poor savages, far from being greeted by Christians and invited into the pale of labor and into life in society, met only with executioners.

Some adventurers, of the kind that comes to these parts in the summer months to extract rubber, lost no time in warning the Mundurucu of the neighboring village. The latter immediately set out, met the Parintintin, defeated them, killed a few, set the others to flight, and returned to the village with several women and child captives.

No wonder the Parintintin have never managed to settle in the valley of the Tapajos, which they have roamed [141] incessantly for many years. But these barbarians, whose fate is a continuous state of alarm and dread -- pursued as they are into the deepest recesses of the forest and ever threatened with the forced abduction of their wives and children -- also nurture in their trembling hearts the thirst for vengeance.

Unable to strike at the enemy or at those frontiersmen who had joined the Mundurucu ranks in the wretched hope of obtaining a few Parintintin child captives, these barbarians nevertheless

[1] [i.e., ca. January, 1876. -Rev.ed.]

1: Tucumbo--59 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Cambio SND

attempted to express in they could the profound rancor this in-
famous slaughter had awakened in them.

Here is how Fr. Pelino de Carnovalva described the Parintintin attack on the house of some frontiersmen neighbors of the Mission, in a Report to the president of Para dated August 16, 1876:

"The Parintintin -- another populous tribe that leads a savage way of life, roaming the woods and maintaining a state of continuous warfare with the Mundurucu -- would accept civilization without delay if the Mundurucu were to be all gathered together. Since the Mission was founded the Parintintin have been less fiercely attached by their foe, and as a result have occasionally appeared around here in the course of their journeys. They were seen at various points of the Tapajos riverbanks, and appeared last at the mouth of the Jacunchim River, a tributary of the Tapajos, at the beginning of last July.

"At that very spot three people lived in a small hut by the stream -- two men and a woman who had come from Itaituba on the Upper Tapajos to extract rubber. One day at the beginning of last July, around five o'clock in the afternoon, they saw filing through the woods by the hut a large band of savages -- naked, [142] armed with bows and arrows, some of them adorned with macaw feathers. The three alarmed individuals imprudently trusted that the savages would proceed on their way and that nothing would happen, as had sometimes proved to be the case elsewhere when these Indians made an appearance.

"But it was not to be so: around six o'clock in the morning of the following day, their house was surrounded by Parintintin who screamed and howled like ferocious beasts as they attached. The three occupants defended themselves with firearms, and a close battle ensued. The Parintintin chief was killed and many others wounded; the two frontiersmen were severely wounded -- one of them was hit by six arrows, some of which went right through him.

"In the midst of the battle the Parintintin ran out of arrows and went to get some more from their women who waited a short distance away. The two frontiersmen, taking advantage of this short respite, took to flight; and the poor woman, who amid the general alarm failed to accompany them, was captured by the

Indians in the River Regions of Tapajós

[726] [385] There are still more tribes in the area between the Tapajós and Madeira, an area still today almost inaccessible, but of these tribes we have hardly any other information than that they are enemies of the Mundurucu, by whom they are being persecuted to the point of extinction. The same is true of the Jumas, Parentintins, and the Araras who live near the sources of the Rio Machado and from there westward. Probably to escape this persecution the Jumas and the Araras, the latter distinguished by their graceful feather finery, have moved to the parish of S. Antonio do Arayaxana (Borba) on the eastern bank of the Madeira, 25 leguas above the river mouth. And the Parintintins, described as a very industrious, [386] accomplished tribe live partly in the village of Jacapiche, on the left bank of the river of the same name. Whether this tribe is to be considered identical with the so-called Cavadas, "the Shots," who are also supposed to be living in the Tapajós is uncertain. Certain is, however, that [727] the skulls of their enemies, which the Mundrucús preserve, show a shorn pate. According to other reports the Parintintins are said to have the inside of their fore arms tattooed at the wrist and to be cannibals. Castelnau [Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud] names them among the tribes still at war with the Brazilians (III, 307). *

*Earlier the following were mentioned [as living] on the Arinos and Juruena: the Apaumarités, Maritités, Apicuricás, Muquirités, Everuas. No trace is left of these, but there is a group known as the Anyurins and another called the Apecuarités. Hypodiaei are sometimes seen among the Indians of the Tapajós. Revista trimensal 1847. Ser. II Tom. 2, p. 5. 96.

All these tribes have little claim to our attention and I shall leave undecided whether those mentioned first (a - h) are fragments of the Apiacas and Mundrucus who are dominant here or whether they have

[7] But they
[8] do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Mawe. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

[9] In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[10] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[10] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Wirmchilis] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariaus in Tapajos now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
[11] each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[12] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of skin enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
[13] It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondurucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from munda "meal," ru "together," ca, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (munduc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Matarucus, from matamun motaryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the chief [Mimchmer]." [201] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquisé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III, 106) lists the Arupis as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 303) who are also found on the Madeira river.

[14] Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II, 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

726 fortifies themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish
shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are
caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows
are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own
arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by
their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has
not much ammunition left. They attack only by day, and so they
are attacked, by the equally war-like Aracua, at night. In their
permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a
thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of mili-
tary age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and
[536 they are guarded by patrols who signal with the turé (beni), a rasping
537] cane trumpet, or with the kishua, a whistle. With this instrument
the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle,
gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants
[202] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the
727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow
or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles
and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head
is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject
of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his
comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned
of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the
skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which urucu
has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the
skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of
resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting
trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the
communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime
and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinel. Enemies captured
in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

575 A man has several wives according to his power and importance.
He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned
to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily
his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger
[578 women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy
846] which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like
the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1949
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

161 Gurupi, related linguistically to the *Mundurucú*, are to be regarded as an independent tribe (this volume, p. 221), and that the *Nijaubihauara* (see *Nijaubihauara*, p. 361) are not properly classified as *Mundurucú* on any basis.

Martius (1867) reported a group related to the *Mundurucú*, known as the *Guajajara*, who were settled on the Gurupi River near Carodello in 1818. The writer has found no further reference to this name in the literature dealing with the *Mundurucú*. (The *Guajajara-Tawáli* are a tribe near the east coast of Brazil, page 137.)

According to native tradition, the *Wiawyu*, at the headwaters of the Mutum River, should be classed as a subtribe of the *Mundurucú*.

The *Mundurucú* refer to themselves as *Wedjebeje* (our own, our people) (Kruse, 1934). *Mundurucú* (*Mundurukú*, *Mundurucú*, *Mondurucú*, *Mundruká*, *Moturucú*, etc.) is the name applied to them by the *Parintintin*, in whose language it denotes a species of ant (Snethlage, 1932). A nickname widely used by Neo-Brazilians is *Paiquicé* (*Paikyce*) (Martius, 1867) or *Paikice*, meaning "father knife" or "head-cutter." They are sometimes called *Caras Pretas* ("black face"), in reference to their facial tattooing. (See Kruse (1934), who gives an extensive list of names used by other tribes to designate the *Mundurucú*.)

POPULATION

161 In 1867, Martius estimated the *Mundurucú* at 18,000 to 40,000, but Snethlage believes that, on the basis of known settlement sites, a maximum population of 10,000 at the period of Contact is indicated. Tocantins (1877) listed 21 villages with populations ranging from 100 to 2,600 and a total population of 18,910. According to Campana, there were at the turn of the century about 1,400 individuals in 37 communities in the Tapajós area. The largest village had 700 inhabitants, and the smallest less than a dozen. Snethlage (1932) found 19 settlements with a total of 1,200 to 1,400 inhabitants in 1931, and fewer still in 1937. Both Campana's and Snethlage's figures refer only to the population of the main area of concentration. Kruse gives a population of 930 for the Tapajós group and 800 for the Cururú group.

HISTORY

175 The first reference to the *Mundurucú* was published in 1768 when Manoeiro Noronha[4] listed the "*Maturucú*" among the tribes on the Madeira River. In 1780, according to Manoel Bueno (1885), the *Mundurucú* began to move northward along the Tapajós River, forcing out or exterminating the *Japuaia* (*Jacaia*, *Hy-ca-ahim*), a warlike, cannibalistic tribe then occupying the middle Tapajós. A "*Mundruci*" settlement a day's journey below the mouth of the Arinos was reported by Almeida Serra in 1779. The *Mundurucú* reached and made unsuccessful attacks upon

176

[4] The writer has not seen all of the sources mentioned in this sketch of *Mundurucú* history; the material here summarized has been in part provided by Dr. Nimuendajú (personal communication).

4: Norton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Sateré and *Cayuvá* in 1780 and again in 1786. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Paresíkwíte* (*Cinnahirine*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Kingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Matogrosso Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Ihringer, 1927), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far north. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio do Tropas (ca. 1796). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796. 175 726

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajós in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1862, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Marx, 1862). A few of the villages of the Tapajós region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Ihringer, 1927). [177] [177]

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajós is not definitely known. Kruse (1950) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apinayé* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Rio do Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1796 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area. [173]

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and guaiac. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Iruriá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey. 241 222

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them. 231

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush. 224 [221]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "bachéd," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Menderucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Steinen's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapa). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [542] [522]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 522 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

1 [Martius (Source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time. -- Analyst.]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1940
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823-31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koster (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and naming.—According to Martius, the father keeps to his hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

Puberty and marriage.—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

The Munduruká are clearly distinguishable by their speech, which is, despite the Tupian affiliation, mutually unintelligible with the language of their Tupian neighbors and with the Jê-speaking Kayapó. However, their most outstanding outward characteristic is the elaborate body and face painting which is the hallmark of all members of the tribe.

The chief multi-village endeavor was warfare. Warfare always was waged against other tribes and never between Munduruká villages. The idea of violence between two Munduruká individuals or groups is abhorrent to this people. Intercecine warfare would be unthinkable. We will discuss Munduruká warfare in some detail further in this paper, but it suffices to say here that when a war party was being organized, usually by the chief of one village, invitations to join in the expedition were also sent to several other villages. The fully organized group was led by two of the chiefs of the villages participating. These were men distinguished for their accomplishments in war and were nearly always older men. The other chiefs of the participant villages had a large role in the plan of action, as did all older men, but the position of the two leaders was recognized. Inter-village cooperation was the secret of Munduruká prowess, as they defeated and scattered every tribe in the region and launched large war parties against the Portuguese fortresses of Santarém and Gurupá[10] and ranged as far east as the territory of the Trubó Indians on the east side of the Tocantins

10. Fortes, 1948, p. 273.

[illegible]tion.[11] By creating their warriors from a number of villages, the Mundurucú were able to leave enough men in each village to support those women, children, and old people who were not able to leave. They were also able to amass a greater number of warriors, especially when it was necessary to face the Portuguese colonial troops that were sent against them in the late 18th century.

Such efforts called for a series of social linkages between villages. This was provided by the social organization which crosscut the society in two ways: by bonds of matrilocality and by the system of sibs and moieties. This meant that those men of the village who came from other villages through marriage were linked to those villages by birth and by the residence there of the mother's family. Such linkages formed a chain whereby all villages ultimately were bound to one another by interpersonal ties. Its bonds tying each individual to the rest of the society were further tightened by the patrilineal sib system. In most Mundurucú villages, a person could find other members of his sib. To these people he had especially close ties and obligations, but he also considered all the members of his exogamic moiety to be relatives. Ultimately, but to a diminished degree, Mundurucú of the other moiety were felt to be related and were called by kin terms. The people themselves say, "We are all kin, one of another."

11. This was reported to the writer verbally by Dr. Darcy Ribeiro, Chief of the Section of Studies, Brazilian Indian Protection Service. Dr. Ribeiro has conducted extensive ethnographic research among the Tapirapé and heard of these attacks from his informants. This confirms Martius' report of the same event (Martius, 1867, p. [illegible]).

Warfare

726 The greatest single interest of the Mundurucú was warfare. It was waged continuously and successfully against all other tribes of a vast region until the beginning of the 20th century. Such was their reputation for unalloyed fierceness that the explorer Henri Coudreau remarked, "Les Mundurucús ne pratiquent ni la justice, ni le duel, ni la guerre, mais seulement l'assassinat."[20] The range of their operations was enormous, especially when one considers that their war parties journeyed on foot. On the north, the Mundurucú attacks reached the south bank of the Amazon between the mouth of the Madeira River and the city of Gurupá. To the south, they terrified tribes on the headwaters of the eastern tributaries of the Madeira River and the headwaters of the São Manoel and Juruena Rivers, well into the high Planalto de Mato Grosso. Tocantins claims that the Mundurucú even knew the city of Cuyabá on the Paraguay River in Mato Grosso.[21] Mundurucú attacks were felt as far east as the Tocantins River and west to the Madeira and probably beyond. This would be an enormous range even for a mounted people but in a foot-going group it bespeaks a remarkable singularity of purpose and the expenditure of enormous time and energy.

We have already discussed the intervillage cooperation in warfare that made these extended sorties possible.

20. Coudreau, 1897, p. 142.

21. Tocantins, 1877, p. 98.

726 A campaign might start at the beginning of the dry season in one year and end at the end of the next dry season, a total of a year and a half in the field. During its course, several villages of different tribes might be attacked. The warriors sustained themselves principally by hunting, and the collection of wild foods.

721 The purpose of aboriginal Mundurucú warfare was to secure trophy heads and to bring back captive children to adopt into the tribe. Wars were usually initiated by young men eager to gain war prowess and prestige by taking heads and captives. These young men would resolve among themselves to go to war and would then approach the chief to ask him to lead them. If the chief and the older men approved of the project, the chief took over the organization of the party. [603] Invitations were sent to other villages via a messenger who [724] belonged to the Muchacha'amren, a society of older, valiant [575] warriors having an intimate knowledge of certain songs. On [534] his route, the muchacha carried a special trumpet known as the pen, on which he gave a distinctive signal when just outside one of the villages to be invited. A muchacha of that village gave an answering signal and then went out to meet him. Upon their encounter they played a song of the society on their trumpets and danced slowly back and forth towards each other. They then proceeded to the men's house where the messenger, in front of the assembled warriors, addressed an invitation to join in the war. The two most distinguished chiefs of the participating villages assumed

72 the leadership of the party, but the other chiefs were influential, also.

726 The warriors who accepted the invitation then busied themselves in making an enormous number of arrows, bows, and fresh bow strings. The warrior usually was accompanied by his wife or a female relative who carried hammocks and utensils, and with the other accompanying women, prepared food. The warrior carried only his arms and confined himself to hunting and scouting. The party moved slowly as it was necessary to procure subsistence and to scout the territory ahead. When the enemy village was neared, a temporary shelter was made in the forest and the women left there. The men then proceeded under cover of darkness to surround the village. At the first signs of dawn the warriors were already assembled in the forest on the village perimeter and the chief gave the signal to attack. The signal was sounded by two muchacha on their special war trumpets. Arrows, the points of which had been coated with resin, were ignited and launched into the roofs of the houses, and the warriors charged into the village making as much noise as possible to confuse and terrify the inhabitants. As the latter ran from their houses and attempted to escape they were seized by the Mundurucú.

727 Men and women were slain and decapitated while the children were taken captive. Loot was confined to a small amount of arrs and ornaments that had more trophy value than anything else. Surprise was the major element in the attack and the Mundurucú always retired before the enemy had the opportunity to regroup and inflict losses on them. They retreated rapidly

554 In addition to the glory of being an owner of a head, he was a valuable economic asset due to the charm that the head exerted over game.

726 622 Warfare was an occasion upon which the position of the chief became of great importance. The young warriors depended heavily on his experience and leadership. His authority was not unlimited, but it was more fully exercised and more necessary to successful results than during any peaceful endeavor in the village.

726 181 This is only a brief sketch of Mundurucú warfare for its complexity rivaled the war patterns of the North American Plains Indians. To the Mundurucú, themselves, it was the most important single pursuit and characterized their way of life more than any other activity. Its results were extremely destructive to other tribes but was a source of élan and vitality in Mundurucú culture.

Religion

771 The following discussion of Mundurucú religion will be brief and will touch mainly on those points pertinent to the problem of socio-cultural integration. In conformity with Tropical Forest patterns, the religious system was of great simplicity. There were the typical Tupian spirits of animal, fish, and plant species, souls of the dead and certain malignant spirits.[22] Magic was simple and usually directed towards antisocial ends. The only specialist was the shaman. All the males participated in the ceremonials

22. cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 102-109; Oberg, 1953, pp. 53-4.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 Tapajós to have established a continuing and peaceful relationship with the whites without the destructive traumata which so frequently accompany acculturation. Certain far reaching changes in social structure had taken place, but the tribe maintained its autonomy and physical isolation. The manioc trade had caused an expansion in agricultural production, and warfare was pursued with the mixed motivations of material reward and the taking of trophy heads, the aboriginal rationale for Mundurucú warfare.

361 At this time[1] there were at least twenty Mundurucú villages, having a total
[161] population of approximately 5000. The communities were located in the middle of high savannah country, secure from surprise attacks and free of the insects and diseases of the larger, navigable streams. Paths radiated out from each village to the streams, gardens, hunting trails, and to other villages. In this setting, the people led a secure existence. Their location and reputation for ferocity protected them from attack, and the dependable supply of game, fish, garden products, and wild vegetables and fruits gave them security from hunger.

TRIBAL INTEGRATION

619 The many villages of the Mundurucú were politically autonomous but were linked by a series of institutions and culture patterns into a socio-cultural whole. The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unitary group, and village membership was of less importance in self-identification than was membership in the non-localized clan or the feeling of being one of the "people," as they called themselves. A primary dichotomy in the Mundurucú world view was the separa-
609 tion of humanity into "people" and "outlanders." "Outlanders," with the exception of the whites and the Apiacá Indians, were beings with whom the "people" could have only hostile relationships. This provided the justification for the systematic destruction and dispersal of neighboring tribes by Mundurucú war parties. Tribal membership, however, was a sociological and not a genetic concept. Male and female "outlanders" were killed and decapitated, but their children were taken captive and brought back to the Mundurucú villages. There they were adopted by their captors and given the elaborate body and head tattooing which was the external symbol of identity with the ingroup. The statuses and roles of captives were no different than those of any other Mundurucú.

578 While unrelenting hostility and violence characterized the Mundurucú attitude towards the outside world, the reverse was true of intragroup relations. Conflict between villages was unheard of, and interpersonal aggressions were suppressed. This emphasis upon harmony and noncompetitiveness had a strong functional interrelationship with the socio-economic structure of the villages, in which co-operative production and collectivized consumption were basic.

726 Although different villages did not co-operate in the subsistence economy,
476 warfare and ceremony involved intercommunity organization and participa-
182 tion. Since most statements of function involve a relation of mutual interdependence, it would not beg the question to say that intervillage war parties

[1] [i.e. The middle of the nineteenth century.—Analyst]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Intergroup Hostility and Social Cohesion[1]

ROBERT F. MURPHY
University of California, Berkeley

114
121
726

GEORG SIMMEL (1955:33–4) noted that warfare is frequently the only mode of social interaction between primitive societies. He saw the social relations of such groups to be characterized by diametric opposition between the norms of behavior applicable to members of the ingroup, on one hand, and toward members of outgroups, on the other. This dichotomy was internally self-consistent to Simmel, and he wrote (ibid:34):

> For this reason, the same drive to expand and to act, which *within* the group requires unconditional peace for the integration of interests and for unfettered interaction, may appear to the outside world as a tendency toward war.

Intergroup conflict was viewed by Simmel has having positive functions: it provides the basis for group formation and cohesion, and it accentuates and maintains group boundaries. Conflict, then, is not aberrant or dysfunctional. Rather, it structures social relations both within and between societies.

Lewis Coser (1956:95), writing to Simmel's general thesis, points out that social cohesion does not automatically follow from conflict, for "social systems lacking social solidarity are likely to disintegrate in the face of conflict, although some unity may be despotically enforced." The corollary proposition is offered that:

> . . . if the basic social structure is stable, if basic values are not questioned, cohesion is usually strengthened by war through challenge to, and revitalization of, values and goals which have been taken for granted (ibid:90).

Coser's view by no means contradicts that of Simmel but is an elaboration of the latter's thesis, as cited above, that intergroup hostility and social cohesion are only analytically different aspects of the same social process. Conflict and social solidarity are mutually re-enforcing; conflict promotes social integration, and solidarity is necessary if the group is to take effective common action against the outer world.

121
726

The present paper will analyze the warfare pattern of a Brazilian Indian group, the Mundurucú, in the light of the propositions given by Simmel and elaborated by Coser. We will go beyond the thesis that warfare contributes to the maintenance of the social structure to consider also how this social structure organized the membership for military activity. Further, the thesis will be advanced that this type of social structure actually generated the bellicose activities and attitudes that functioned to preserve it, and that this circular relationship allowed Mundurucú society to continue through a period during which it was subjected to severe internal and external threats. Finally, we will conclude with a general hypothesis upon the relation between social structure, social cohesion, and conflict.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karöko*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them. 578 476 778

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent. 622 619

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as "... one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:[illegible]), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject. 726 609 [181]

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but [186] 726 [484 501]

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 even short expeditions could well take a party over 100 miles from home; and 400 miles through dense, trackless forest and across major streams is no mean trip.

It is obvious that Mundurucú warfare consisted of much more than sporadic and short forays. The average party campaigned only during the dry [132] season, setting out when the rivers fell in May and returning before they again rose in November. Longer expeditions set out at the end of the rains and remained in the field throughout the rainy season and the following dry period, returning before the next rains.

721 As among the Indians of the North American Plains, youths sought openly for the excitement of war and looked upon it as a means of self-validation and 554 aggrandizement of prestige. But unlike the Plains Indians, the Mundurucú did not openly assert this prestige once it was won; if anything, the person who achieved status became even more self-effacing and less prone to open competitiveness. The young men, however, did not embark upon raids by themselves. They expressed their desire to the chief of the village in words indicative of the martial disposition of the society: "My grandfather, take us to hunt the pariwat. We wish to die in the forest, not in the village." The chief consulted with the older men in order to decide whether the occasion was auspicious. If there was general approval, he proceeded to organize a war party that would include the eager young but would be under the competent [561] direction of experienced elders, for age in Mundurucú society was an important criterion of status.

721 Although the initiative for a war originated in one village, men from several villages participated. The determination of a village to form a war party 202 was quickly communicated to other communities, but a formal invitation had to be extended. This was carried by a man of the *Muchacha* society, a group [575] of older warriors who were especially well versed in Mundurucú lore and songs [701] and who had taken enemy heads. As the messenger neared each village he sounded three short blasts on a horn used only by members of the society, and [534] was answered by a like signal from a Muchacha of the village being invited. After entering the village, he delivered the invitation and proceeded on his itinerary, collecting volunteers from a number of communities.

621 Intervillage cooperation enabled the Mundurucú to place large war parties 701 in the field without stripping any one village of all its manpower. Those who took part generally desired to clear land for gardens first, but even when this 722 was not possible or when the expedition lasted more than a year, the horticultural cycle could be maintained by those remaining behind. The problem of leadership of a group drawn from several communities was resolved by delegating authority to two village chiefs who were also members of the Muchacha society. Actually, the two formal leaders did not have absolute control, and all important decisions were made by the older men of the expedition acting as a body.

708 The war party was accompanied by the wives of the warriors and a number of unmarried girls. Their tasks were to carry cooking utensils and all of

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1831:1313) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness. 708 726 756

No warfare rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments abroad to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew ant-eater hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow shaft, were ignited and loosed at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support. 726 [825] [411] 727

The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in rigor mortis. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the waiting warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran [202]

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

721 wars. The necessity of ever having to defend their home territory was denied, and provocation by other groups was not remembered as a cause of war in Mundurucú tradition. It might be said that enemy tribes caused the Mundurucú to go to war simply by existing, and the word for enemy meant merely any group that was not Mundurucú.

Despite this seemingly undirected aggressiveness, it was possible to establish through direct questioning and by analysis of field data that certain individual and social goals were realized through warfare. The more important of these goals will be analyzed and their significance as causes of the institution of warfare will be evaluated in the following section.

721 648 The Mundurucú were partially motivated to war by the quest for manufactured goods, which, as noted earlier, were obtained from the Brazilians in return for service as mercenary warriors against unpacified tribes. The symbiotic relationship that became established was noted by Chandless (1862:276) who wrote that the Mundurucú were "honest and faithful," and "very friendly toward white people, warring only against unpacified Indians while protecting those friendly with the whites."

175 ●726 648 The scope and importance of Mundurucú mercenary activities is impressive. In the early 19th century, the whites urged them to attack the troublesome Mura Indians of the lower Madeira River, and so great was their success that the Mura were scattered as far as the vicinity of Ega, hundreds of miles up the Amazon River (Bates 1863:168–9). Ayres de Casal (1817:237–8) reported that many of the victims of the Mundurucú, among them the Mura, were forced to seek the protection of the white settlements. The traders who employed the Mundurucú thus obtained a dual advantage; the hostiles were not only quelled but were driven into the arms of the labor-hungry whites.

Later references also attest to the alliance with the Brazilians. The Mundurucú were enlisted by colonial officials during the Revolution of the Cabañas in 1835–36, and one of their leaders in the war was given an honorary commission in the army in recognition of his services (Hartt 1885:132). Bates (1863:162) reports that in about 1853 the Mundurucú were instrumental in helping the Brazilians of the Madeira River to suppress the Arara Indians, and Tocantins (1877:140) states that shortly before his journey to the Mundurucú, the latter struck at a marauding group of Parintintin Indians at the behest of the Brazilians. Coudreau (1897:39–40) relates another case of mercenary service by the Mundurucú, whom he characterizes as a people "known for selling their military valor to whoever wants to pay for it." On this occasion, three traders of the Madeira River had been killed by hostile Indians, and their colleagues went to the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River and offered merchandise in return for a retaliatory expedition. The offer was accepted but [164] the sortie was a failure, for most of the 60 men and 40 women who took part in the raid died of illness before contacting the enemy.

175 721 Although mercenary service is one of the more interesting aspects of Mundurucú warfare during the 19th century, contemporary informants hardly thought it worthy of mention. They acknowledged their alliance with

577 different in kind, for the central theme
186 makes a sharp and conscious dichotomy between desirable behavior within Mundurucú society and toward the outside world. These opposite aspects of their dual ethic did not conflict but served to reinforce each other and are essential parts of an internally self-consistent view of humanity.

648 The Mundurucú first came to the
[131] attention of colonial Brazil as a tribe of dauntless warriors inhabiting the forests and savannah country east of the upper Tapajós River in the state of Pará. Their reputation for unmitigated ferocity and hostility towards other Indian groups and white settlers grew until 1795, when Brazil authorities established peace with them and diverted their energies into attacks on tribes still unpacified. They achieved considerable success in their service as mercenaries, and by the end of the nineteenth century, there were no hostile Indians within hundreds of miles of Mundurucú territory. Mundurucú
[726] warfare ended with the general pacification of the region in the beginning of this century, and they now pursue a
[105] peaceful existence, hunting, tilling their gardens, and collecting crude rubber for sale to white traders.

181 Mundurucú warfare represents one
577 side of a dually oriented system of ethical values. If one is to view them from this perspective, they appear, to use the descriptive terminology followed by Ruth Benedict, to be true Dionysians.[2] But the internal social order stressed harmony, cooperation, and

[2] Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1946). [p. 370(8)]

186 more, children were captured from
[547] other tribes and raised as Mundurucú
without prejudice. To adult "outland-
186 ers" of either sex, however, the Mun-
727 durucú gave no quarter; the enemy was
summarily dispatched and the head
severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

648 The establishment of peaceful and
177 symbiotic relations with the whites
726 added a further dimension to the
577 values connected with warfare, which
the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The
726 means used to attain the new ends were
traditional. Enemy villages were

726 burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

721 It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú. [626 554 157] A young man who made great claims of prowess was pushed to the fore during the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

181 The suppression of individual interests in favor of those of the collectivity 577 of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

754 The execution of sorcerers was the [689] only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

[p. 572(A)]

754 ple were loathe to even speak of it. Interestingly, the sorcerer was not thought to practice his art against particular individuals, but was believed to make and disperse evil spirits which might attack anyone with whom they came into contact. A general malevolence was said to pervade the sorcerer; he was simply "angry at everything."

754 Sorcery provides interesting insights
181 into the mechanisms by which the
577 Mundurucú ethic was maintained and the dangerous forces which they believed to be inherent in man and nature kept in check. While the practice of black magic may be considered as a covert channel for the latent aggressions of the sorcerer, only persons who had inherited shamanistic power were able to manipulate the evil forces. But the locus of sorcery and its punishment was social and not individual. Just as black magic was directed towards society, at large, so was the ultimate function of retribution of importance to the well-being of the social system. [724] The universe of the Mundurucú was permeated with potentially harmful supernatural beings and forces, which could be appeased and controlled with proper techniques, and the killing of the sorcerer was a personalized means towards this important end. Furthermore, the generalized anti-social tendencies attributed to the sorcerer were a projection of similar suppressed emotions carried by the population. The destruction of the practitioner of black magic was effectively the destruction of centrifugal tendencies within the society.

181
577 Internal harmony within the house-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

IV. CEREMONIALISM

Contemporary Ceremonialism

There exists a deep and nostalgic awareness among the older Mundurucú that they are witnessing the disappearance of their way of life. It is felt acutely that most of the wise and learned men of the tribe are dead and that the remaining few will die within the near future. Only six traditional savannah villages remain and their populations are diminishing steadily. Those Mundurucú who have migrated to the banks of rivers to escape the problems of village life or to have easier access to their rubber avenues are rapidly losing the native culture. The young men who remain in the interior villages tend to be more conservative than the latter but still fail to transmit effectively even the attenuated body of tradition that they have learned. Although this dilemma is known and deplored by the Mundurucú, they view the process with considerable fatalism. Little attempt is made to reinstate that which has lapsed for they view this deterioration as progressive and irreversible; they fully expect to lose the balance of their culture. 178

This realistic appraisal of the precarious position of Mundurucú culture and society is in part the result of the disappearance of some of those ritual aspects of culture that were the expression of its vitality and were important to its integration. These aspects were, in turn, undermined by those modifications in the structure of the culture that have been taking place since the nineteenth century.

One of the integrative bases of Mundurucú society—warfare—ended in the early part of this century as a result of the deep involvement of the Mundurucú in rubber production. The end of warfare and head-hunting concluded a series of ceremonies that centered about the trophy head and the persons of the successful warriors. The status of the warrior, the power of Mundurucú arms, and the supernatural significance of the trophy head were, accordingly, no longer celebrated. These were very real values in the nineteenth century and are still considered by the Mundurucú themselves to be the hallmark of traditional Mundurucú culture. 178 726 796

Another series of rites that were held for the spirit mothers of the game has also fallen into disuse. No clear and obvious reason, such as the end of warfare, can be offered for the cessation of these ceremonies. Informants claim that today they lack a sufficient number of powerful shamans to perform the rites effectively. In a sense, this is true. 178 224 796

Two different ceremonies, named *Arsiarsi* and *Dajeorsperip*, were held for the mothers of the game. The former was a lengthy festival that lasted throughout the rainy season; the latter was much like the *Arsiarsi* in form and function but was compressed into a ten-day period. According to our closest possible calculations, the *Arsiarsi* could not have been celebrated since 1930 and must have lapsed during the period when a large part of the Mundurucú population moved to the Cururú River. Communication between the traditional villages

727 According to the same informant, some warriors from this village had returned from a war a few days previously, bringing back with them the mummified heads of two of their enemies, necklaces of human teeth, and other trophies.

As it turned out, I did not regret my choice, for I was well received in Necodemos and I encountered there, more vivid [773] than anywhere else, the legend of Mundurucu beginnings which considers this very maleca or village the cradle of the human race.

133 I continued up the Cadereri, strange river! Every day we had to carry bodily our light boat over sand bars. Here was confirmed an opinion I had already formed, namely, that the Cadereri, as well as the Araguaia, Juruena, Mamoré, and other upper branches of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, such as the Tocantins, the Tapajoz, the Madeira and others, would dry up completely during the summer months, baring their channels, were it not for the falls of the middle course which serve to dam up the violent flow of the stream. The average gradient on the middle course of these great Amazon tributaries, which descend from the central plateau, is steeper than necessary to maintain a normal flow of water. [76]

63 Finally, on the morning of the sixth day as calculated by [774] the Indian, we came upon a tree thrown across the river in the form of a bridge. On the bank stood a crude hut. There was no one around. We blew a horn to call out the owner of the hut, who was probably out hunting in the nearby woods. As no one appeared, we continued our journey. I left behind some trifling gifts to mark the passage of a friendly person.

I thought it best to behave in this fashion, remembering [775] that Lieutenant Captain Soares Pinto had been attacked and killed by the savages for having destroyed some bridges which they had laid across the river. It is impossible to proceed upriver without destroying the bridges, and it is not always feasible to replace them.

For this reason, whenever I found myself unable to replace one in the same spot -- and on that day we encountered four more bridges -- I left gifts to make up in some degree for the damage I had caused the savages. At the end of the day the river became totally impassable: we could not carry the canoe any further. Happily, at this difficult moment we found another bridge over 200 the river and a hut upon the bank. We blew our horn persistently.

[i.e., Necodemos - Analyst]

727

IV

727 A Mundurucu makes me a present of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl, and tells me how and why he killed her.

[431] One of these barbarians, who was twenty-five or thirty years old, outgoing and bold, and a voluble talker, make me a present on the following day of the mummified head of a Parintintin girl.[1] This head, which is now to be found in the National Museum [Rio de Janeiro], retains its abundant hair, which is partly shaved in front as though with a razor. The forehead thus appears to be prolonged nearly to the middle of the skull; in the center of this artificial forehead stands a circular cluster of black hair. This head, which was ornamented with [84] brilliantly colored feathers, must have belonged to a girl fashionable in her own tribe.

[728] Here I must point out that the Mundurucu often make war on enemy heathens for the purpose of capturing women and children rather than killing them. They do kill the men, whose heads they preserve as trophies. When preparing for these forays, they frankly say: "I am going because I need a woman to marry, or a little one to be my wife's child."

A Mundurucu warrior would therefore be greatly concerned to capture rather than to kill a girl like the one whose head was offered me.

Indeed, the barbarian told me that he had killed her by mistake, failing in the heat of battle to discern her sex. She was running out of the hut which he and his companions had taken at dawn by surprise, and he had thrown himself upon her, piercing her through the back with his powerful spear. He felt sorry when he found that she was a woman, and a young one at that. But nevertheless he cut off her head, removing the brain, and smoked it over a green wood fire until it became mummified.

[729] It was strange to witness the extreme tenderness the barbarian bestowed on this enemy head. A deadly hatred has ruled for many years between the Mundurucu and Parintintin tribes, and wars of extermination take place between them.

[See p. 9, cat. 116, - Rosebud]

727 Yet this Mundurucu had gone nearly mad over the Parintintin head. He would not part with it for an instant. When the time came for me to leave Necodemos, as I shall relate below, he and twelve other Indians escorted me on my eight-day journey through the forest to the headwaters of the Cadereri. In the course of this trip, when evening came and we had to stop for the night, the Indian would thrust into the ground next to his hammock a staff which he carried expressly [85] for this purpose, and on which he would hang the head, as if on a clothes-rack, covering it carefully with a cloth I had given him.

At dawn, his first glance was for the head: he would place it in his lap, run his fingers through its long hair, and caress it as if it were a beloved daughter.

He only handed me this relic at the last moment, when I had already embarked for my descent of the Cadereri, and then he still said: "But I wanted it for myself!" I must say I had made him a present of a double-barrelled shotgun, some gunpowder, shot-lead, and other objects. Nevertheless, his gaze followed us until our canoe had vanished down the river.

In Necodemos there was yet another mummified head. It had been the head of a Parintintin warrior. The Mundurucu who owned it, already quite old, did not wish to show it to me and would not talk about it: I did not press the issue. Some of the Mundurucu wore necklaces made from the teeth of enemies they had killed.

I saw children said by my interpreter to be captives taken in the last war. The villagers, however, did not even mention the subject; perhaps they feared that we should want to take their prisoners from them.

V

Legend of Mundurucu beginnings. -- Beliefs and traditions. -- Appearance of "Caru-Sacaebe." -- Ingratitude of the inhabitants of Acupari -- Punishment. -- Necodemos as the cradle of the human race.

It seemed to me that I could distinguish traces of an ancient civilization among these strange people. The Mundurucu

VII

Early notices of the Mundurucu -- Historical records

The Mundurucu villages are located in the valley of the mighty Tapajoz, which was discovered only 130 years ago, in 1748, when the miner João de Sousa de Azevedo traveled down the river from Mato-Grosso to Pará, carrying sixty-four drams of gold extracted from one of its tributaries which he named the Rio das Três Barras. [91]

In his Corographia Brasilica of 1817, Ayres de Cazal divided the province of Pará into four large districts, bounded naturally by the four great tributaries of the Amazon, the Tocantins, the Xingu, the Tapajoz, and the Madeira. For obvious reasons of Mundurucu preponderance in the area, he gave the name of Mundurucania to the district bounded in the east by the Tapajoz, in the west by the Madeira, in the north by the Amazon and in the south by the Juruena. In describing Mundurucania, this author says that with the exception of a few stretches along the banks of the rivers which bound it, the district was completely dominated by various savage nations, the best known being the Juma, the Maué, the Pama, the Parintintin, the Mura, the Andirá, the Arara, and the Mundurucu after whom the country was named.

"The Mundurucu," Ayres de Cazal goes on to say, "who have the custom of dyeing their bodies black with genipap, are numerous, tall, warlike, and feared by all the other nations, who give them the name of Pai-quicé, which means 'head-cutter,' owing to their custom of chopping off the head of any foe who falls into their hands; and they know how to embalm it so as to preserve for many years the appearance it had on being cut.

"They adorn their crude and wretched huts with these horrid trophies. The man who can exhibit ten of them is qualified to be elected chief of the band. They know the virtues of various plants, which they use in curing certain dangerous ailments.

"Nearly all Mundurucu bands are today our allies, and some are already christianized.

[3] the plains] are not located in the district which Ayres de Cazal named Mundurucania. They stand in the territory which the geographer called Tapajonia, between the Tapajoz and the Xingu and close to the sources of the eastern tributaries of the Tapajoz, namely the Cadereri, Cabetutum and Cururu rivers, the Rio das Tropas (which the Mundurucu call Pitunzi) and the Rio do Crepuri.

In the course of my journey I encountered a great many small streams that were sources of the Cadereri and tributaries of the Tapajoz.

Had I proceeded in the same direction beyond Necodemos a few days longer, I would undoubtedly have come upon the sources of the tributaries of the Xingu.

IX

Wars of the Mundurucu -- waging procedure -- End of these wars.

727 547 We have already noted that the wars of these barbarians are waged with the sole aim of capturing young women and children of both sexes. Within the tribe, however, the captives are treated no differently than native Mundurucu. They are painted with the same arabesques of indelible dyes; the woman immediately gets a husband, and the child finds an adoptive father who is almost invariably the same Indian who captured him. When preparations are made for one of these forays, the warrior's sister, his mother, or some other relative places an order for a child, saying: "Bring me a boy to be my son."

[649] The Mundurucu's chief victims are the Parintintin; in addition to a desire for captives, the deadly hatred [94] which has long ruled between the two tribes is another motive for frequent attacks.

721 Whenever it becomes known that a band of Parintintin have appeared somewhere, the Mundurucu immediately set off after them. To my knowledge, however, this inveterate hatred is not directed toward other tribes. Among the Mundurucu there runs a

721 tale, probably inaccurate, that whenever one of them is captured by the Parintintin he is devoured alive by the mouthful, "as if they were jaguars and we were deer."

Inaccurate or not, this tale serves to fire even more the Mundurucu desire for vengeance.

726 Those wars to which we have referred are usually mere forays.

When summer comes, a number of Mundurucu get together, make ready their bows, arrows, horns and provisions, and then set off.

Whenever possible, each warrior is accompanied by his wife or by a sister. The role of this sutler, who sometimes is no older than fifteen or sixteen, consists of slinging the warrior's hammock on a tree, preparing his chestnuts, carrying the load, and helping to prepare the enemy head and to bring in the captives; in short, she does whatever is needed to leave him entirely free for the attack.

They go hunting leisurely along the way, and these raids last for weeks and even months. At night they all gather and camp together.

If they find some trail in the depths of the woods, or some other sign pointing to the passage of a human being, they study it with rare prudence and subtlety. If they spy a hut or a village, they make a reconnaissance [95] in the greatest possible silence; and they walk so adroitly that not even the dry leaf they crush underfoot can be heard. It is as though they walked on a thick rug. They surround the hut and silently wait for dawn. Then they set it ablaze with a long staff, its end covered with flaming pitch, and post themselves in ambush near the door.

Suddenly awakened, the besieged occupants immediately let out the terrible cry, "Mundurucu!"

Those confused men who attempt to break through the ring of besiegers are immediately pierced with enormous spears.

The children, aware that they are at the mercy of the enemy, give themselves up.

The women nearly always offer resistance, put up a fight, and are made prisoners only by sheer force.

727 And then the Mundurucu retreat on the double. The enemy heads are cut off and hastily prepared. They travel day and night

727 when they feel or fear they are being pursued. At night they
[373] guide themselves with torches made with fragments of a resinous wood which they call ouichique-taque, and which the Indians of the Lower Tapajoz know by the name of pau candeia [(Port.) "lamp wood"]. This wood, when dry, catches fire easily; it blazes brightly when carried on the run.

726 Almost invariably these expeditions last so long that the
[262] Indians run out of provisions and subsist on chestnuts rather than manioc flour and sweet potatoes. They suffer long privations; some of them return thin.

It is maintained that the Mundurucu make these forays every year and that they always bring captives.

A very old Indian woman, probably a native of the interesting Tapajoz tribe which gave the river its name and which is now extinct, told me that more than once during her youth [96] the Mundurucu had come down the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajoz, striking cruelly at the many malocas then extent, cutting enemy heads, and spreading boundless terror throughout the region.

A well-verified tradition also has it that these barbarians once reached the mouth of the Tapajoz, and besieged the fort built by the Portuguese in the Christian Tapajoz village which is now the site of the flourishing city of Santarém.

X

Facts about some native tribes whom the Mundurucu fight and who wander through the valley of the Upper Xingu and toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

648 The Mundurucu say that they still find many heathen bands
in the extensive regions they roam, and that towards the east there
[323] runs a broad and mighty river, full of waterfalls, which they call Caruntunzi and the banks of which are inhabited by many pagans.

This must be the Upper Xingu, which is indeed one of the major tributaries of the Amazon and one of those which run closest to the capital of Pará. Its upper course, however, is still entirely unknown.

Indians in the River Regions of Tapajôz

101 [385] There are still more tribes in the area between the Tapajôz
726 and Madeira, an area still today almost inaccessible, but of these tribes we have hardly any other information than that they are enemies of the Mundurucu, by whom they are being persecuted to the point of extinction. The same is true of the Jumas, Parentintins, and the Araras who live near the sources of the Rio Mauhe and from there westward. Probably to escape this persecution the Jumas and the Arâras, the latter distinguished by their graceful feather finery, have moved to the parish of S. Antonio de Araretama (Borba) on the eastern bank of the Madeira, 25 legoas above the river mouth. And the Parintintins, described as a very industrious, [386] accomplished tribe live partly in the village of Jatapûon, on the left bank of the river of the same name. Whether this tribe is to be considered identical with the so-called Coroados, "the Shorn," who are also supposed to be living in the Tapajôz is uncertain. Certain is, however, that
● [727] the skulls of their enemies, which the Mundrucûs preserve, show a shorn pate. According to other reports the Parintintins are said to have the inside of their fore arms tattooed at the wrist and to be cannibals. Castelnau [Expédition dans les parties centrales de l'Amérique du Sud] names them among the tribes still at war with the Brasilians (III, 307). *

*Earlier the following were mentioned [as living] on the Arinos and Juruena: the Apaunuarias, Marixitâs, Apicuricûs, Muquiriâs, Ereruas. No trace is left of these, but there is a group known as the Anyurias and another called the Apecuarias. Hyspodiaei are sometimes seen among the Indians of the Tapajûz. Revista trimensal 1847. Ser. II Tom. 2, p. 5. 96.

000 All these tribes have little claim to our attention and I shall leave undecided whether those mentioned first (a - h) are fragments of the Apiacas and Mundrucus who are dominant here or whether they have

171 But they
881 do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Maues. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

244 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[161] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[439] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Würzschilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajoz now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
361 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
● [727] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from motumun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the thief [Mitnchmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

726 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and [534 they are guarded by patrols who signal with the toré (beni), a rasping 209] cane trumpet, or with the kiohoa, a whistle. With this instrument the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the ●727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger [578 women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy 846 which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent
462 of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were
727 taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also
[301] be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and
[736] her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

266 Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

846 **Birth and naming.**—According to Martius, the father keeps to his
553 hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children
852 reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

881 **Puberty and marriage.**—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

584 A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

●727
301

[facing p. 282]

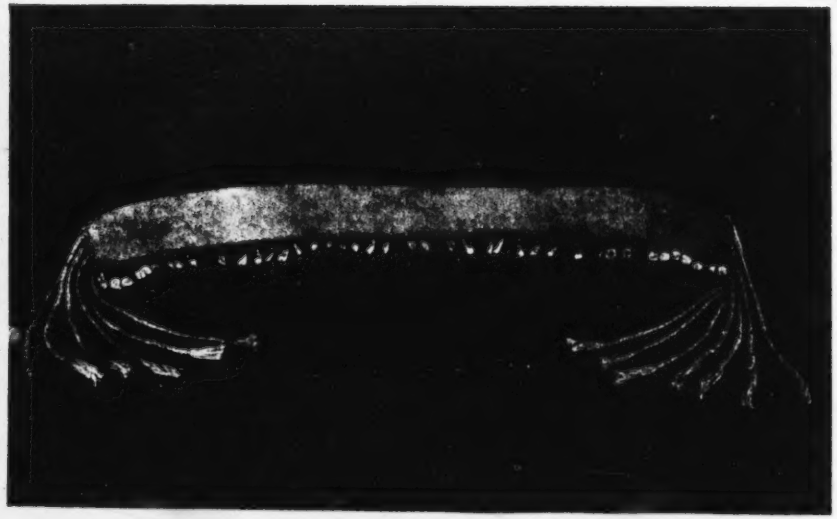


PLATE 23.—**Mundurucú artifacts.** *Left:* Prepared human head with animal teeth set in eye sockets and a suspension cord hanging from the mouth. (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico de la Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Buenos Aires.) *Right:* Belt of human teeth, woven by widow of a warrior killed in combat. (Courtesy Museu Paraense Emilio Goeldi, Belém.)

721 the leadership of the party, but the other chiefs were influential, also.

726 The warriors who accepted the invitation then busied themselves in making an enormous number of arrows, bows, and fresh bow strings. The warrior usually was accompanied by his wife or a female relative who carried hammocks and utensils, and with the other accompanying women, prepared food. The warrior carried only his arms and confined himself to hunting and scouting. The party moved slowly as it was necessary to procure subsistence and to scout the territory ahead. When the enemy village was neared, a temporary shelter was made in the forest and the women left there. The men then proceeded under cover of darkness to surround the village. At the first signs of dawn the warriors were already assembled in the forest on the village perimeter and the chief gave the signal to attack. The signal was sounded by two muchacha on their special war trumpets. Arrows, the points of which had been coated with resin, were ignited and launched into the roofs of the houses, and the warriors charged into the village making as much noise as possible to confuse and terrify the inhabitants. As the latter ran from their houses and attempted to escape they were seized by the Mundurucú.

727 Men and women were slain and decapitated while the children were taken captive. Loot was confined to a small amount of arms and ornaments that had more trophy value than anything else. Surprise was the major element in the attack and the Mundurucú always retired before the enemy had the opportunity to regroup and inflict losses on them. They retreated rapidly

727 to their temporary shelters to pick up the women and their belongings and proceeded on a forced march until safety was reached, usually after a large river had been put between them and the enemy. If any of their own number was killed or too seriously wounded to keep up with the party, the member of the opposite moiety who had the privilege of burying him stopped long enough to cut off the upper arm of the fallen one, even if he was still alive. Needless to say, death came quickly to the wounded subjected to this operation. The arm bones were brought back to the village flayed of their flesh and after a suitable mourning period were buried.

The trophy heads were prepared en route. The retreating party stopped long enough to preserve the head by cleaning out the brains, boiling it slightly, and drying it near a fire. This process was repeated about three or four times. The head was not shrunken.

The return of the war party to their villages was an occasion of great rejoicing for those who remained behind, but one of sadness for the close relatives of the fallen. The warriors announced their return by blasts on [534] a type of trumpet called the uhua and were met by the older boys of the village. The captive children were turned over to the boys to be guarded and the warriors triumphantly entered the village. The children were adopted by their captors, tattooed, and eventually became Mundurucú warriors and wives, themselves. According to informants, those people taken as captives were given full status within the tribe

727 and were so successfully incorporated that there were never any cases of defection, even in wars upon their native villages.

554 784 727 The greatest honor went to the men who had taken heads. They were referred to as dajeboishi, or, literally translated, "mother of the game." Such was their distinction that they were usually addressed by the short form title ajeboi. Proscriptions were relatively rare in Mundurucú culture, but a very elaborate series of taboos was observed by the trophy head owner and his wife. For a period of three years after his return he was not allowed intercourse with his wife, and he was not even supposed to look at other women. He spoke to the men only when necessary and avoided familiar contact with them. He didnot hunt, but went into the forest at a distance from the hunting party and after the first kill retired to the village. His presence brought the [789] magical charm of the head into the forest and made the animals fall an easy prey to the arrows of the hunters. The Mundurucú still say that in the days when the men's house had enemy heads in it there was a lot more food in the village.

During this period, certain taboos were observed by the wife of the trophy head owner. She did no household work, and she could not bathe in the stream. In general, she held herself aloof from the other women. She was aided 554 727 at all times by a woman of the other moiety who acted as a servant to her. During three successive winters, the trophy

554 head owner was responsible for holding ceremonies center-
727 ing around the enemy heads. These ceremonies were participated in by people from many villages. After a successful expedition, a number of villages might hold these ceremonies,
E74 thus involving a great deal of intervillage visiting. Game, beijú, and non-alcoholic vegetable and fruit drinks were amassed to feed the visitors. In the first ceremony of the cycle the trophy head was decorated by stringing cords through the mouth and out of the nostrils via a hole in the roof of the mouth, attaching brightly colored feathers to the ears, and affixing paca teeth over the eye sockets. On the second occasion, the skin was taken from the skull and it was hung in a corner of the men's house, and on the third and last, the teeth of the trophy head, which had been removed immediately after the attack, were strung on a belt of woven cotton. A great dance was then held by the Dar
E74 shi'anyen (literally, "mothers of the arrow"), a singing society to which most of the Mundurucú males belonged. After this ceremony, the trophy head owner and his wife resumed their normal lives.

554 The highest honor achievable for a Mundurucú man was to become a muchacha, or one of the society of learned and distinguished warriors. All members of this society had at one time taken a head and all were founts of Mundurucú learning, especially of the all-important songs. The greatest chiefs and war leaders were members and such membership did much to enhance the chief's prestige. Below the status of the muchacha was that of the trophy head owner (dajeboishi).

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1831:1313) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness. 708 726 756

No warfare rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments abroad to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew ant-eater hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow shaft, were ignited and loosed at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support. 726 [825] [411] 727

The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in rigor mortis. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the waiting warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran [202]

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return
765 of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order
[616] for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the
[578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society,
554 the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses
784 connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was
554 referred to as *Dajeboiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary,"
[609] an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's
[825] power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the headhunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit
224 protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiši

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores.

The Dajeboiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[3]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was secondary. 175 721

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the migrant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers. [439]

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own. 721 727 [842]

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the taking of a trophy head. The Dajeboili was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means. 555 701

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the desire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that 721

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

721 the individual who demonstrates proficiency in the attainment of a socially desirable goal will himself be valued and that this will motivate him to appropriate action, but this still does not answer the question of why the goal and the accompanying activity is valued. Newcomb (1950:329) has stated the same case with cogency in regard to Plains warfare.

727 The trophy head was prized as a symbol of Mundurucú prowess and of its owner's status, but it was also sought because it was the center of a number 782 of magico-religious observances. The trophy was thought to be pleasing to [825] the spirit protectors of the game animals because it had inherent power, contingent upon the proper observance of connected ritual acts. The possession of a trophy head thus resulted in greater economic abundance, and in this sense it served the same general purpose as does the Jivaro *tsantsa*. However, this aspect of the trophy quest does not cast much light upon Mundurucú headhunting, for alternate ways of pleasing the spirits were known and practiced. The ceremonial and shamanistic techniques of propitiating the spirit protectors of game animals were complex both in practice and in ideational content. In contrast, the linkage of the trophy head and the spirits was vague and ephemeral; it is probable that headhunting developed subsequent to the rites connected with the animal spirits and had become only loosely integrated with them. It is to be expected that any important social activity will become value and belief cathected in this manner, but it would be erroneous to proceed to explain the activity by its supporting ideology.

721 Finally, it should be considered that the Mundurucú looked upon fighting as a source of sport and excitement. The enemy was looked upon as game to be hunted, and the Mundurucú still speak of the pariwat in the same terms that they reserve for peccary and tapir. War was a relief from boredom, but it is not surprising that peace would be boring to people who consider themselves warriors. One might ask why they did not relieve boredom in log racing as do some groups, or in drinking bouts as did many of their neighbors. In short, can we not look upon activity and play drives as being inherent within the species and proceed from that vantage to explain the particular way they are manifested in particular cultures?

FUNCTIONS OF MUNDURUCÚ WARFARE

721 The manifest goals of warfare provide us with an understanding of the incentives that motivated the Mundurucú warrior. The religious and sportive 182 aspects of warfare were found to be considerably more ephemeral than were the economic and prestige goals involved, but even the latter two depended upon the existence of a social organization that allowed and encouraged intensive military activity by its very nature. Moreover, the most important single motivation to hostility was a generalized aggressiveness that recognized no specific aims, and this factor yields the most important single clue to an understanding of Mundurucú warfare. If specific goals do not fully explain the extent and intensity of the pattern, and if the pressure of external circumstances did not force battle, then the main dynamics of warfare must be sought

186 more, children were captured from
[591] other tribes and raised as Mundurucú
without prejudice. To adult "outland-
186 ers" of either sex, however, the Mun-
727 durucú gave no quarter; the enemy was
summarily dispatched and the head
severed and taken as a trophy.

The taking of the trophy head was not an end in itself, although it did serve to bring glory to the successful warrior. The enemy head became the subject of a series of ceremonies and ritualistic observances which had as their object the furtherance of the material well-being of all the "people." Beyond this, the Mundurucú derived great pride from their collective strength, and, even today, the older men speak of their warrior days with animation and no little nostalgia.

648 The establishment of peaceful and
177 symbiotic relations with the whites
726 added a further dimension to the
577 values connected with warfare, which
the Mundurucú now pursued as paid allies of the Brazilians. Identification with the cause of the whites and attraction to the material delights of Western culture gave the Mundurucú a "civilizing" mission. They fought only against the "outlanders of the forest," the "savage" Indians, and they construed their role to be one of forceful pacification of these recalcitrants. This added goal provided a rationale for the acceptance of the white man and his culture and served to smooth relations between the two groups during the acculturative process. The
726 means used to attain the new ends were
traditional. Enemy villages were

part of its trip, the soul travels with the costá monkey. This animal traverses one section of its passage by bending an assaí palm over, grabbing its branches, and then letting it fling him into the foliage of another tree as it springs back. If the soul is not careful, it falls to the ground, killing its sick owner. The only dangerous part of the journeys with various species of fish, except for the invariably fatal end of the trip, is with the black piranha, which tries to eat the soul. 774

The concept of soul loss, like the belief in spirit mothers of game animals with which it is associated, is widespread among both Indian and rural Brazilian inhabitants of the Amazon region. Especially interesting because of its similarity to the Mundurucú belief is Wagley's report that the Brazilian population of the community of Ita believes that the mãe de bicho punishes humans by stealing their "shadows."[20]

Although the departure of the soul from a living body is generally an occasion of great danger, there are some circumstances under which it is considered desirable and beneficial. The souls of shamans frequently travel abroad and are able to visit the underworlds of the *kakeriwet* and the afterworlds of the Mundurucú. Shamans visit the afterworld of the game, (where they serve as shamans to the animals), and that of the trumpets, but they do not visit the Land of the *Furupori*. The wounded warrior was believed to acquire temporary shamanistic powers during the period of his incapacity, and his soul wandered abroad while he lay in his hammock and dreamed of its experiences. These travels were considered desirable, and care was taken to remove the penis sheath of the warrior to allow him to dream. The Mundurucú were unable to explain why the penis sheath inhibited dreams and the wandering of the soul. 774 756 774 727

The souls of sleeping people sometimes travel harmlessly abroad, and dreams are believed to be the experiences of the soul while away from the body. Dreams are not considered visions or prognostications of future events, but they are thought to be good or bad omens. Thus, if a man dreams of some frightening experience, he will not leave the village for a few days for fear of some unknown danger. 787 774

Certain people are able to derive knowledge from their dreams. These people, known as *chesereteabitchanyen* (those who know how to explain dreams), derive their power through medication administered to them as children. The souls of Mundurucú of times long past appear to them in dreams and teach them certain songs that are sung during ceremonies. Significantly, the songs taught to dreamers are not new or forgotten ones, but songs that are quite actively present in Mundurucú culture and known by other dreamers. 787

All animals have souls, which return to the afterworld of the game and become transformed into people upon the death of the animal. Fish are also thought to have souls, but they are accorded little importance in Mundurucú thought. Although individual fish and animals have souls, only species of domesticated plants have souls. Dogs, too, are thought to have souls, but the canine soul returns to the Land of the Dogs upon the death of its body. Also, dogs are not considered to be 774 825

[20] Wagley, 1953, p. 235.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dancers clothed in cloaks of buritĩ leaf, who danced from house to house, playing in each. Another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat. 796 881 852 [304] [616]

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing signalized full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Duparip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of pecking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group. 304 796 884

Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundurucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and returned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad. 796 727

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.* No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundurucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain clans of the comple- 766 727 616

* Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 mentary moiety have the privilege (or pleasure, as some informants phrased it)
616 of burying the dead of the other moiety, if only symbolically. For this purpose,
766 the humerus of the dead Mundurucú was cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone after the arm was boiled and allowed to dry in the sun. Indicative of the symbolic importance attached to the moieties' prerogative of burying each other's dead was the practice of amputating the humerus of a wounded but still living warrior who was unable to continue the return journey. Furthermore, when the body was lost or a vengeance party was in hot pursuit and such Draconian measures were impossible, a symbolic arm bone was made out of a short piece of arrow cane and duly mourned, treasured, and buried.

The grisly operation of taking the humerus of the fallen warrior was per-
727 formed by a member of the latter's *iboiwatitit*, or those clans of the opposite moiety
766 that held the special burial right over the deceased's clan. This man brought the bone back to his village and guarded it carefully, sleeping with it in his arms "as if it were a baby." After an unspecified period, the man's mourners and many members of his *iboiwatitit* gathered to bury the bone in the floor of its custodian's house.

Both male and female kinsmen of the slain warrior were expected to weep
765 loudly upon hearing news of his death. The patterned wailing of the men was of short duration, but that of the women was expected to last for several months.
[302] Also, women, as in the event of the death of any relative, had their hair cropped close to the scalp and were prohibited from wearing any body ornamentation. The latter restriction applied also to men, but their hair was not cut. The cutting of the woman's hair was always done by a male member of her *iboiwatitit*.

The actual cycle of trophy-head ceremonies began shortly after the return of
727 the war party with an observance known as *Inyenborotaptam*, or Decorating the
796 Ears. This ceremony and those celebrated in the two succeeding rainy seasons were held under the leadership of the taker (or takers) of the trophy head, who was thereafter honored by the title of *Dajeboiši*, or Mother of the Peccary. Food was amassed by the host village under his direction, and invitations were issued to other villages. The purpose of this phase of the trophy-head ceremony was to decorate the head. Implicitly, its function was to inaugurate the head and its owner into the status that both would occupy until the conclusion of the cycle.

The preparation of the trophy head began during the return march from the enemy village. First the brains were extracted with the wide bamboo point of a war arrow, which was inserted into the head through the foramen magnum. The teeth were then knocked out and carefully stored away, and the head was lightly boiled and dried near the fire. This process made the skin dry and parchment-like and effectively preserved it. Finally a woven cord was inserted in the mouth and led out through the nostril by a hole pierced in the hard palate, leaving the tasseled ends of the cord dangling from the mouth and nostril. At a later time, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth affixed across either eye.

The Mundurucú considered the crowning glory of a trophy head to be the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

feather pendants that were suspended from either ear, the attachment of which was the central purpose of the *Inyenborotaptam*. Feathers from five species of birds were used in the ornamentation, and each type of feather could be attached only by the *Kiriší*, *Akai*, *Chunyún*, and *Parawá* clans, and those of the mutúm by the *Witúm* clan. The *Karú* clan and subclan, the *Sau* subclan, and the *Warú* clan and subclan used the feathers of the red macaw; the *Kabá* clan attached parrot feathers; and the *Borón* clan contributed those of the gavião tawató. Those clans sharing the same feathers were always linked within the same phratry, and the appropriate bird species was usually an eponymous clan spirit of at least one of the groups. 796 727 [615]

The feather pendants could be no longer than the hair on the trophy head. For this reason, long-haired victims were especially prized and a woman's head was highly valued, although it was thought more valorous to kill an enemy warrior.

The sponsorship of these ceremonies was not the only duty of the taker of the trophy head. The social and religious role of the *Dajeboiši* had certain nonceremonial aspects that were, nonetheless, part of the larger ritual complex of warfare and head-hunting. Upon his return to the home village, the successful warrior assumed an enhanced status that endowed his person with an almost sacred aura and isolated him from normal relations with his fellow Mundurucú. Sexuality was considered especially dangerous both to the *Dajeboiši* and to his wife. They were enjoined against indulging in sexual intercourse with each other or with anyone else throughout the ceremonial period. The *Dajeboiši* could lose his power and fall into the previously discussed state of bad luck merely by looking at a *yapõ*, or wanton woman, and for this reason he always bathed very early to avoid meeting one on the path to the stream. Moreover, he was expected to have minimal contact with or sight of women other than his wife. Even she posed a threat to his special status, and they ate sitting back to back. 796 727 834 554

The *Dajeboiši* was expected to maintain a decorous and restrained attitude at all times. He spent much of his time lying in his hammock and gazing upward to avoid the contaminating sight of men who had recently had coitus. He could talk to the other men, but only on serious topics; trivial conversation and joking were considered inappropriate to his sacrosanct position. Although he slept in the men's house, the *Dajeboiši* did not partake of the communal meals there and ate only with his wife. But he was expected to be generous toward the other men and to keep tobacco under his hammock at all times for their use.

In addition to his ceremonial role, the *Dajeboiši* had an important function in the religious aspect of the hunting economy. His person and the trophy were thought pleasing to the Mother of the Game, and he brought the head into the forest whenever a hunting party embarked. The *Dajeboiši* did not, however, hunt nor did he accompany the other men. His mere proximity was sufficient to insure a good kill, and after two animals were slain he returned to the village. It was believed that if he were to remain longer in the forest he might step in the blood of a game animal and thereby lose the charm of the head.

The wife of the *Dajeboiši* occupied a delicate status also. Like her husband, she

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 had to exercise great care in her relations with others lest she look at a person
●727 who had recently had sexual relations. On days when hunting parties left for the
554 forest she was supposed to remain in her hammock until late in the morning, for
834 if she arose and moved about the game would run away. She was not allowed to
[515] bathe in the stream with the other women but washed her body from vessels of water brought to her house. Nor was the wife of the *Dajeboiši* supposed to work; a young woman from her *iboiwatitit* was chosen to draw water and wood for her and to perform household chores. Considerable authority over the other women was exercised by the *Dajeboiši*'s wife, and she felt free to send the women of the village to work in the garden or perform whatever services she desired.

The *Dajeboiši* and his wife were, according to some informants, obliged to maintain this regimen during the more than two years between the return of the war party and the final phase of the ceremonial cycle. Others thought that the prohibitions were not continually in force during this long period, but agreed that some restrictions were observed until the conclusion of the final ritual.

With the advent of the second rainy season after the taking of the trophy head,
796 the *Dajeboiši* again issued invitations to the people of other villages, and all re-
727 united for feasting. This phase of the ceremony is known as *Yašegon*, or Stripping the Skin from the Head. As the name indicates, the trophy head was skinned, its ornaments were removed, and the bare skull was then hung in a corner of the men's house.

Before the head was boiled and skinned, it was thrown on the ground and a group of men called "Vultures" batted it back and forth with sticks in imitation of the vulture's practice of tossing strips of carrion with its beak. The Vultures included all the bald men of the village and certain others who were thought to be really bald, although ordinary vision showed them to have hair on their heads. Previous to these proceedings, a number of old men, all of whom had at one time taken an enemy head, took the trophy head and tapped its top. If powder or any other matter fell from it, they announced that the *Dajeboiši* had broken an obligation. This was generally interpreted by all to mean that he had had sexual relations. In such a case his status terminated and no further observances were held, since the head had lost its power. If the test proved the owner of the head had kept his faith, the ceremony could continue.

The rites held during the first two rainy seasons were simple, and activities included only the decoration of the head during the first rainy season, its skinning during the second, and feasting on both occasions. The third winter, however, was the climax of the cycle, and festivities were lengthier and much more elaborate. The final phase of the ceremony was called *Taimetorōm*, or Hanging the Teeth, for on this occasion the teeth extracted from the trophy head were strung on a woven cotton belt. These belts were not worn, but were carefully guarded in a basket kept in the warrior's house.

But the most important ritual of the third rainy season was the all-night songfest of the *Darekši*, or Mothers of the Bow. The *Darekši* was a men's society; it was by no means exclusive in membership for all adult Mundurucú males belonged to

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajeboiši* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Mundurucú villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajeboiši*. Come, drink *werú* and *mörí*. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Mundurucú style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting.

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Muchacha*[4] society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajeboiši* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the *pem*, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other moiety. The captor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (i.e., during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Darekši* society returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Darekši* enter the village would be killed during the next war.

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajeboiši*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with beijú (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and beijú and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten.

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vultures had to eat apart from the other *Darekši*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he died. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the yellowing sickness, or *ujewaiï*. To prevent this a shaman examined the

[4] The identity of this term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 contents of each bowl to ascertain whether a ritually impure person had defiled
727 the food.

After partaking of the ceremonial feast, the men went to the men's house, across the front of which they lined up in a single row with the boys behind. They sang songs celebrating warfare and their arms until dawn, at which time the ceremony ended and the guests returned to their villages. At the conclusion of the
[554] rite, the *Dajeboiši* resumed his normal life. His person and the trophy head no longer exercised their power, but he retained the title and distinction for life.

This account suggests some of the functions of the ritual complex in relation to the practice of warfare and to the social structure, in general. First, the high status accorded the *Dajeboiši* acted to give personal incentive to individual warriors and thus contributed to more effective military action. The taker of the trophy head was further motivated, for the power possessed by him and the head increased the yield of the hunt. The concept of this magical influence also provided an additional group motivation and rationale for warfare and served to root it more firmly in Mundurucú beliefs. The emphasis on warfare was further heightened through the celebration of Mundurucú prowess by the *Darekši;* and this phase of the ritual provided a means of indoctrinating the young into the militarism in which they would one day take part.

The ritual complex was also related to aspects of Mundurucú culture other than warfare. The burial of the humerus of the warrior slain in battle was the most important occasion for the expression of intermoiety ritual hostility. And the attachment of feather pendants to the ears of the trophy head was one of the few remaining corporate functions of the fragmented clans. Finally, and this is true of all the important intervillage ceremonies, the warfare rites served to integrate the populations of the several Mundurucú villages and to maintain bonds of association among scattered fellow clansmen.

Ceremonies of the Game

796 Two ceremonies, the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip,* were held in honor of the
224 spirit mothers of the game. The several Mundurucú villages took turns as hosts in these intervillage rites, and one of the two ceremonies was held during most years. The purpose of the two rites was identical, and they differed only in length and in minor formal details. The following description of the *Dajearuparip* is also valid for the *Araiarai,* except where noted.

A ceremony was usually held at the instigation of one of the older and more respected men of the village—not necessarily the chief—who then became its *piwat,* or leader and organizer. But it was essential for the leader to have the consent of his fellow villagers, for they had to join him in amassing food and drink for the visitors.

796 As in all Mundurucú ceremonies, the arrival of the guests signaled the begin-
224 ning of feasting and preparation of ceremonial regalia. The actual ceremony
292 began with the playing of flutes by a group of cloaked dancers who danced from house to house, performing in each. The cloaks were made of the long fronds of the

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

161 of the extent of the population from the German explorer Karl F. P. von Martius's figure of 18,000 to 40,000 Mundurucú in 1819 and from the Brazilian traveler Antonio Tocantini's calculation of 18,910 in 1875. Henri Coudreau, a French explorer, reported the Mundurucú population of the upper Tapajós River to be 1,429 in 1895; this estimate is undoubtedly more realistic than the previous two, but it is probably too low, for it is unlikely that the Mundurucú should have lost only 200 of their number in the past half-century. My own calculation of the number of Mundurucú in the upper Tapajós area in the mid-nineteenth century is approximately 5,000. This figure is based on the number of villages at that time—about 25—and their probable average populations—about 200 each; it is admittedly a guess.

648 The Mundurucú enjoy a solid position of importance
[181] in the history of the Amazon Valley. Now friendly and docile rubber collectors and horticulturists, they were once the most warlike tribe of the region. A series of attacks on Portuguese settlements on the Amazon brought retaliation by the colonial troops in 1795, and thereafter the Mundurucú were the friends and military allies of the whites. The capitulation of the Mundurucú was a recognition of both superior force and the material advantages to be derived from intercourse with the whites. The Mundurucú continued their pursuit of warfare against other tribes, although occasionally as mercenaries of the colo-
[727] nists. Their special fame derives from headhunting, one of the major goals of their wars.

171 Some customs and institutions might be mentioned that distinguished the Mundurucú from their Tupian neigh-
[273] bors. The Mundurucú have never manufactured any of the common intoxicants of the region, although they are now fond of alcoholic beverages. In the sphere of material

614 mission, who described a rather complex system of 34 patrilineal clans, some of which were linked in unnamed phratries, and which were parceled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamic moieties. This report is substantially correct, but for the minor fact that Mundurucú informants can list 38 clans, and the actual number, before depopulation set in, must have been well above 40. Actually, only 30 clans are currently extant.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

616 Although the clans are formally exogamic, their marriage-regulatory functions are superseded by the more inclusive moiety system. The moieties, called "Red" and "White" by the Mundurucú, comprehend 16 and 22 clans. In addition to their marriage-regulatory functions, the moieties partake of the characteristics of reciprocity, rivalry, and antithesis, which, as Lowie notes, are commonly found in moiety systems.[4] During many ceremonies and on all festive occasions intersexual joking between members of opposite moieties is acceptable and expected; and in the course of everyday village life, one may act with much greater levity toward a person of the complementary group. While the joking aspect of moiety relations may indicate behavior appropriate to prospective sexual part-
[578] ners, latent affinal antagonism is manifest in their recip-
rocal duties and rights. Every clan in each moiety is des-
[764] ignated as the *iboiwatitit* of certain clans of the opposite. This mutual relationship entails the duty to bury each others' dead. The Mundurucú look upon this not only as an obligation, but as a right and a privilege, or, as they sometimes phrase it, a mode of revenge. This is not merely
616 symbolic phraseology. During the period when raiding
727 still occurred, it was considered necessary that every dead

[4] Lowie, 1948, p. 242.

warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in 616
his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. 727
A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during cere- 616
monies. The members of the *Biuši anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack 614
most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any 778
special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö;* this term [776]
is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief 614
in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in 773
no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

THE TRIBE

Membership in the tribe was a social rather than a genetic matter. Children captured in war were fully incorporated into the society and are said to have remained loyal even in wars against the villages where they were born. The unity of the group was symbolized by absolute linguistic and cultural homogeneity, and the identity of its members was manifest in the possession of a clan name and the elaborate facial and body tatooing that until recent years was the hallmark of all Mundurucú.

The villages had independent subsistence economies, but for an occasional timbó fishing trip in which two communities might coöperate. But a number of villages usually participated in war expeditions and the major ceremonies. These occasions provided the opportunity for scattered clansmen to reunite and for people of diverse residence to coöperate in valued activity.

Warfare was of special importance in this regard, because it called for a high degree of organization and coöperation. When the initiative was taken by the men of one village to go on the warpath, the chief delegated a member of the *Muchacha anyen*, a society composed of particularly valiant and learned warriors, to visit other communities and extend invitations to take part in the hostilities. Only a part of the men of any one village accepted the invitations, and the rest remained behind to protect the women, children, and old people and to continue hunting and horticultural activities. Thus, intervillage coöperation allowed the Mundurucú to raise sizable war parties without imperiling the economies and defenses of the villages.

The structure of Mundurucú tribalism was given within the rules of descent and residence. The dispersal of pa-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Few techniques for pleasing these animal spirits are now practiced, but in former times there were many. Powerful shamans, of whom there are now said to be but few, used to travel magically to the "Land of the Game" to "feed" the animal spirits, and the two most important ceremonies also had this purpose. These two rites, called the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip* were held, as all Mundurucú ceremonials, during the rainy season, and were almost identical but for duration; the former was said to have occupied almost the whole rainy season, while the latter lasted ten days. In both, the game animals were honored and their spirit protectors summoned and offered a food particularly pleasing to them. Annual observance was not mandatory, but either the long or the short festival was usually held every year. Villages usually rotated the duty of staging the rite, and the residents of several communities were invited. A number of powerful shamans were a prerequisite to the ceremony and had to be recruited from many villages, for only they could ward off the attacks of evil spirits that were attracted by the ritual food offerings.

Other ceremonies were also held to celebrate the trophy heads taken during war. These rites lapsed, of course, with the end of headhunting in 1912. The game-animal ceremonies persisted into relatively recent times, however. The last Araiarai was held in the early 1930's, and the shorter Dajearuparip lasted until about 1945. The Mundurucú explain the lapse of the ceremonial cycle as caused by the contemporary lack of powerful shamans. There is some merit in this view, for sorcery executions, the migration to the Cururú River, and general loss of population have greatly lowered the number of shamans available in the savannah villages. Also, the Mundurucú look upon themselves as being in a degenerated state; they feel that their

726 A campaign might start at the beginning of the dry season in one year and end at the end of the next dry season, a total of a year and a half in the field. During its course, several villages of different tribes might be attacked. The warriors sustained themselves principally by hunting, and the collection of wild foods.

721 The purpose of aboriginal Mundurucú warfare was to secure trophy heads and to bring back captive children to adopt into the tribe. Wars were usually initiated by young men eager to gain war prowess and prestige by taking heads and captives. These young men would resolve among themselves to go to war and would then approach the chief to ask him to lead them. If the chief and the older men approved of the project, the chief took over the organization of the party. [203] Invitations were sent to other villages via a messenger who 729 belonged to the Muchacha'anyen, a society of older, valiant 575 warriors having an intimate knowledge of certain songs. On [534] his route, the muchacha carried a special trumpet known as the pem, on which he gave a distinctive signal when just outside one of the villages to be invited. A muchacha of that village gave an answering signal and then went out to meet him. Upon their encounter they played a song of the society on their trumpets and danced slowly back and forth towards each other. They then proceeded to the men's house where the messenger, in front of the assembled warriors, addressed an invitation to join in the war. The two most distinguished chiefs of the participating villages assumed

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pnyc*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracereru. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat,[1] the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceara ?], the Carawat,[1] known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nye*,[1] the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá[1] fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [41] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single [231] pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [222] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The 261 wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

542 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[1] [See errata sheet, Category 116, p. 57—A.—Analyst]

896 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the
child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened
to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is
changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the
bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the
same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already de-
termined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband
dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take
her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage,
for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
● 734 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons
988

*The hopelessly degenerate Camés, Voturôes, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1828 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do
this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a
service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[10] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tame-
puyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to
this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old peo-
ple" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
[302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside
the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
[775] Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents. 584

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the fatally ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Mundurucú* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes. 888 734

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars. 764

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (kadukè). The ceremony is repeated at yearly intervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finally buried in the house of the deceased. 766

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Mundurucú* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes success in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic dialogue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc. 796 956

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in holding off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes. 796 535 324

1 [Martius (Source #3) says this was done by the children -- Analyst]
2 [Martius says female rather than maternal - Analyst]

though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and naming.—According to Martius, the father keeps to his hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

Puberty and marriage.—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

level also, and there is no land-holding unit in Mundurucú society. The man who chooses a garden site and initiates and directs the labor upon it, however, is entitled to its proceeds. This man thereby becomes the "owner" of the yield of a completed garden, but not of the terrain itself. Even this is a very loose concept, for it will be seen that food is freely shared among relatives and fellow villagers. A person who, for some reason, does not have a garden is invariably given food or allowed to harvest from the garden of another.

The Mundurucú coöperate extensively in their horticultural work. Although almost all married men have their own gardens, the heavy work of clearing the forest is done by an all-village male work group. Each man who plans a garden invites all the other men of the village to help him. He supplies the food, usually beverages made of palm fruit and sweet manioc, consumed while actually doing the work. The work is done under the general supervision of the man whose garden is being cleared. His directing activities, however, consist of little more than deciding on the location and extent of the garden. These collective garden-clearing ventures are of doubtful efficiency. The participants generally dawdle on the way to their work, bathing, gathering fruits, and chatting. The actual labor is frequently interrupted by joking, conversation, eating, and little jaunts into the wood in search of parrots and pigeons. I have seen gardens being cleared by Brazilians and single families of Mundurucú in which far fewer man-hours produced equal results. Ethnographic literature presents many similar instances of collective labor for purposes of enjoyment and companionship. These same motivations obtain among the Mundurucú; but coöperation is also valued and demanded as a positive expression of social solidarity and has its roots in the social structure.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper 648
Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a
prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or 743
private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém 759
visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but
medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There
is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company
rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural
experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for
most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants 871
who read and write usually learned to do so in another [212]
area or through literate parents. Actually, the Mundurucú 648
are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, be- 658
cause both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service
post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educational facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the 361
Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical
habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle [342]
and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower
Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher section of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods.
These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the
major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers,
often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the
barracões (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local
traders, who buy the produce of the caboclo and sell him
needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm
clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses adjacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same
forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the
houses of rubber tappers whose rubber avenues are
nearby, and others belong to people who live there during
the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

phenomenon is not at all unusual in South America; Wagley and Galvão report the Tenetehara belief in the demon, Zurupari, to have been borrowed by the Indians from the local Brazilian population.[7] Similarly, the Tupinambá culture hero, Tupan, became a mythological figure in many Brazilian tribes through the active agency of the Jesuits.

Another instance of this type of diffusion and syncretism may exist in the Mundurucú belief that the *Yurupari* take the souls of their victims in order to recruit their own ranks. This may well be an aboriginal idea, but it corresponds suspiciously to the classical missionary teaching that the souls of sinners are taken by the *Yurupari*, or Devil.[8] The absence of any concept of sin in the Mundurucú belief is not surprising, for missionaries have labored for generations without noticeable results, to inculcate the idea of sin and punishment among them.

The *Yurupari* attack all people regardless of age or sex, but a class of spirits known as *ašik* is dangerous only to infants. There are hordes of *ašik* wandering over the earth, for the shadows of all people turn into this spirit upon death. Only the transformed shadows of little girls are dangerous to infants, however. The Mundurucú believe that these *ašik*, like all little girls, want to take the children for themselves, and they rob the child of its life to do so.

Like the *Yurupari*, the *ašik* kills its victims by throwing a magical stone into them. The *ašik* is clearly visible to the shaman as a little person no more than a foot high; its skin is either black or white, and it is always very beautiful. To ordinary people unendowed with shamanistic powers, the *ašik* is visible only as a fleeting shadow. It is not at all remarkable, therefore, that anxious Mundurucú mothers often see *ašik* on the paths between the villages and the bathing places. These paths are considered to be especially dangerous, but the *ašik* also attacks in the village on days when most of the people are abroad, and only one or two women or girls remain in the village to tend the infants.

As a rule, the Mundurucú believe that safety from all supernaturals can be gained by numbers; the various malevolent beings are always especially dangerous outside the village and to the lone person. This idea functions to provide supernatural support for sociability and coöperation, and few Mundurucú hunt, fish, or garden alone, nor does any woman willingly go to bathe or draw water by herself. To be sure, there are other, more concrete and persuasive reasons for Mundurucú gregariousness, but supernatural concepts rationalize and support this aspect of the social structure.

The shaman must be called to cure an attack by the *ašik*, but there are also means by which such attacks can be prevented. Children are made immune by frequent baths in a solution of water and the crushed leaves of an unidentified shrub, and a piece of ginger root is almost always hung on the child's *tipoia*, or carrying sling, as protection against the *ašik*. Also, mothers bite off and spit out pieces of the ginger root as they walk along the paths between the villages and the bathing places in the belief that this will avert molestation by the spirit.

[7] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 102.

[8] It is equally possible that this represents a modification of an aboriginal concept of the Yurupari. Métraux (1928, p. 58) notes the antiquity of this belief among Tupian groups, and the Mundurucú might well have shared this element.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home. 756 776

The manifestation of the mother of the game in coatá monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *putcha ši*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *putcha ši*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *putcha ši* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which envira cherosa has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *putcha ši*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area. 224

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *putcha ši* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *putcha ši*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *putcha ši* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *putcha ši* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the [439] meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part [825] of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of those ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *putcha ši* on ceremonial [782] occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *putcha ši* would become [784] extremely angry.

The *putcha ši* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are [752] looked upon as the vengeance of the *putcha ši*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *putcha ši* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *putcha ši* sends another.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

are still believed to be in great danger. The stone cannot be touched; small ones can be plucked from the patient's body or from the ground with a piece of charred cotton, but large stones are allowed to enter the ground and are then safely driven into a fire with the tip of a bow. 755

The *yakíp* and *wirakuá* sent by the souls of the game animals or by their spirit mothers cannot be touched either, but they are not considered as dangerous as the stones of the *Yurupari*. To extract these malignant objects, the shaman, working alone, blows smoke upon the patient and massages his body. He then flicks the object out of the body with a *mutúm* feather upon which he has blown tobacco smoke. No attempt is made to catch and destroy the object, for this would further anger the spirits of the game. These cures are usually only temporarily efficacious, and other *yakíp* or *wirakuá* frequently strike the victim anew after his cure.

In addition to their supernatural curing techniques, most shamans are quite skilled in the secular treatment of broken bones, dislocated muscles, and similar ills. On one occasion, my wife was in acute discomfort from a strained muscle in her back. The shaman instructed her to lie face downward across a hammock, and our interpreter was told to hold her legs while I maintained a firm grip on her shoulders. He then probed the musculature in the small of her back with his fingertips. Although she complained only of a generalized backache, he apparently believed that the source of the trouble was to be found in this area. When the shaman found the difficulty, he ordered the interpreter to pull on her left leg at his command. He then pressed gently but firmly into the musculature with his two thumbs and issued the order. The treatment was quite effective, for his patient's pain was relieved immediately. 752

The preceding account represents a fairly comprehensive description of Mundurucú maladies and their treatment. But a final affliction recognized by the Mundurucú can be classified neither as illness nor wound. The concept of *ibikoium* is best translated as bad luck and is found widely distributed throughout the Amazon under the designation of *panema*. *Ibikoium* affects only men and becomes evident when a man hunts for several days without killing any game or prowls continually about the underbrush near the village without encountering a woman. So far as could be ascertained, bad luck is not caused by supernaturals. It strikes only men who do not rub their bodies daily after bathing with the ground root of a species of forest vine. The fragrance of this root lingers about the person and is thought to attract game animals and women. To insure good luck fully in one's pursuits, it is also believed necessary occasionally to drink sufficient quantities of this root mixed in water to induce vomiting. Most men undergo this purification process once or twice a year. 777

Shamanism and Spirits

Although Mundurucú shamans are not thought to control and use particular spirits, they are believed to be in intimate contact with the supernatural world. The shamans' souls are said to have the ability to travel to the afterworlds and to the underworld of the *Kökeriwat*, and they alone among the Mundurucú can 756 776 782

754 The most common affliction of the supernatural was caushi. The caushi was not a spirit but an object carved to a certain form by a sorcerer, given malignant animation by him, and sent sometimes against certain people, but usually against anyone that it might encounter. All illness was [753] caused by caushi and, therefore, ultimately by witchcraft.

756 Shamanism

The chief function of the Mundurucú shaman was curing. Among his other duties was the ceremonial one of guarding the people against the attacks of Yuruparí during certain rites. He was also responsible for putting in a deep sleep by a magical spell the people of a village about to be attacked and for feeding the spirit "mothers" of the game.

The power of shamanism was hereditary in the patrilineal line and present since birth. All the children of a shaman, including daughters, possessed the power, but, today, the women do not practice any more. In the aboriginal culture, female shamans had only a few specific ceremonial functions and did not cure. Curing was done by the common [755] practice of blowing smoke on the sick person and then extracting the evil object, or caushi, by massage and suction. The shaman then prescribed certain herbs and roots applied externally or drunk mixed with water that were supposed to 756 heal the internal damage done by the evil object. During 276 the cure, the shaman smoked a large cigarette to generate the necessary curative smoke, but he did not inhale in large enough quantities to produce tobacco narcosis as do the

756 [276] Tenetehara and Tapirapé shamans.[24] This was done only when the shaman "traveled" to find the "mother of the game" in order to feed her. The shaman performed his services free of charge and was in no way liberated from the work of the men. He enjoyed prestige due to his position as a curer and also due to fear of him as a potential sorcerer.

754 Only the shaman had the sorcerer's power. Others could learn the effective techniques, but they were not able to launch the evil object into the air or endow it with its malignant force. He was also capable of turning himself into a jaguar and creating other jaguars that he sent against people. The penalty for sorcery was death. This severity is explained by the Mundurucú, who say, "If we had no sorcerers there would be no sickness and people would not die so fast. So we have to kill them." At present, only men practice shamanism and are recognized as being shamans and only men are killed as sorcerers, but Tocantins mentions three cases of women accused of witchcraft in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[25]

[753] All sickness and death were believed to be caused by sorcery, but it was only when a few people died that a powerful shaman was asked to detect the sorcerer. Only another shaman could do this because "the shaman is able to see everything." The shaman might not immediately tell the

24. Wagley, 1942.

25. Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109-111.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 825 These *Yurupari* make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air. Though the porpoise *Yurupari* are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other *Yurupari* is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 753 All types of *Yurupari* travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peripheries of villages, and, consequently, few Mundurucú venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the *Yurupari* is a magical stone that it throws at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the *Yurupari* is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 755 There are no means by which attacks of the *Yurupari* can be prevented, but Mundurucú shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 797 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the *Yurupari* while in the field because the Mundurucú informants hestitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Mundurucú. The priests translated the Devil as *Yurupari*, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the *Yurupari*." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of *Yurupari* beliefs shared by the Mundurucú and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 825 One of the commonest beliefs of *Yurupari* in the Amazon Basin is that of the fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian *caboclos*, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to ensnare victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Ita the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Mundurucú *Yurupari*, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Mundurucú also believe in the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept of the porpoise type *Yurupari* was borrowed from the civilized population. If this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

776 171 177

* Wagley, 1953, p. 240.

III. SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

THE PROBLEMS of illness, accident, and death are commonly conceived in supernatural terms by primitive peoples, and the techniques for their resolution are accordingly the province of religious practitioners. The supernatural dangers threatening the Mundurucú currently preoccupy the society more than any other aspect of the supernatural realm, for they constitute the cause of all sickness and death; and epidemic disease has beset the Mundurucú since their first contact with Europeans. But the Mundurucú do not feel broken and powerless before the onslaughts of ailments to which they have little natural immunity. Mystical in nature through the evil may be, it is not mysterious, for it can be explained and controlled. The threat is no less concrete for existing on a level of reality beyond the sensory powers of ordinary mortals, but the protection of the society must, therefore, rest in the hands of persons who are able to see and act in this sphere. These individuals are viewed by the Mundurucú as the possessors of great and manifestly beneficial power, although they recognize the corollary principle that this power is potentially dangerous and corrupting. 753

THE SHAMAN

The Mundurucú shaman, or *mamú*, has the ability to deal with supernatural threats through possession of a mystical power latent within him from the time of his birth. His functions within the society are manifold. The shaman performs cures; he is essential to nearly all ceremonies; he propitiates the spirit mothers of the animal world; he rids the community of evil forces; and he can detect lost people and objects. But through essential to the well-being of society, the power of the shaman can be used for evil ends. His status is ambivalent; he maintains a balanced and favorable relation between the human and supernatural worlds, and he is capable of profoundly disturbing this balance. 756

Most Mundurucú villages have at least one shaman in residence, although some have none. The shaman has high prestige, although the respect accorded an individual practitioner is at times mixed with fear when it is suspected that he indulges in black magic. In spite of the high regard in which he is held, he receives no material benefits for his services. Among the more acculturated Mundurucú, a small present is sometimes given to the shaman for a cure, but this pattern appears to be of recent origin and obtains in only a minority of cases. The shaman does not devote full time to his specialty. All practitioners hunt, fish, and clear gardens with the other men and manufacture baskets, bows, and other objects. [554] [465]

The shaman frequently makes great personal sacrifices in the performance of his duties. Some travel great distances to treat those who are too ill to come to them, and they often make these trips to the detriment of other activities and tasks. The practice is considered dangerous, for the shaman must face the dual menace of contact with hostile spirits and the suspicion of his fellowmen. But most Mundurucú shamans are motivated by a true sense of public service. They feel that they possess a great power that can be used both for good and bad ends and be-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 is used by the shaman to extract from afflicted people the *yakip*, or malignant object sent by the mother of the game. All these instruments are inert until the shaman blows power-giving tobacco smoke upon them. They are then thought to be "alive" and to have "strength."

Disease and Its Treatment

753 In order to understand fully the important role that the shaman plays among the Mundurucú, their theories of disease and affliction must be outlined. There is practically no human misfortune that cannot be attributed to supernatural influences. If a Mundurucú suffers a slight cut on his foot, he may admit that it was due to sheer mischance. But if he incurs a serious wound, the shaman is usually consulted and invariably attributes the affliction to the vengeance of the mother of the game. Any infection, pain, or other aftereffect of the wound is generally thought to be the work of the *yakip*, which is sent by the mother of the game or by the soul of the animal offended by the wounded man. Similarly, a snake bite, a fall from a tree, or any other serious misadventure that cannot be classified as a disease is usually diagnosed by the shaman as the vengeance of the animal world.

Diseases also are the result of evil supernatural influences. But whereas serious accidents are attributed to the spirit mother and therefore to the negligence or stupidity of the stricken person, disease strikes people regardless of their activities. And though afflictions that have clear and obvious causes, as cuts or snake bites, are also thought to be the vengeance of the supernaturals associated with the animals, disease is caused by sorcerers. All sorcerers are shamans who consciously [754] wish to hurt their fellow men. The sorcerer causes disease by modeling a variety of objects and blowing smoke upon them to give them life. The evil objects, called *cauši*, are then wafted off on the wind to wander through the air until they encounter some human. Invisible to ordinary people, they enter the body and cause illness. The particular illness depends upon the material out of which the *cauši* was modeled and the shape given it by the sorcerer.

Two distinct processes are required for the proper cure of illness. First the *cauši* 755 is extracted from the sick person's body by the shaman, and he then prescribes 757 certain herbal remedies to repair the damage caused by it. The first part of the cure is uniform for all *cauši;* the herbal remedy prescribed is, however, specific for the malady.

The process of extracting a *cauši* is extremely simple. The sick person strips his 755 or her clothes from the part of the body where the pain is localized and sits or 276 lies on the ground. The treatment most often takes place in the patient's dwelling, but the shaman sometimes receives the ill in the men's house. After the patient is prepared, the shaman takes one of his large cigarettes, which are wrapped in a thin layer of the inner bark of the tauarí tree, and commences to smoke. As he smokes he crouches over the sick person and intently stares at his body. The shaman does not inhale or swallow excessive amounts of smoke, and narcotic effects are specifically denied. Rather, the smoke heightens his extra-visual ability

to see the *cauši* within the patient's body, and he is considered to be in a state of 755
intense concentration. During this period the many observers of the cure fall silent, 276
and even the children are hushed. After completing his examination and identification of the *cauši* lodged within the patient's body, the shaman blows clouds of smoke over him. This is an essential part of the cure, for the tobacco smoke is believed to dislodge the *cauši* from its place deep within the sick person and to bring it nearer to the surface, from where it can be easily extracted. Once the shaman 755
has accomplished this end, he commences to massage the patient's body, stroking inward toward the point where the pain is localized. At the completion of the massaging the *cauši* is believed to be directly below the skin and just above the source of pain. The shaman quickly applies his mouth to this point and sucks noisily at the patient's skin. He then draws away and deftly removes the *cauši* from his mouth, into which he has supposedly sucked it, and holds it out in his open palm for all to observe. He examines it with great care for some time and throws it into a fire, where it is thought to be completely destroyed. The object exhibited by the shaman is usually a small piece of wood or the pit of a palm fruit. The sleight of hand involved apparently requires no great ingenuity, but everybody is firmly convinced that the shaman has really extracted an evil object from the patient. I was unable to induce any shaman to reveal the innermost secrets of his art, but I am convinced that the shaman, too, believes that he extracts *cauši*, elusive though his reasoning may be.

The sole deviation from the above procedure occurs during the extraction of a very large and dangerous *cauši*. The shaman localizes the object and brings it to the surface of the body in the usual manner, but he extracts it with a quick, grabbing motion of the hand.

The *cauši* is visible to the shaman both when flying freely through the air and when lodged in the patient's body. Ordinary persons can see it only after the shaman has extracted it. There are ten reported varieties of *cauši*, each of which represents a type of disease recognized by the Mundurucú. The *cauši* is believed to wreak considerable damage while in the sick person, and its extraction and destruction is not sufficient for a full recovery. This can only be through the application of herbal remedies, each of which is a specific for a certain type of *cauši*. These medicines are thought by the Mundurucú to be either "hot" or "cold"; the *cauši* is believed to cause considerable internal bleeding, and hot medicines remove this old blood from the body, and on the other hand, cold medicines reduce fever and alleviate pain.

The following is a list of the ten varieties of disease recognized by the Mun- 753
durucú and a description of the *cauši* believed to cause each and the medicinals 755
used to repair their damage. 278

1. *Dau* (leg) *pipí* (pain), or pain in the leg, is caused by a *cauši* carved in the 757
shape of a sting ray and made from its tail. This *cauši* lies on the floor in the doorways of houses and waits for an unwary person to step on it. Although it causes intense pains in the leg, its effects are not fatal. To cure the aftereffects of *dau*

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

753 755 278 757

pipí, the shaman heats the leaves of a tracuá vine over a fire and applies them to the center of the pain. This poultice, despite being heated, is considered a cold remedy.

2. *Ipea pipí*, or pain in the stomach, is instigated by a *cauši* that is made from a bitter manioc tuber or a piece of soap. When the object is made from soap it causes a mild stomach-ache, but when made from bitter manioc the poison is believed capable of killing the victim. Three varieties of cold medicine are used to cure the aftereffects of this illness. An unidentified species of potato is grated in water, and part of the mixture is drunk while the rest is poured over the patient's stomach. Another remedy uses a few scrapings from the castanha de arara mixed in water and taken both externally and internally. Also, the root of the jambú plant is beaten into a half-gourd of water and drunk.

3. *Ekuabí pipí*, pain in the back, differs from the other ailments in that it is caused by a *cauši* that is actually a living bird. This bird, a species of curujá da noite, can be heard at night, but is never seen. When it flies directly above the house, the inhabitants are in danger of being afflicted with backache. A cold remedy for backache consists of a paste of grated ginger root which is applied to the affected parts. Another medicine is made in a similar fashion from the root of an unidentified shrub.

4. The material and form of the *cauši* that causes *ũnsabí pipí*, or pain in the side, was not known by my informants, although five remedies were listed as effective in its cure. The following three are cold medicines. Pau de candeia is grated into boiling water and the compound drunk while still very hot. A broth is also made from envira de cacao, and grated deer antler is mixed with cold water and used both internally and externally. Hot medicines include a poultice of heated jamarú leaf and a broth made of the ashes of kamaíu cane mixed in hot water.

5. The common cold is called *ochõ ochõ*, an onomatopoetic word, and is believed to be caused by a *cauši* which consists of a bit of talcum powder rolled in paper. Four cold remedies include hot drinks made with lemon, ginger root, the root of an unidentified shrub, and the sap from a tree. The only hot remedy known is made by boiling mel de chupe and taking it internally.

6. The *cauši* that causes *nunchai pipí*, or pain in the uterus, is made from the root of an unidentified tree. Menstrual pains are not believed to be caused by this object, nor is it thought to cause labor pains. A hot medicine, used to free the woman of the old blood from the intra-uterine bleeding caused by this *cauši*, is made by cutting up the root of a paxiuba palm and boiling it in water. Some of this preparation is administered internally, and the remainder is placed in a pot below the woman's hammock. The rising vapors are believed to aid in the cure. Ashes of the paxiuba palm are also mixed in water and drunk.

7. *Paiat*, or fever, generally accompanies stomach-ache, according to informants. Actually, such a concurrence of the two afflictions occurs during an attack of chronic malaria, and the stomach-ache is, more accurately, a pain in the liver. Two cold remedies are used to reduce the fever. The first is made by grating a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

vine in hot water and applying the mixture to the stomach. The other consists of the trunks of very young buriti palms crushed in water. Part of this mixture is drunk, and the rest is applied externally to the torso of the sick person. 753 755 278

8. *Ok pipi*, or intestinal pain, is caused by the same *cauši* as *ipon pipi*, or stomach-ache. However, the term *ok pipi* is in reality reserved for dysentery, for it is always accompanied by severe diarrhea. The medicines used for stomach pains are considered effective in the relief of intestinal pains also, but two additional cold remedies are used as specifics for the diarrhea. The roots of a certain shrub are boiled in water, part of which is taken internally and the rest allowed to steam below the hammock. The leaves of this shrub are also applied to the abdomen as a poultice. The same use is made of the leaves of the *murirú pagé*, a water plant. The local Brazilians also boil the leaves of this plant and place the steaming pot below the hammock of a bewitched person. The vapors are believed to cause an evil object to fall out of the victim's body. 757

9. *A pipi*, or headache, is treated by mixing *envira de castanheira* in water and applying the solution to the head. Uaripe Brazil nuts are also grated into water and similarly applied. Both remedies are considered cold. The nature of the *cauši* that causes headache was not known by the informants interviewed.

10. The tenth and last ailment is a three-stage sickness generally known by the name applied to its first stage, called *ujewoši*. In this primary phase, the afflicted man or woman becomes unhappy and listless and eats mud, soap, and other inedible substances. The symtoms increase in severity in the next stage, or *yauká*, and the victim becomes thin, yellow, and "bloodless." Finally, the patient passes into the state known as *toubokat*, at the end of which he usually dies. During the final illness, the person's soul sometimes becomes one of the dreaded wandering souls. The symptoms are descriptive of the chronic forms of a number of illnesses, such as malaria, dysentery, and jaundice. The Mundurucú attribute it to a *cauši* made of roasted earthworms rolled into a ball and spread in the air. No remedies were known. [261]

A person can be afflicted by more than one *cauši* at a time, and the shaman often recommends a number of herbal preparations. The shaman does not himself administer these remedies, but instructs the kinsmen of the sick person in their use. They then collect the proper herbs and apply them.

The techniques used by the Mundurucú shaman are so widely distributed throughout eastern South America that any attempt to trace their provenience would be overly lengthy. The shaman's use of tobacco smoke and the techniques of sucking and massage are almost universal in the Amazon area. Of equally wide distribution are the use of herbs and the various methods of applying them. Infusions, external applications, and steam baths are, as Lowie indicates,[7] known among a number of tribes of the region. 756 171

One aspect of Mundurucú herbal medicine worthy of further discussion is the division of remedies into hot and cold categories. This distinction is made throughout most of Latin America with regard to both medicines and foods. The Mun- 278 171

[7] Lowie, 1948, pp. 55–62.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

278 171 durucú, however, do not classify their foods in this manner, suggesting that the concept was perhaps borrowed from their Brazilian neighbors together with certain medicinal recipes. Furthermore, although the list of diseases and remedies is undoubtedly incomplete, it is significant that only twenty-four herbal medicines were reported. A much longer list could be collected among rural Brazilians of the area, who also use most of the same herbs employed by the Mundurucú.* This leads immediately to the question of whether the civilized inhabitants of the Amazon borrowed the medicinal preparations from the Indians or whether diffusion operated in the reverse direction. Although the use of herbs by the Indian population of the Amazon is undoubtedly a pre-Columbian practice, and although diffusion probably operated in both directions, it is very possible that the greatest borrowing was by the Indians. This is probably true for the Mundurucú, although we cannot be so certain for the first Indian groups encountered by the Portuguese. The herbal knowledge of these coastal tribes is, of course, crucial to the question.

753 The Mundurucú theory of disease exists side-by-side with certain sound empirical observations on the subject. They are well aware that epidemics are contracted through contact with white people. For example, when either my wife or I caught a cold, the Mundurucú avoided close proximity to us. Even on those occasions when we fell ill after an epidemic had already developed in the village, they were inclined to blame us. Also, they recognized that residence along waterways or near swamps was often accompanied by fevers (malaria), and they knew that the savannah villages were therefore more salubrious. Both contagion and the unhealthfulness of certain locales were loosely connected with the prevalence of the sorcerer's evil objects, or *cawó*, despite the contradiction implied. However, in this as in many other lines of thought, the Mundurucú do not push logic to its conclusion, for the roots of the supernatural concepts are social and not intellectual. The empirical observations and supernatural concepts coexisted with little effort on the part of the Mundurucú to integrate them, if, indeed, they were aware of the mutual antipathy of the two.

757 755 Moreover, despite their supernatural explanation of disease, the Mundurucú freely sought the rational medication, that we provided. Every day, a number of people came to our house for treatment, some from other villages; in only a very few cases did we have to seek out the sick and persuade them to accept our aid. Our experience in this matter was not unique, for both the mission and the Indian Post dispensed large quantities of medicine to Mundurucú patients. Not even the shamans resisted treatment; many were, in fact, our most faithful patients.

There are a number of reasons for this lack of resistance to Western medicine by the Mundurucú. Through long contact with the whites, they had come to recognize the efficacy of the white man's medicines, especially in the treatment of diseases they know to be associated with the civilized population. Some even knew the names of specific remedies; I had the unusual experience of having a tattooed, seminude Indian ask me for "*salfá*."

* Note also the many herbal remedies reported by Wagley (1953, pp. 341–352) from the Amazon River town of Itá.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 lived in different villages, but the sorcerer leaped the distance to his brother's village and stalked him in the forest. The married brother heard the approaching whistle of the jaguar and backtracked and lay in wait for it. When it appeared, he shot the creature in the head, the only vulnerable point in its body, and thus killed it. He then cut the jaguar's throat, thrust his hand into its body, and dragged out its liver. He mixed the liver with gunpowder and left it on the trail. After he returned home, a group of men from his brother's village arrived with the intent of killing him. The sorcerer, whose jaguar form had been slain, had returned to his village sick and had accused his brother of bewitching him. The brother explained that he had merely defended himself against his own brother, who was the real sorcerer. The assembled men believed him, and the guilty brother wasted away and died.

Cases of jaguar sorcery were extremely common among the Mundurucú. During our residence with them, one of the residents of the mission was suspected of making and spreading *cauã* and turning into a jaguar at night. It was further believed that he had created other jaguars that were constantly lurking behind his house. But the presence of the priests prevented the Mundurucú residing at the mission from killing the suspected man, and they merely avoided his person and his dwelling. Even the powerful shaman who lived in the mission village had resolved to move away rather than live near such a dangerous personality.

753 Although all disease is believed to be caused by witchcraft, a single occurrence
754 of illness within a community does not generally provoke direct action against an accused sorcerer. When, however, sickness becomes rife within a village, and
689 especially when deaths result, the responsible sorcerer is sought out and killed.
756 The practice of destroying a witch is resorted to only when the community is faced by a major threat, and the inevitability of occasional illness is usually rationalized as owing to stray *cauã*. In spite of this inconsistency, the simple formula which attributes disease to witchcraft, and therefore calls for the death of the sorcerer, cannot be more rigorously applied if shamanism is to continue. Even under this modified application of the rule, the shaman's position is most precarious. One or two shamans are executed as sorcerers during an average year, and their numbers are steadily dwindling. Those shamans who are fortunate enough to escape accusation are visibly insecure, especially when the rainy season reunites people in their villages and the annual cycle of colds and epidemic diseases begin.

756 This constant fear induces many shamans to leave their villages and to migrate
754 to the vicinity of the Brazilian population. As an example, there were three shamans in the village of Cabruá, one of whom rarely practiced for fear of accusation. He had been suspected of sorcery once before and had escaped retribution only because of membership in the strong family of the chief. The numerical strength and influence of his family was, however, his only protection from execution, for one need not actively practice shamanism to be accused of sorcery. The possession of the latent hereditary power of the shaman suffices

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

622 554 182 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognise him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [758] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

all Mundurucú still believe firmly in the supernatural causation of illness. Thus, the drugs of the white man are considered efficacious in the repair of the damage caused by the sorcerer's evil objects, but this in no way circumvents the necessity for the shaman to extract them. A corollary of the continued belief in native explanations of disease is the persistence of accusations of sorcery and the occasional killing of witches.

The only shaman in recent practice in Missão Velha was executed as a sorcerer in 1950. It is now necessary to call a shaman from another village or to bring the sick person to him. The lack of an actively practicing shaman has not prevented another case of sorcery from arising in the village, for the accused in this instance was a shaman by descent. The case will be described in some detail, for it illustrates how political factionalism, sorcery, and general disaffection have combined as fission elements in the loosely integrated Cururú River villages.

Several months before we stayed in Missão Velha, a great deal of illness caused the chief's son-in-law and sons to seek the services of Pedro, the most renowned of all Mundurucú shamans and a resident of the mission. Pedro, without the knowledge of the priests, of course, went to Missão Velha and performed the necessary acts to destroy all evil objects in the vicinity of the village. He then informed the others that the man responsible was one Antonio, a resident of Missão Velha whose father was a shaman, although he himself never practiced. The chief wanted no trouble and planned for a time to move away from the supposedly malignant Antonio, but the younger men of his family were determined to kill the sorcerer. Certain other men of the village, however, were not fully convinced of Antonio's guilt and opposed his condemnation. Their doubts were not a reflection of skepticism in

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
535 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
224 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

796 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants.
786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred
796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[776] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibõ, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vorabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
[578] When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kaibõ (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

754 The most common affliction of the supernatural was caushi. The caushi was not a spirit but an object carved to a certain form by a sorcerer, given malignant animation by him, and sent sometimes against certain people, but usually against anyone that it might encounter. All illness was [753] caused by caushi and, therefore, ultimately by witchcraft.

756 Shamanism

The chief function of the Mundurucú shaman was curing. Among his other duties was the ceremonial one of guarding the people against the attacks of Yuruparí during certain rites. He was also responsible for putting in a deep sleep by a magical spell the people of a village about to be attacked and for feeding the spirit "mothers" of the game.

The power of shamanism was hereditary in the patrilineal line and present since birth. All the children of a shaman, including daughters, possessed the power, but, today, the women do not practice any more. In the aboriginal culture, female shamans had only a few specific ceremonial functions and did not cure. Curing was done by the common [755] practice of blowing smoke on the sick person and then extracting the evil object, or caushi, by massage and suction. The shaman then prescribed certain herbs and roots applied externally or drunk mixed with water that were supposed to 756 heal the internal damage done by the evil object. During 276 the cure, the shaman smoked a large cigarette to generate the necessary curative smoke, but he did not inhale in large enough quantities to produce tobacco narcosis as do the

756 [276] Tenetehara and Tapirapé shamans.[24] This was done only when the shaman "traveled" to find the "mother of the game" in order to feed her. The shaman performed his services free of charge and was in no way liberated from the work of the men. He enjoyed prestige due to his position as a curer and also due to fear of him as a potential sorcerer.

754 Only the shaman had the sorcerer's power. Others could learn the effective techniques, but they were not able to launch the evil object into the air or endow it with its malignant force. He was also capable of turning himself into a jaguar and creating other jaguars that he sent against people. The penalty for sorcery was death. This severity is explained by the Mundurucú, who say, "If we had no sorcerers there would be no sickness and people would not die so fast. So we have to kill them." At present, only men practice shamanism and are recognized as being shamans and only men are killed as sorcerers, but Tocantins mentions three cases of women accused of witchcraft in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[25]

[753] All sickness and death were believed to be caused by sorcery, but it was only when a few people died that a powerful shaman was asked to detect the sorcerer. Only another shaman could do this because "the shaman is able to see everything." The shaman might not immediately tell the

24. Wagley, 1942.

25. Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109-111.

754 residents of the afflicted village who was the guilty party, but after the illness became serious he informed them and they took the decision as a group to kill the accused. His closer relatives were not informed of these plans, but they made no attempt to avenge his death in the face of the community imposed punishment. Most executions were carried out by the suspect's fellow villagers, but this was not invariably the case. Close relatives of persons supposedly bewitched could be suspected, but this was not generally the case, for the Mundurucú sorcerer is said to usually release his evil objects (caushi) or jaguars against anyone that they may encounter. The only explanation for such generalized malice is that "the sorcerer is angry at everything."

Ceremonies

796 In addition to the ceremonies that centered around the trophy head, two ceremonies, both of which can be referred to as "Festival of the Game," were devoted to the spirit "mothers" as a means of maintaining their good will and thus insuring better hunting. One of these, the Arsierai, was held only every three to five years and only in one village at a time, as nearly the whole rainy season was consumed by the festivities. This ceremony was celebrated in a short form that lasted only ten days and which was known as the Dajearuperip. It occurred almost yearly between the Arsierais and shifted its location from village to village every year. Hundreds of visitors from villages all over

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated-village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intense warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

726 burned, men and women killed and decapitated, and children stolen.

721 It has been said that, although individual warriors sought glory, the primary purpose of war was social and only secondarily the gratification of individual egos. The patterns of boasting and vainglory common among North American Indians of the high plains were absent among the Mundurucú.

[626 A young man who made great claims
[554] of prowess was pushed to the fore dur-
157] ing the actual attack as a means of suppressing ego-assertion and not to validate it.

181 The suppression of individual inter-
577 ests in favor of those of the collectivity
578 of Mundurucú is consistent with the dual ethic and world-view of this war-oriented society. The joy and pride that they obtained from external aggression is matched only by the horror aroused by internal strife. A Mundurucú man never struck another in anger. If dissension arose, the principals temporarily avoided each other rather than show open hostility. Intragroup tensions did exist for a variety of causes, among which rivalry over women and fear of sorcery were predominant. The culture provided few internal cathartic mechanisms for latent agression, and, in fact, it enjoined social harmony most positively.

754 The execution of sorcerers was the
[689] only situation in which drastic action was taken against another Mundurucú, and the decision to kill the suspected witch had to be taken by the group as a whole. Sorcery and accusations of sorcery were common in all villages, and the subject was so feared that peo-

[p. 372(A)]

754 ple were loathe to even speak of it. Interestingly, the sorcerer was not thought to practice his art against particular individuals, but was believed to make and disperse evil spirits which might attack anyone with whom they came into contact. A general malevolence was said to pervade the sorcerer; he was simply "angry at everything."

754 Sorcery provides interesting insights
181 into the mechanisms by which the
577 Mundurucú ethic was maintained and the dangerous forces which they believed to be inherent in man and nature kept in check. While the practice of black magic may be considered as a covert channel for the latent aggressions of the sorcerer, only persons who had inherited shamanistic power were able to manipulate the evil forces. But the locus of sorcery and its punishment was social and not individual. Just as black magic was directed towards society, at large, so was the ultimate function of retribution of importance to the well-being of the social system.
[72] The universe of the Mundurucú was permeated with potentially harmful supernatural beings and forces, which could be appeased and controlled with proper techniques, and the killing of the sorcerer was a personalized means towards this important end. Furthermore, the generalized anti-social tendencies attributed to the sorcerer were a projection of similar suppressed emotions carried by the population. The destruction of the practitioner of black magic was effectively the destruction of centrifugal tendencies within the society.

181
577 Internal harmony within the house-

[p.372 (B)]

554 to stand too far above his fellows. A
156 Mundurucú never boasted of his
577 achievements, nor would he compare himself to others. In fact, it is most difficult to elicit any sort of comparative evaluation of the moral worth of particular individuals from any Mundurucú.

439 The prevailing tone of Mundurucú
577 values is perpetuated in the modern trade situation, for Mundurucú do not
[441] make commercial transactions among themselves. Trade with whites is expected and sought, but those Mundurucú who conduct trade with their fellows as employees of the whites and on behalf of them are recognized to operate outside the ethical system and attract considerable antagonism. Thus, the modern economic ethic of the Mundurucú is colored by the same dualism as existed in their warrior period.

186 The duality of Mundurucú ethics
577 is closely associated with the institutional core or nexus of the culture. Hostility towards the outer world goes beyond mere distrust and suspicion; it is a positive assertion and celebration of the integrity and cohesiveness of the society. While acting as an escape-valve
[721] for intra-social aggressions, warfare served to produce tensions which, paradoxically, contributed towards maintaining balance in the social structure.
[754] Witchcraft may be said to have functioned in much the same way.

181 Manly virtues were esteemed in
577 Mundurucú culture, and hunting ability was valued second only to strength in war. Male unity in a hostile world was expressed in the semi-miltary or-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 is used by the shaman to extract from afflicted people the *yakíp*, or malignant object sent by the mother of the game. All these instruments are inert until the shaman blows power-giving tobacco smoke upon them. They are then thought to be "alive" and to have "strength."

Disease and Its Treatment

753 In order to understand fully the important role that the shaman plays among the Mundurucú, their theories of disease and affliction must be outlined. There is practically no human misfortune that cannot be attributed to supernatural influences. If a Mundurucú suffers a slight cut on his foot, he may admit that it was due to sheer mischance. But if he incurs a serious wound, the shaman is usually consulted and invariably attributes the affliction to the vengeance of the mother of the game. Any infection, pain, or other aftereffect of the wound is generally thought to be the work of the *yakíp*, which is sent by the mother of the game or by the soul of the animal offended by the wounded man. Similarly, a snake bite, a fall from a tree, or any other serious misadventure that cannot be classified as a disease is usually diagnosed by the shaman as the vengeance of the animal world.

Diseases also are the result of evil supernatural influences. But whereas serious accidents are attributed to the spirit mother and therefore to the negligence or stupidity of the stricken person, disease strikes people regardless of their activities. And though afflictions that have clear and obvious causes, as cuts or snake bites, are also thought to be the vengeance of the supernaturals associated with the animals, disease is caused by sorcerers. All sorcerers are shamans who consciously [754] wish to hurt their fellow men. The sorcerer causes disease by modeling a variety of objects and blowing smoke upon them to give them life. The evil objects, called *cauši*, are then wafted off on the wind to wander through the air until they encounter some human. Invisible to ordinary people, they enter the body and cause illness. The particular illness depends upon the material out of which the *cauši* was modeled and the shape given it by the sorcerer.

Two distinct processes are required for the proper cure of illness. First the *cauši* 755 is extracted from the sick person's body by the shaman, and he then prescribes 757 certain herbal remedies to repair the damage caused by it. The first part of the cure is uniform for all *cauši*; the herbal remedy prescribed is, however, specific for the malady.

The process of extracting a *cauši* is extremely simple. The sick person strips his 755 or her clothes from the part of the body where the pain is localized and sits or 276 lies on the ground. The treatment most often takes place in the patient's dwelling, but the shaman sometimes receives the ill in the men's house. After the patient is prepared, the shaman takes one of his large cigarettes, which are wrapped in a thin layer of the inner bark of the tauarí tree, and commences to smoke. As he smokes he crouches over the sick person and intently stares at his body. The shaman does not inhale or swallow excessive amounts of smoke, and narcotic effects are specifically denied. Rather, the smoke heightens his extra-visual ability

in a manner thought to be quite lewd and suggestive. The other women look upon the *yapõ* as a threat to their own marital happiness, but blame the men for her condition. Any sufficiently disreputable and irreverent shaman can make a *yapõ* of a woman whom he desires. But, unlike love magic in most societies, once he creates her he must be prepared to share her with others, for his magic makes her want any and all men. 756 832 839

To make a *yapõ* the shaman prepares a paste of sorva sap and urucú and mixes it thoroughly with the roasted and powdered body of the uirapurú bird. Smoke is blown upon the preparation and it is magically sent into the body of the unsuspecting woman. Another preparation is made with a piece of uirapurú meat, and a third is made by mixing brilliantine with either the brains of the boa boa bird or of the matrinchão fish. The use of the uirapurú as a love charm or symbol is widespread in the Amazon region, especially among Tupian groups. The Mundurucú believe it to be an enchanted bird and explain that, as the other birds of the forest follow the uirapurú, so also will the men follow a woman who has been bewitched with a charm made from its body.

The *yapõ* is not physically damaged by the spell cast over her by the shaman. She appears happy and laughs constantly; her appetite for men is insatiable, but she enjoys herself thoroughly when in their company. However, her condition is viewed with disfavor by the other women, and she becomes marginal to female society. Also, she soon becomes the subject of widespread gossip and ridicule, both of which are unendurable to a Mundurucú. For these reasons, the *yapõ* generally goes to the shaman to be cured. He extracts the charm by the same techniques used to take out *cauši* and then recommends a preparation made of sorva sap and the root of a tree near which a jaguar has slept or rolled about. The woman applies this preparation to her face and body until she feels that she has been completely cured. The remedy is considered to be effective in keeping men away as it partakes of the qualities of the jaguar, which is considered an ugly and repulsive animal by the Mundurucú. [825]

The treatment is not always effective. A young woman of the village of Cabruá went to the shaman to be cured of her condition. During the following days a marked change was noted in her deportment. She smiled demurely behind her hand and no longer fixed the men with direct and inviting glances. But as the days passed, she returned slowly to her old ways and was soon meeting the men in the underbrush surrounding the village. When the shaman who had performed the cure was asked why she behaved in this manner, he shrugged and replied, "Sometimes the treatment works, and sometimes it does not."

Sorcery

When his power is used for socially approved purposes, the shaman is accorded the respect due a major benefactor of the community. But his power can be used for evil ends, and witchcraft is invariably believed to emanate from shamans gone bad. The sorcerer or *ibõkaipat* is thought by the Mundurucú to engage in his nefarious practices with conscious and deliberate intent. All shamans have 754

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 knowledge of the techniques of witchcraft, and the transformation of the shaman into a sorcerer requires only his personal motivation. He is not thought to practice witchcraft with limited goals in mind; once he begins to practice black magic, he continues until apprehended and executed.

The sorcerer usually becomes one because, as the Mundurucú say, "he is angry at everybody" or, less commonly, because he has a grievance against some particular person. He never practices his art on behalf of another person. His chief means of wreaking harm upon his fellowman is through the creation of the previously described, disease-causing *cauši*. He is believed to select an isolated place in the forest to which he frequently repairs to manufacture the intrusive objects. These are spread broadcast on the wind and attack those people with whom they come into contact. Consistent with the belief that the sorcerer has a hostile attitude toward all his fellowmen, the Mundurucú claim that the *cauši* is not usually directed at particular people or at the sorcerer's own village. In actual practice, however, when disease strikes the people of a village a fellow villager possessing shamanistic power is almost invariably suspected. But evidence suggested that the *cauši* is seldom used against particular persons toward whom the sorcerer has some grievance. One informant stated that "the sorcerer's aim is not that good." And it was also specifically disavowed that the *cauši* attack the sorcerer's kinsmen.

When the sorcerer wishes to destroy selected individuals, he usually does so through his power of sending supernatural jaguars against them. These creatures can be made by the shaman by blowing smoke upon the teeth and claws of a dead jaguar. Under ordinary circumstances, the jaguars cannot be seen, but they are thought to become visible to the victim when about to attack. The jaguars act under the instruction of the sorcerer, who frequently changes himself into one and "leads his pack like a hunter leads his dogs." He often attacks persons in distant villages by the expedient of placing a band of rubber about his ankles and magically transporting himself almost instantaneously over long distances. He then summons his so-called pets by wiggling his fingers, and they attack their chosen victim. When their work is done, the sorcerer dissolves his jaguars and returns through the air to his own village. So great is his speed that his neighbors seldom note his momentary absence. In other instances, the sorcerer's jaguars lurk in the vicinity of his village and attack anybody who has the misfortune to encounter them in an isolated place, for like the *Yurupari* and the *aši* the jaguars generally strike only at the solitary. They are thought to pounce upon their victims and magically to eat out their intestines. These attacks are invariably fatal. The victim is usually able to return, pale and vomiting, to his village, but dies a short time later

Three cases of jaguar attacks will be discussed below to illustrate the vividness of belief in their existence and to document the techniques and purposes of their manipulation. A middle-aged Mundurucú shaman, whose Portuguese name is Bertino, related a frightening experience that he had undergone when a young man. A fellow shaman joined Bertino one day and suggested that they go into

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the forest to hunt. The older man then invited him to sit down and rest and talk. "Are you angry at somebody, younger brother?" he inquired. When Bertino denied any ill feelings toward another, the shaman bluntly said, "You must be. Come join me in sorcery." Bertino resisted his entreaties and told him, "I am not angry at anybody, and I do not want to harm others. Before my father died, he said to me, 'Use your knowledge to cure and to feed the *putcha ši* and for other good things. Do not use it to hurt another.' And also," continued Bertino, "I do not want to be killed by my own people." But the older shaman, not dissuaded, brushed his hand down his own arm and produced a *cauši* to impress Bertino. He then waved his fingers in the air and twenty hideous jaguars surrounded Bertino, snarling and waving their tails. "Take ten for yourself, and I will take the other ten," invited the sorcerer. Bertino was paralyzed with fright, but he still refused to practice witchcraft. "Perhaps you would prefer to be killed in a war," suggested the other. Bertino replied, "I would rather be killed by the enemy than by my own people." 754

Having failed in his purpose, the sorcerer threatened to kill Bertino. He apparently attempted to do so on one occasion, said my informant, for he was shortly thereafter attacked by a *cauši* while fishing. This sorcerer was finally killed by his fellow Mundurucú, and his brother was later slain as a suspected witch, also.

The sorcerer's jaguars emit a whistling sound much like that of the *Yurupari*. A long time ago a shaman who was hunting in the woods climbed a fruit tree and, while gathering the fruit high in the branches, heard a whistling noise that resembled the cry of the blue nambú bird. The shaman knew this to be the signal of the jaguar, but when he looked down from his lofty perch, he saw another hunter looking upward in search of what he believed to be a bird. The whistling grew closer, and the jaguars emerged from the brush. They carried leaves in their jaws, which they jammed into the mouth of the victim to prevent outcry before "eating his intestines." The jaguars departed, and the shaman descended from the tree and returned to his village. A short time later the victim of the jaguars arrived in the village, feverish and vomiting. The shaman was asked to treat him, but, having witnessed the attack, he turned to another shaman and said, "You treat the sick man. It was you who ate him." The stricken man died, and the men of the village executed the accused sorcerer.

The following case of jaguar sorcery is of special interest since it describes an attack of one brother upon another. These occurrences are rare in Mundurucú society, but they serve to further highlight the strong, latent sibling rivalry that appears clearly in the mythology and folklore. The incident, which was said to have occurred within the last generation, also documents techniques by which one can defend himself against the jaguars and destroy the sorcerer who is traveling in the guise of these creatures. [593]

Two brothers, who had inherited shamanistic power from their father, were at odds because one wanted the wife of the other. The jealous brother decided to kill the husband by turning himself into a jaguar and eating him. The brothers

754 lived in different villages, but the sorcerer leaped the distance to his brother's village and stalked him in the forest. The married brother heard the approaching whistle of the jaguar and backtracked and lay in wait for it. When it appeared, he shot the creature in the head, the only vulnerable point in its body, and thus killed it. He then cut the jaguar's throat, thrust his hand into its body, and dragged out its liver. He mixed the liver with gunpowder and left it on the trail. After he returned home, a group of men from his brother's village arrived with the intent of killing him. The sorcerer, whose jaguar form had been slain, had returned to his village sick and had accused his brother of bewitching him. The brother explained that he had merely defended himself against his own brother, who was the real sorcerer. The assembled men believed him, and the guilty brother wasted away and died.

Cases of jaguar sorcery were extremely common among the Mundurucú. During our residence with them, one of the residents of the mission was suspected of making and spreading *cauã* and turning into a jaguar at night. It was further believed that he had created other jaguars that were constantly lurking behind his house. But the presence of the priests prevented the Mundurucú residing at the mission from killing the suspected man, and they merely avoided his person and his dwelling. Even the powerful shaman who lived in the mission village had resolved to move away rather than live near such a dangerous personality.

Although all disease is believed to be caused by witchcraft, a single occurrence
753 of illness within a community does not generally provoke direct action against
754 an accused sorcerer. When, however, sickness becomes rife within a village, and
689 especially when deaths result, the responsible sorcerer is sought out and killed.
756 The practice of destroying a witch is resorted to only when the community is faced by a major threat, and the inevitability of occasional illness is usually rationalized as owing to stray *cauã*. In spite of this inconsistency, the simple formula which attributes disease to witchcraft, and therefore calls for the death of the sorcerer, cannot be more rigorously applied if shamanism is to continue. Even under this modified application of the rule, the shaman's position is most precarious. One or two shamans are executed as sorcerers during an average year, and their numbers are steadily dwindling. Those shamans who are fortunate enough to escape accusation are visibly insecure, especially when the rainy season reunites people in their villages and the annual cycle of colds and epidemic diseases begin.

This constant fear induces many shamans to leave their villages and to migrate
756 to the vicinity of the Brazilian population. As an example, there were three
754 shamans in the village of Cabruá, one of whom rarely practiced for fear of accusation. He had been suspected of sorcery once before and had escaped retribution only because of membership in the strong family of the chief. The numerical strength and influence of his family was, however, his only protection from execution, for one need not actively practice shamanism to be accused of sorcery. The possession of the latent hereditary power of the shaman suffices

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to establish eligibility for suspicion. Both of the two active shamans had resolved 756
to move away from Cabruá and to dwell in the isolation of their rubber avenues. 754
But neither would admit to fear of being accused of sorcery. One claimed that he wished to reside with his own kin although he was already living, as is considered proper, with his wife's relatives in Cabruá. The other said that he would find food more abundant at his rubber avenue locale. Such minor subterfuges are common among the Mundurucú when queried on an unpleasant personal subject. In reality, both shamans knew that several years had passed since the last sorcery execution in Cabruá, and neither wished to be present for the next. Also, as soon as one had made the decision to leave, the other had no choice but to follow. To be the only available suspect in the village was not a very promising prospect.

The men of a village afflicted with a great deal of illness usually seek out the most powerful shaman available and request that he not only attempt to cure the sick, but destroy the *cauã* that infect the village. He is also expected to use his great powers to detect and name the responsible sorcerer. Shamans are said to be capable of discovering and naming sorcerers at any time, but they do so only when requested by the villagers after a particularly severe epidemic or after a death from disease. Informed of the culprit, who is almost always a fellow villager, the men collectively decide to dispose of him and delegate the task to two or three of their number. But, as will be shown subsequently, such unanimity of communal decision is the ideal situation; sorcery killings are frequently stormy affairs among the contemporary Mundurucú.

Only a few Mundurucú shamans are considered to be powerful enough to destroy the *cauã* in a village and unerringly point out their creator, and it is, therefore, usually necessary to invite one from outside the community. After he has treated the sick, the visiting shaman proceeds to destroy the *cauã* and other malignant spirits within the village. He first builds a small thatch hut, no larger than necessary to contain him and his instruments, and retreats to it for the day. His first act is to lean his five *pitpoachap* (spears), the previously described dagger-shaped instruments, against a piece of wood laid upon the floor of the hut. Next he places an ordinary steel lock in line with the *pitpoachap*. The lock is considered to be the most effective of all these instruments owing to the *cauã's* fear of metal, and it is referred to as the leader of the others. The shaman then blows smoke twice on the *pitpoachap*, and they suddenly come to life and move from their leaning position to balance perfectly across the piece of wood. He blows smoke on them a third time, and the instruments then stand in a vertical position, their sharp points directed upward. Thus animated, the lock addresses the other instruments to suggest that they attack the shaman in order to test his strength. At this juncture the shaman says, "No. I only assembled you to kill *cauã*, *Furupari*, and any other evil thing that you can find. But be careful not to harm anything that belongs to the game animals." He then flips the piece of wood upon which the lock has been lying and sends it through the thatch into the open air. The five *pitpoachap* immediately fly after

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 754 it and spend the day spearing malignant spirits and objects. At nightfall, they reenter the shaman's hut, their points covered with the blood of these beings, and the practitioner asks them what variety of supernaturals they had destroyed and how many of each there were.

After he has rid the village of the evils inhabiting it, the shaman divulges the name of the sorcerer, if he believes the situation to be sufficiently serious. The accused shaman is usually killed from ambush outside his village, although some are dispatched by direct assault within its confines. Since the sorcerer's soul is believed to be dangerous even after death, another shaman must extract and destroy it immediately after the execution. This is done by brushing it from its position in the back to the top of the head with a mutúm feather. When the soul emerges from the head, it is caught in a hollow bamboo tube and cast into a fire.

754 578 Most studies of the subject conclude that sorcery executions are conducive to social cohesion, since they constitute a mechanism for the externalization of aggression and release of tension in a socially approved way, and also because they constitute a mechanism of social control. The Mundurucú data tend partly to substantiate this thesis, for sorcery executions are the only occasions on which intrasocietal violence is sanctioned. Interpersonal tensions are rife among the Mundurucú, but during our research no Mundurucú was even heard to raise his voice against another, and the occurrence of overt violence between men was specifically denied by informants. The social structure demanded complete harmony and cooperation; the latent and suppressed aggressions inevitable in such a situation were projected into the person of the sorcerer, and his execution was cathartic for the community. It will be shown, however, that the changing nature of this community has caused sorcery to be involved in its progressive and ongoing fission.

In spite of the fact that sorcery was a perilous practice, resort to black magic served as a covert expression of generalized hostility for the shaman, as well. Although it is impossible to induce any Mundurucú to admit witchcraft, I am inclined to believe that it is actively practiced. The techniques by which evils are manufactured and propagated are well known to all shamans, and some informants claimed that sorcerers have revealed their activities to them, as in the case described above.* There is no doubt that many, if not most, accused shamans are entirely innocent of the charges, but this, of course, does not alter the function of sorcerer execution as an escape valve for repressed aggression and hostility within the society.

Aside from the suspicions, fear, and personal insecurity engendered by belief in witchery among prospective victims and shamans alike, the execution of sorcerers is frequently a source of factionalism within the society. During our residence in the village of Missão Velha, the community was split by an impending sorcery execution. Two years earlier, a powerful shaman had been called to the village to destroy the malignant objects believed to have caused an outbreak of

*See pp. 49–51.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

illness. This accomplished, the shaman informed the people of the identity of the sorcerer and implied that there was one more in the village whose name he would not reveal at that time. The accused man was duly slain, in spite of the objections of his house mate and brother-in-law. Sickness continued to trouble the village, and the shaman then revealed the name of the other guilty person. The latter, a young man named Antonio, was still present in Missão Velha during our sojourn. He remained somewhat aloof from the other men, but on occasion joined and even joked with some of those most intent upon killing him. However, the latter by no means included all the villagers. The brother-in-law of the shaman who had been killed two years before, Antonio's house mate, and the men of another of the eleven dwellings of the village opposed his execution or were at least in favor of allowing him to depart in peace. The faction that favored killing him was led by the son-in-law and the sons of the chief. The chief, himself, had rather ambivalent feelings about the case. He owed his position as chief to the mission priests, and he did not wish to bring down their inevitable wrath through another killing. But he believed in Antonio's guilt and refused to live in the same village with him. For a time he planned to shift his residence, but those plans were changed when he heard that Antonio intended to leave for the Tapajós River.

We had lived in this village for several weeks before the conflict came to our attention, for there was no external indication of disturbance in the smooth flow of everyday life. Only gradually it became evident that feelings were quite bitter. The faction that favored killing Antonio regarded him with fear and loathing. Those who favored his cause did so not out of disbelief in sorcery, but because they distrusted the honesty of his persecutor's motives, and because they were weary of the interminable conflicts in the village. They knew, however, that their cause was hopeless, and all had decided to move at their earliest convenience. If all carried out their intention, the village stood to lose 36 of its 90 people. Antonio's case was not unique; sorcery was almost invariably and deeply involved in the rapid fission process that was occurring in all Mundurucú villages.

Sorcery killings probably produced such tensions even before Mundurucú society had lost its cohesiveness. But there can be little doubt that the stronger patterns of leadership and interdependency of the past were more conducive to unanimity of action within the community on these occasions. Also, where complete concurrence could not be obtained, the dissident elements undoubtedly remained passive rather than create disharmony. The individual and the family depended completely upon larger groups for their continued existence, and, in any event, there existed no alternate residence pattern.

Sorcery and executions will undoubtedly continue even after the larger social units of extended family and village have become completely fragmented. The priests of the Cururú River mission have inveighed against belief in sorcery for more than forty years with little noticeable effect. Nor were they the first to attempt to suppress the practice. In 1876, Father Pelino de Castrovalva, the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754
578
797

founder of the mission of Barabili on the Tapajós River, wrote to the governor of the province of Pará the following words:

> Now one of the greatest superstitions with which I have had to battle has been that of witchcraft. What have I not said, what have I not done to wrest this pernicious superstition from their hearts? And how many deaths have they caused with these erroneous principles before the establishment of the mission? Despite all, when I begin to think that I have persuaded them to detest such an abominable vice, the first day that the missionary is missing they do the same things.[10]

[10] Cited in Tocantins, 1877, pp. 108–109.

the clan of the man who manufactured them. If he dies or moves to another village, it is quite possible that no other man of that community will belong to the clan owning the trumpets. It is, therefore, understandable that informants were often vague when asked to explain the connection between clans and instruments. Many people believed that the trumpets had souls of their own and that these were the most important spirits resident within them. And, as has been mentioned, it was commonly thought that the playing of the instruments was pleasing to the spirit mothers of the game. 771 178

The actual function of the trumpets in present-day Mundurucú society has little to do with clanship, but much to do with the maintenance of the sharp dichotomy between the sexes. The instruments are primarily the property of the village men and are expressive of their unity and identity in the face of the women. In this connection it is significant that the villages that arose along the Cururú River have never had either the men's house or the sacred trumpets. As a corollary, the gulf between the sexes in social participation and labor that characterizes the savannah villages is lacking. On the Cururú the nuclear family is the basic social and economic unit. Men eat and sleep with their families and join their wives in tasks that would be considered degrading by a savannah dweller. But the demands of the rubber trade, combined with the covert hostility and factionalism that exist in all Mundurucú villages, are currently promoting migration from the savannah communities either to the Cururú River or to isolated residence along other streams. The end result will be the complete lapse of the sacred instruments and the men's organization.

The only other extant ceremonial is the one devoted to curing victims of soul loss. Since human souls are stolen by the spirit mothers of the game, this rite is also one of the few remaining religious acts that deals with this category of supernaturals. It is most significant that all the important means of obtaining the good will of these spirits and the increase of game have lapsed, although the Mundurucú have clung tenaciously to the technique of defending themselves against the spirits and rectifying the damage done by them. It may be said of the religion of the contemporary Mundurucú that it has retained those items that specifically protect the individual and, to a less degree the society, from harm though dropping those features that were not so immediately defensive in nature and which were more expressive of the integration and central values of the society.

To continue this line of thought, we turn to a consideration of those elements of Mundurucú religion that have maintained greatest vitality—shamanism and sorcery.[1] The two institutions are inseparable in the Mundurucú mind; the shaman cures diseases, which are invariably caused by sorcery, and the sorcerers are recruited from the ranks of the shamans. But disease, its explanation and its cure, has much greater significance than as a system of belief. Kluckhohn has shown for the Navaho that sorcery plays a vital role in the release of aggression,[2] and Beatrice Blythe Whiting's monograph *Paiute Sorcery*[3] shifts emphasis somewhat and stresses the function of sorcery as a mechanism of social control. Both of these fac- 178 771 152 754 578

[1] Kluckhohn, 1944.
[2] Whiting, 1950.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178
771
152
754
578

tors, but primarily that of aggression release, play a part in Mundurucú sorcery also.

In a previously published work[8] I set forth the thesis that aggression cannot be tolerated in Mundurucú society because of the combination of a matrilocal residence rule and a patrilineal descent system. Under these social conditions each man has two sets of allegiances, one to his clan and the other to the household and village of his wife. Since the two do not coincide, he occupies social roles that potentially can conflict. That is, a quarrel between households or villages may well pit fellow clansmen against each other, and, correspondingly, conflict between clans can cause internal dissension within villages and even households. Open aggression is therefore avoided among the Mundurucú, and, although interpersonal and interfactional tensions abound within the group, they are generally suppressed. The feeling of horror at the outward display of hostility between men is so strong that informants were unwilling to give data upon its occurrence, although it occasionally happens.

Violence during warfare or the execution of a sorcerer, however, is thoroughly condoned. Attacks upon enemy tribes served to channel hostility upon surrogate objects outside the society and thus promoted social cohesion, but this avenue of release is no longer open. The only remaining catharsis for aggression is the practice of sorcery and the execution of suspected sorcerers. Another alternative, withdrawal from the frustrating situation, has been made possible by the general pacification of the upper Tapajós area and the consequent possibility of flight from village life. In former times it would have been most risky for an individual or family to forsake the mutual security offered by the local group, but today it is common for Mundurucú to live in the midst of the Brazilian rubber-gathering population. Even within the confines of Mundurucú territory, the tendency toward neolocal residence makes isolated or semi-isolated existence socially acceptable.

Mundurucú sorcery has a number of interesting facets. It is impossible to induce any shaman to admit the [illegible] of detailed knowledge of witchcraft techniques suggests that it indeed exists. Granting that witchcraft is not completely a figment of the Mundurucú imagination, the practitioner undoubtedly derives considerable gratification of his antisocial inclinations. Also, the Mundurucú generally fix suspicion of sorcery upon the more deviant shamans. Thus of the two people known by me to have been suspected of witchcraft, one was a rather humorless, silent, and aloof man, and the other, although more outgoing, far outstripped the other members of the village in rubber production. The threat of sorcery accusation, it may be inferred, tends to enforce social participation and conformity.

These factors of covert release of aggression and social control are, however, applicable only to the ranks of shamans. Persons born without shamanistic powers are unable to practice witchcraft, and sorcerers do not practice on behalf of others. But the dogged persistence of belief in black magic among the members of the society at large suggests that it does perform a very vital social function. It has al-

[8] Murphy, 1957.

ready been mentioned that depopulation, the disintegration of the social structure, and the decline of such highly valued activities as warfare and the hunt have robbed the Mundurucú of much that was vital and positive in their way of life and left them disheartened and apathetic. Frustration, in the classic paradigm, normally leads to aggression, the expression of which is forbidden in this culture. Fear of sorcery among the Mundurucú is a means of embodying and phrasing in understandable terms not only the manifold anxieties of their existence but the latent aggression that nearly all members of the society carry within them. In this connection, it will be remembered that the intrusive objects made by the sorcerer are spread abroad and are not usually directed against any one person. The sorcerer is then, as the Mundurucú say, malevolent toward society in general. This is not only logically consistent with the indiscriminate ravages of epidemic disease, but it also suggests that the sorcerer of the *sorcerer* displace generalized aggression to his person and eradicate it through his execution.

178
771
152
754
578

That considerable aggression is unleashed upon the executed sorcerer can be inferred from the quality of the executions and the way in which informants report them. Many, if not most, executions take place from ambush, but some are bloody affairs in which the accused is beaten to death with clubs. And the Mundurucú enthusiastically relate these episodes with obvious hatred for the victim. The men of the village of Cabruú derived evident satisfaction by pointing to a brown smear on the posts of their men's house and saying: "That is where we wiped the blood of our last sorcerer from our hands." This emotional intensity parallels that reported by Kluckhohn among the Navaho,* and among both peoples this is atypical behavior.

Since aggression is related not only to real interpersonal differences but to frustration and general insecurity, it should be expected that witchcraft accusations would be most common in periods of stress. This is borne out by the Mundurucú practice of refraining from direct action against the sorcerer until [illegible] do not have sufficient historical material to demonstrate conclusively, as did Kluckhohn, that sorcery troubles are correlated with historical periods of crisis. The best primary source on the Mundurucú, the report of the Brazilian engineer Antonio Tocantins, in 1875, describes sorcery executions as extremely frequent and one of the major problems of the Barabai mission.* But it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this data and to control all the variables in the situation without similarly complete reports from other periods. In 1875 the Mundurucú still waged war and therefore had available a means of expression of hostility which had the obvious advantage of being directed outside the society. But on the other hand, Mundurucú society was then being subjected to its greatest threat since the contact with the whites, for these were the first years of the rubber-extraction period, and the Indians themselves were becoming increasingly involved in the industry. White rubber tappers were penetrating the area in growing numbers, and the mission had just been established. In

754
756
152
578

* Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 98.
* Tocantins, 1877, pp. 107-111.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756
754
152
578

view of the complexity of the problem and the paucity of data, however, it can only be concluded that sorcery was also common in times past. Whether or not accusations and executions have increased in number or in proportion to the number of shamans cannot be positively ascertained, but it is highly significant that the institution has been perpetuated into the present, a period that has seen the disappearance of much of Mundurucú religious activity.

It has been said that the shaman occupies a most precarious role today. The source of much of the evil threatening the group, he also is the only person who can cope with the harmful forces, and his services are in great demand. The Mundurucú are deeply concerned with illness and frequently sought relief in the medicine afforded by my wife and me and by the mission and Indian Service Post. But given their theory of disease, modern medicines were inadequate for a complete cure and were believed efficacious only in healing the damage done by supernatural agencies. The removal and destruction of the latter can only be accomplished by the shaman. The role thus has a dual function; society purges itself of repressed hostility through the imputation of malevolence to the shaman, and it is also the means by which society protects itself from the believed evil.

This dual function makes shamanism a most ambivalent practice. All but the most powerful practitioners, who usually are called upon to detect sorcerers, are in great and continued danger. The general reduction of the Mundurucú population has proportionately thinned the ranks of the shaman, and executions have further reduced their numbers. Many leave the Mundurucú country in flight from execution parties or in fear of future accusation. Others refuse to practice shamanism in the hope, often vain, that they will thus shield themselves from suspicion. The result is that many villages are without shamans, and their residents accordingly lose another native for remaining members of enclosed communities.

The involvement of sorcery in repressed conflict may be seen through an [illegible] in which the village of Missão Velha split on whether to kill the accused Antonio is a case in point. Antonio was the most industrious rubber tapper of the village and was much disliked by the family of the chief. The latter group was, as in most Mundurucú villages, the strongest aggregation of kinsmen in the community, since it included not only the sons-in-law of the chief, but also his sons, who are customarily exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Relations were strained between the chief's group and the men of many other households of the village, for the latter looked upon the chief as the appointee of the missionaries and resented the strength of his family. These dissidents sided with the condemned shaman. They were not, however, willing to court the possibility of open factional struggle by offering physical defense of Antonio, but resolved instead to leave the village.

Another case of sorcery, this time in the savannah village of Cabruá, saw the men of the village determined to kill the stepson of the chief. The latter, supported by his sons and sons-in-law, intervened, and the man's life was spared. In a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

third village, however, the power of the chief's family must have been weak, for both he and his son were slain as sorcerers by the other men of the village. The tendency for villages to fractionate because of sorcery fears and accusations is probably greater now than in the past. Not only is village cohesion in general much weaker, but the disappearance of such leadership activities as heading war parties and trading on behalf of the village as a whole has made it most difficult for the chief to obtain the consensus necessary to carrying out an execution. It must not be thought, however, that lack of unanimity in sorcerer killings indicates a decline in belief in black magic; it rather reflects distrust of the sincerity of the accusers and the existence of latent factionalism that may not be directly caused by witchcraft. But these occasions bring conflicts to a head and open breaches that are in many cases irreparable and can be resolved only by the removal of one party.

This analysis of the Mundurucú data indicates that although the institution of sorcery may be viewed in one light as socially integrative, so far as it acts as a cathartic for aggression, it may also be most disruptive of social cohesion, for it often aggravates tensions.* It would seem that shamanism and sorcery have become complementary to the central direction of social and economic change. The ecological accommodation to increased participation in rubber production calls for the dispersal of the population into ever smaller units in the vicinity of the stands of wild rubber trees. Correspondingly, sorcery conflicts tend to disintegrate larger village units while being integrative for factions within the village, which then commonly establish themselves as small local groups. This is not the only means by which social fission occurs. Latent conflicts that do not involve sorcery sometimes cause families and factions to leave villages; others leave because of the economic expediency of residence near their rubber avenues. But sorcery remains as a contributing motivation for the participants in the process. The Mundurucú example thus suggests that the institution of sorcery may promote the cohesion of a society as a whole, but only where other bases for such cohesion exist.

The close relationship of religion to the social structure can be seen quite as clearly in the context of change as in a synchronic dimension. As the society has become progressively divested of those mechanisms that integrated tribe and village, so also have group religious activities fallen into abeyance. What remains are the essentially individual practices of shamanism and sorcery. This is the same process noted for other parts of South America by Steward, and which he has phrased as part of a change in "level of sociocultural integration."† But beyond the scope of participation in religious activity we have seen another selective factor determining which segments of religion will persist. This, in brief, is the simple question of whether the element serves some social function in the changed setting. By this criterion, the warfare ceremonies have totally disappeared, and the ceremonies for the animal spirits have declined with the shift of a large part of the population from hunting to fishing. Similarly, the

* Kluckhohn (1944, p. 71) has noted the presence of disruptive elements in Navaho witchcraft also, although the analysis of these tendencies were beyond the scope of his treatise.

† Steward, 1955.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 [683] shaman is said by the Mundurucú to be "angry at everybody," and he continues his practice until apprehended and executed.

The sorcerer is thus visualized as the bearer of latent and generalized aggression that is expressed by covert means, and it is possible to infer, from the beliefs surrounding the institution, the projection and expurgation of repressed hostility within the society at large. Witchcraft has particular tenacity because it serves to provide the practitioner of the art with a means of aggression release, and it provides the members of the community with a technique or displacing their own hostilities to his person and deriving further catharsis through his execution. Witchcraft also serves to explain the ills that inflict humanity, and provides a means of defense against them. The problems resolved by belief in sorcery and shamanism are almost universal in scope—disease, death, and social tensions—and are not so narrowly keyed to the variables of Mundurucú society and economy as were the defunct ceremonies. The problem of repressed antagonism is especially acute among the Mundurucú, however, because of the injunction against the open display and playing out of hostility. [578]

Ideally, the execution of a sorcerer is carried out with the consensus of nearly all members of the community. 683 754 Such agreement was probably more easily obtained in the past when political controls were firmer and less subject to dispute and the bonds of mutual interdependence among villagers stronger. Today, however, sorcery accusations frequently bring factionalism perilously near the surface. In one savannah community, the chief and one of his sons were slain as sorcerers, and in another only the intervention of the chief and his family saved his stepson from the same fate. That chiefs and their families are so com-

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders, this may constitute a significant bloc within the community under current circumstances.

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the number of shamans. This not only includes people who were actually executed, but also those who escaped or who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay, but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced with the unhappy prospect of being the only available scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the services that village life traditionally afforded.

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. Fellow clan members are no longer united by

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

them through its combined purchasing power and its members have access to them. The sharing of food also fortifies the ties of interdependence. A family does not go hungry unless everybody in the village is in similar straits, and the unlucky hunter, the traveler, or the family whose garden was ruined by armadillos or wild pigs may count on housemates or neighbors in other households for aid. 182 476

Within the household, the framework of social cohesion is provided by the core of related resident females. And although the men of the household are marginal participants in its internal workings, they identify themselves with its interests and occupants to an increasing degree, as their marital union grows in age and stability. But the men are also integrated on the level of the village through the men's house, which serves as political forum, social club, and center of a male religious cult. The men's house also is the place where members of the same moiety and, perhaps, of the same phratry associate. Bonds of kinship, which ultimately include all Mundurucú in a limited set of relationships, are important deterrents to any motivation to move into a more isolated existence. 182 592 562 [602]

The savannah villages appear to the observer as extremely well-knit and unified organizations; and the ease with which new residents or visitors are integrated into them is an impressive display of tribal solidarity. But such harmony is difficult to maintain. Hostilities may be repressed, but not indefinitely or completely. Mundurucú culture provides few escape valves for aggression. Warfare was formerly the ideal vent for latent hostility, and it had the dual advantage of affording an external outlet and requiring social solidarity by arraying the tribe against a common foe. 182 578 [621]

The lapse of warfare left only the execution of sorcerers 182 574 754 683

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 as the single permissible occasion on which violence was
578 condoned. Kluckhohn's* view is well founded that the
754 sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him
683 and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

182 Conflicts between persons and groups are not always
578 connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men com-
[837] monly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the
[622] numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

182 Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their
591 villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive
596 weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished
[578] size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

* Kluckhohn, 1944.

all Mundurucú still believe firmly in the supernatural causation of illness. Thus, the drugs of the white man are considered efficacious in the repair of the damage caused by the sorcerer's evil objects, but this in no way circumvents the necessity for the shaman to extract them. A corollary of the continued belief in native explanations of disease is the persistence of accusations of sorcery and the occasional killing of witches.

The only shaman in recent practice in Missão Velha was executed as a sorcerer in 1950. It is now necessary to call a shaman from another village or to bring the sick person to him. The lack of an actively practicing shaman has not prevented another case of sorcery from arising in the village, for the accused in this instance was a shaman by descent. The case will be described in some detail, for it illustrates how political factionalism, sorcery, and general disaffection have combined as fission elements in the loosely integrated Cururú River villages.

Several months before we stayed in Missão Velha, a great deal of illness caused the chief's son-in-law and sons to seek the services of Pedro, the most renowned of all Mundurucú shamans and a resident of the mission. Pedro, without the knowledge of the priests, of course, went to Missão Velha and performed the necessary acts to destroy all evil objects in the vicinity of the village. He then informed the others that the man responsible was one Antonio, a resident of Missão Velha whose father was a shaman, although he himself never practiced. The chief wanted no trouble and planned for a time to move away from the supposedly malignant Antonio, but the younger men of his family were determined to kill the sorcerer. Certain other men of the village, however, were not fully convinced of Antonio's guilt and opposed his condemnation. Their doubts were not a reflection of skepticism in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159
578
754
756

supernatural belief, but arose from hostility to the chief's group, Antonio's most persistent persecutors. The fact that they would also doubt the accuracy and integrity of the most powerful shaman in the tribe is indicative of the intensity of this animosity. Some of the men opposed to the execution felt, on the other hand that Antonio was in all probability guilty, but expressed revulsion at the idea of more bloodshed and would have rather preferred to let him depart in peace. In any even, no unanimous community action could be taken.

The split in the village was exactly along the lines of the two village political factions Favoring the execution of Antonio were the chief, his two sons, his two sons-in-law, and the brother and brothe-in-law of one son-in-law. The opposition consisted of the brother-in-law and former co-resident of a shaman killed at Missão Velha two years earlier, the brother-in-law and house mate of the accused Antonio, and a household whose men were related affinally to the chief's group. The position of the latter house in the dispute is of particular interest, for it included the brother-in-law, brother, and nephew of that son-in-law of the chief who was the moving spirit of the other faction. The people of this household had originally moved to Missão Velha to be near the latter kinsman.

The dilemma was finally resolved when the frightened Antonio decided to move completely out of the Mundurucú country to the relative safety of the Tapajós River. Those who defended him, however, were completely alienated from the village, and all had made plans to move. The man whose brother-in-law was killed two years ago was ready to settle permanently near his rubber avenue, the brother-in-law of the accused contemplated his departure, and the members of the third household wanted to move farther upstream. We left Missão Velha before the shifts

occurred. If all the planned moves took place, however, the net loss to the village would be 38 out of 90 people, the residents of three of the ten occupied houses. As a footnote to this episode, Antonio fled shortly after our departure, but he made the fatal error of settling in a Mundurucú hamlet on the lower Cururú River. His reputation was, of course, widely known, and he was slain by his new fellow-villagers. 159 578 754 756 [683]

To our knowledge the dispute never flared into an open display of aggression. On a few occasions the accused man was seen to talk to one of the men who wished to kill him and, more rarely, there was mutual visiting. Hostility between Mundurucú is generally more open on the Cururú than in the savannahs, but violence is still suppressed. Here, too, the only escape valve consists in killing suspected sorcerers; otherwise, one may move away from the object of hostility. The latter is easily done in the socioeconomic framework of the Cururú settlements, for interpersonal and interfamilial dependence is low, and individuals have correspondingly greater mobility than on the savannahs.

Although no personal violence attends these disputes, the facts of conflict and withdrawal are socially disruptive beyond their effects on village membership. In the above-described conflict, two brothers were ranged in opposite factions, because one had chosen to follow the stand in defense of the accused taken by the oldest member of his household. And the position of the latter placed him in conflict with one of his wife's brothers, who favored killing Antonio. An even more interesting split occurred in a household whose inhabitants were absent from the village during my research. The oldest man and head of the house wished to avoid strife by taking no action against the condemned man, but his son, who resided with the father, was

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of
754 these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by
756 the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and
571 the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household,
[592] most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a
[574] neighbor and his family will visit briefly. Visiting is almost always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the
579 schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

made the tribe useful to the whites. It was important to the Brazilians to maintain the friendship and virtual autonomy of the Mundurucú; the group was accordingly spared some of the severe contact traumata expetienced by other Indian tribes of the rain forest. 174 182 [177]

The social system resulting from the first set of changes in Mundurucú social structure of which we have record persists (with some further modifications) in the present-day savannah villages. From one point of view, it might be said that these early alterations had one over-all function: they fulfilled the new social need of accommodation to Brazilian society. Peaceable relations were established through mercenary service and trade in manioc flour, and these were the means through which the Mundurucú acquired trade items. But the fact of a system of interrelations between Brazilians and Mundurucú meant that the social system of the latter had become vulnerable to changes in the former. Thus, when the direction of the Amazonian economy turned to rubber extraction, the Mundurucú were accordingly affected. 174 177 182

The rubber boom was roughly concurrent with the general pacification of the middle Amazon region. The Mundurucú were needed then as workers, and not as warriors. For the most part they turned to rubber tapping to get merchandise. The total lapse of military activity undercut some of the bases of Mundurucú social solidarity and exposed the institution of leadership to the strife inherent in the political organization. Witchcraft and the execution of sorcerers continued—there are no data to indicate either an increase or decrease of the practices—but in a new social setting. The formerly prevailing consensus in executing sorcerers, which was a reflection of social solidarity, is now difficult to obtain, and the custom today disrupts cohesion. [754] [683]

595 offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond
578 their endurance. Bibei refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father.
[622] He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

V

183 This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurucú culture and
577 social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring
578 must inevitably close on Bibei. He had offended all the Mundurucú canons of taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house, Bibei returned to Cabitutu to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the villagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of
[788 681] Cabitutu, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover, Bibei did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the killing of a deviant--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and Bibei's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

554 In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Bibei
684 thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl; whatever rectitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the village except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some exceptions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Bibei's young wife in the underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gardens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another component to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Bibei, for the Cabruá men, too, disliked Bibei with some intensity. Even in his father's village his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he was considered unbearably deviant. But physical sanctions against Bibei would have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the men of Cabruá attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a mortal blow to Bibei's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Bibei soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those

754 The most common affliction of the supernatural was *caushi*. The *caushi* was not a spirit but an object carved to a certain form by a sorcerer, given malignant animation by him, and sent sometimes against certain people, but usually against anyone that it might encounter. All illness was caused by *caushi* and, therefore, ultimately by witchcraft.

[75]

754 **Shamanism**

The chief function of the Mundurucú shaman was curing. Among his other duties was the ceremonial one of guarding the people against the attacks of *Turunarí* during certain rites. He was also responsible for putting in a deep sleep by a magical spell the people of a village about to be attacked and for feeding the spirit "mothers" of the game.

The power of shamanism was hereditary in the patrilineal line and present since birth. All the children of a shaman, including daughters, possessed the power, but, today, the women do not practice any more. In the aboriginal culture, female shamans had only a few specific ceremonial functions and did not cure. Curing was done by the common practice of blowing smoke on the sick person and then extracting the evil object, or *caushi*, by massage and suction. The shaman then prescribed certain barks and roots applied externally or drunk mixed with water that were supposed to heal the internal damage done by the evil object. During the cure, the shaman smoked a large cigarette to generate the necessary curative smoke, but he did not inhale in large enough quantities to produce tobacco intoxicants as do the

[76]

756
776

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 825 These Tarupari make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air. Though the porpoise Tarupari are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other Tarupari is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 753 All types of Tarupari travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peripheries of villages, and, consequently, few Mundurucú venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the Tarupari is a magical stone that it throws at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and, invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the Tarupari is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 755 There are no means by which attacks of the Tarupari can be prevented, but Mundurucú shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 797 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the Tarupari while in the field because the Mundurucú informants hesitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Mundurucú. The priests translated the Devil as Tarupari, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the Tarupari." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of Tarupari beliefs shared by the Mundurucú and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 825 One of the commonest beliefs of Tarupari in the Amazon Basin is that of the fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian *caboclos*, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to ensnare victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Ita the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Mundurucú Tarupari, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Mundurucú also believe in the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept of the porpoise type Tarupari was borrowed from the civilized population. If this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

776 171 177

* Wagley, 1953, p. 183.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

rather than directly from their immediate Brazilian neighbors. In our present state of knowledge of the ethnology of the Amazon region, reliable reconstructions of such diffusion are most difficult.

In the preceding discussion of spirit mothers of game animals, it was mentioned that the *patóka ši* avenges itself upon humans by stealing their souls. This is one of the gravest afflictions that may befall a Mundurucú, and only the performance of a ceremony is sufficient to regain the soul of a stricken person; ordinary shamanistic curing techniques are inadequate. Men can lose their souls to the game through a variety of offenses. The insults to the game already described are the most common means of occasioning the anger of the spirit mothers. One can also lose his soul if he sits too close to a fire over which the head of a game animal is roasting, and he is struck by the optic fluid from an exploding eye. Another means of losing one's soul is to have adulterous relations with the wife of a member of the *Bia ši* (Mothers of the Tapir) society, which is responsible for impersonating the tapir during certain ceremonies. In these cases, the tapir robs the soul of the offending male. The members of the *Bia ši* society, themselves, are in danger of losing their souls during those ceremonies in which they perform. They must be especially careful not to bathe in the streams during rituals, as the *bear ši*, or mother of the proqo monkey, will surely steal their souls. To prevent this they bathe in the house from gourds.

Women may also lose their souls through offenses against the game, but since women do not hunt, this rarely occurs. However, a woman who bathes during her first menses or shortly after the birth of a child may have her soul taken by the jararaca snake. Either the large or small species of this reptile family robs the soul, depending on whether the woman is on land or in the water at that time. The jararaca turns the soul over to the tapir, and it begins the long journey described below.

The journey of the stolen soul is believed by the Mundurucú to be a terrifying and danger-fraught experience. Although the *patóka ši* is often spoken of as stealing the soul, the actual theft appears to be the work of the tapir and, less commonly, of other animals and spirit mothers of species. After the tapir steals the soul, it runs with it through thick underbrush and swims across rivers. The beast then gives the soul to the peccary, which travels for some time with it and then passes it on to a lesser game animal. The soul is finally transferred to the smallest species of monkey which, in turn, gives it to the largest variety of fish. It passes on to smaller fish until it finally reaches the smallest species. At this point the journey ends, and the afflicted person dies.

The person whose soul has been robbed lies in a semicoma and dreams of the trials to which his soul is exposed. The rigors of the trip are such that the person grows steadily weaker, and death may occur at almost any time during the travels of the stolen soul. If the animal with which it is traveling dies, the sick person dies also. Two parts of the journey are especially dangerous. At one point the soul passes within a stone's throw of the house of a proqo monkey, which throws urine at it. If the soul is struck by only a drop of the urine, its owner dies. In another

756 is used by the shaman to extract from afflicted people the yakip, or malignant object sent by the mother of the game. All these instruments are inert until the shaman blows power-giving tobacco smoke upon them. They are then thought to be "alive" and to have "strength."

Disease and Its Treatment

753 In order to understand fully the important role that the shaman plays among the Mundurucú, their theories of disease and affliction must be outlined. There is practically no human misfortune that cannot be attributed to supernatural influences. If a Mundurucú suffers a slight cut on his foot, he may admit that it was due to sheer misfortune. But if he incurs a serious wound, the shaman is usually consulted and invariably attributes the affliction to the vengeance of the mother of the game. Any infection, pain, or other aftereffect of the wound is generally thought to be the work of the yakip, which is sent by the mother of the game or by the soul of the animal offended by the wounded man. Similarly, a snake bite, a fall from a tree, or any other serious misadventure that cannot be classified as a disease is usually diagnosed by the shaman as the vengeance of the animal world.

Diseases also are the result of evil supernatural influences. But whereas serious accidents are attributed to the spirit mother and therefore to the negligence or stupidity of the stricken person, disease strikes people regardless of their activities. And though afflictions that have clear and obvious causes, as cuts or snake bites, are also thought to be the vengeance of the supernaturals associated with the animals, disease is caused by sorcerers. All sorcerers are shamans who consciously [754] wish to hurt their fellow men. The sorcerer causes disease by modeling a variety of objects and blowing smoke upon them to give them life. The evil objects, called *cewób*, are then wafted off on the wind to wander through the air until they encounter some human. Invisible to ordinary people, they enter the body and cause illness. The particular illness depends upon the material out of which the *cewób* was modeled and the shape given it by the sorcerer.

Two distinct processes are required for the proper cure of illness. First the *cewób* 755 is extracted from the sick person's body by the shaman, and he then prescribes 757 certain herbal remedies to repair the damage caused by it. The first part of the cure is uniform for all *cewób*; the herbal remedy prescribed is, however, specific for the malady.

The process of extracting a *cewób* is extremely simple. The sick person strips his 755 or her clothes from the part of the body where the pain is localized and sits or 276 lies on the ground. The treatment most often takes place in the patient's dwelling, but the shaman sometimes receives the ill in the men's house. After the patient is prepared, the shaman takes one of his large cigarettes, which are wrapped in a thin layer of the inner bark of the tauari tree, and commences to smoke. As he smokes he crouches over the sick person and intently stares at his body. The shaman does not inhale or swallow excessive amounts of smoke, and narcotic effects are specifically denied. Rather, the smoke heightens his extra-visual ability

to see the *cauši* within the patient's body, and he is considered to be in a state of 755
intense concentration. During this period the many observers of the cure fall silent, 276
and even the children are hushed. After completing his examination and identification of the *cauši* lodged within the patient's body, the shaman blows clouds of smoke over him. This is an essential part of the cure, for the tobacco smoke is believed to dislodge the *cauši* from its place deep within the sick person and to bring it nearer to the surface, from where it can be easily extracted. Once the shaman 755
has accomplished this end, he commences to massage the patient's body, stroking inward toward the point where the pain is localized. At the completion of the massaging the *cauši* is believed to be directly below the skin and just above the source of pain. The shaman quickly applies his mouth to this point and sucks noisily at the patient's skin. He then draws away and deftly removes the *cauši* from his mouth, into which he has supposedly sucked it, and holds it out in his open palm for all to observe. He examines it with great care for some time and throws it into a fire, where it is thought to be completely destroyed. The object exhibited by the shaman is usually a small piece of wood or the pit of a palm fruit. The sleight of hand involved apparently requires no great ingenuity, but everybody is firmly convinced that the shaman has really extracted an evil object from the patient. I was unable to induce any shaman to reveal the innermost secrets of his art, but I am convinced that the shaman, too, believes that he extracts *cauši*, elusive though his reasoning may be.

The sole deviation from the above procedure occurs during the extraction of a very large and dangerous *cauši*. The shaman localizes the object and brings it to the surface of the body in the usual manner, but he extracts it with a quick, grabbing motion of the hand.

The *cauši* is visible to the shaman both when flying freely through the air and when lodged in the patient's body. Ordinary persons can see it only after the shaman has extracted it. There are ten reported varieties of *cauši*, each of which represents a type of disease recognized by the Mundurucú. The *cauši* is believed to wreak considerable damage while in the sick person, and its extraction and destruction is not sufficient for a full recovery. This can only be through the application of herbal remedies, each of which is a specific for a certain type of *cauši*. These medicines are thought by the Mundurucú to be either "hot" or "cold"; the *cauši* is believed to cause considerable internal bleeding, and hot medicines remove this old blood from the body, and on the other hand, cold medicines reduce fever and alleviate pain.

The following is a list of the ten varieties of disease recognized by the Mun- 753
durucú and a description of the *cauši* believed to cause each and the medicinals 755
used to repair their damage. 278

1. *Dau* (leg) *pipi* (pain), or pain in the leg, is caused by a *cauši* carved in the 757
shape of a sting ray and made from its tail. This *cauši* lies on the floor in the doorways of houses and waits for an unwary person to step on it. Although it causes intense pains in the leg, its effects are not fatal. To cure the aftereffects of *dau*

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

753
755
278
757

pipi, the shaman heats the leaves of a tracuá vine over a fire and applies them to the center of the pain. This poultice, despite being heated, is considered a cold remedy.

2. *Ipse pipi*, or pain in the stomach, is instigated by a *cauã* that is made from a bitter manioc tuber or a piece of soap. When the object is made from soap it causes a mild stomach-ache, but when made from bitter manioc the poison is believed capable of killing the victim. Three varieties of cold medicine are used to cure the aftereffects of this illness. An unidentified species of potato is grated in water, and part of the mixture is drunk while the rest is poured over the patient's stomach. Another remedy uses a few scrapings from the castanha de arara mixed in water and taken both externally and internally. Also, the root of the jambú plant is beaten into a half-gourd of water and drunk.

3. *Eksobi pipi*, pain in the back, differs from the other ailments in that it is caused by a *cauã* that is actually a living bird. This bird, a species of curujá da noite, can be heard at night, but is never seen. When it flies directly above the house, the inhabitants are in danger of being afflicted with backache. A cold remedy for backache consists of a paste of grated ginger root which is applied to the affected parts. Another medicine is made in a similar fashion from the root of an unidentified shrub.

4. The material anũ form of the *cauã* that causes *cũnabi pipi*, or pain in the side, was not known by my informants, although five remedies were listed as effective in its cure. The following three are cold medicines. Pau de candeia is grated into boiling water and the compound drunk while still very hot. A broth is also made from envira de cacao, and grated deer antler is mixed with cold water and used both internally and externally. Hot medicines include a poultice of heated jamarú leaf and a broth made of the ashes of kamaiu cane mixed in hot water.

5. The common cold is called *ochõ ochõ*, an onomatopoetic word, and is believed to be caused by a *cauã* which consists of a bit of talcum powder rolled in paper. Four cold remedies include hot drinks made with lemon, ginger root, the root of an unidentified shrub, and the sap from a tree. The only hot remedy known is made by boiling mel de chupe and taking it internally.

6. The *cauã* that causes *nanchai pipi*, or pain in the uterus, is made from the root of an unidentified tree. Menstrual pains are not believed to be caused by this object, nor is it thought to cause labor pains. A hot medicine, used to free the woman of the old blood from the intra-uterine bleeding caused by this *cauã*, is made by cutting up the root of a paxiuba palm and boiling it in water. Some of this preparation is administered internally, and the remainder is placed in a pot below the woman's hammock. The rising vapors are believed to aid in the cure. Ashes of the paxiuba palm are also mixed in water and drunk.

7. *Paiat*, or fever, generally accompanies stomach-ache, according to informants. Actually, such a concurrence of the two afflictions occurs during an attack of chronic malaria, and the stomach-ache is, more accurately, a pain in the liver. Two cold remedies are used to reduce the fever. The first is made by grating a

vine in hot water and applying the mixture to the stomach. The other consists of the trunks of very young buriti palms crushed in water. Part of this mixture is drunk, and the rest is applied externally to the torso of the sick person. 753 755 278

8. *Ok pipé*, or intestinal pain, is caused by the same *ronái* as *ipoc pipé*, or stomach-ache. However, the term *ok pipé* is in reality reserved for dysentery, for it is always accompanied by severe diarrhea. The medicines used for stomach pains are considered effective in the relief of intestinal pains also, but two additional cold remedies are used as specifics for the diarrhea. The roots of a certain shrub are boiled in water, part of which is taken internally and the rest allowed to steam below the hammock. The leaves of this shrub are also applied to the abdomen as a poultice. The same use is made of the leaves of the *mururú pagé*, a water plant. The local Brazilians also boil the leaves of this plant and place the steaming pot below the hammock of a bewitched person. The vapors are believed to cause an evil object to fall out of the victim's body. 757

9. *A pipé*, or headache, is treated by mixing *cravo de cutanbrira* in water and applying the solution to the head. Unripe Brazil nuts are also grated into water and similarly applied. Both remedies are considered cold. The nature of the *ronái* that causes headache was not known by the informants interviewed.

10. The tooth and last ailment is a three-stage sickness generally known by the name applied to its first stage, called *ajuruni*. In this primary phase, the afflicted man or woman becomes unhappy and listless and eats mud, soap, and other inedible substances. The symptoms increase in severity in the next stage, or *pouká*, and the victim becomes thin, yellow, and "bloodless." Finally, the patient passes into the state known as *tembobat*, at the end of which he usually dies. During the final illness, the person's soul sometimes becomes one of the dreaded wandering souls. The symptoms are descriptive of the chronic forms of a number of illnesses, such as malaria, dysentery, and jaundice. The Mundurucú attribute it to a *ronái* made of roasted earthworms rolled into a ball and spread in the air. No remedies were known. [261]

A person can be afflicted by more than one *ronái* at a time, and the shaman often recommends a number of herbal preparations. The shaman does not himself administer these remedies, but instructs the kinsmen of the sick person in their use. They then collect the proper herbs and apply them.

The techniques used by the Mundurucú shaman are so widely distributed throughout eastern South America that any attempt to trace their prevalence would be overly lengthy. The shaman's use of tobacco smoke and the techniques of sucking and massage are almost universal in the Amazon area. Of equally wide distribution are the use of herbs and the various methods of applying them. Infusions, external applications, and steam baths are, as Lewis indicates,[7] known among a number of tribes of the region. 756 171

One aspect of Mundurucú herbal medicine worthy of further discussion is the division of remedies into hot and cold categories. This distinction is made throughout most of Latin America with regard to both medicines and food. The Mun- 278 171

[7] Lewis, 1944, pp. 21–22.

279 171 durucú, however, do not classify their foods in this manner, suggesting that the concept was perhaps borrowed from their Brazilian neighbors together with certain medicinal recipes. Furthermore, although the list of diseases and remedies is undoubtedly incomplete, it is significant that only twenty-four herbal medicines were reported. A much longer list could be collected among rural Brazilians of the area, who also use most of the same herbs employed by the Mundurucú.* This leads immediately to the question of whether the civilized inhabitants of the Amazon borrowed the medicinal preparations from the Indians or whether diffusion operated in the reverse direction. Although the use of herbs by the Indian population of the Amazon is undoubtedly a pre-Columbian practice, and although diffusion probably operated in both directions, it is very possible that the greatest borrowing was by the Indians. This is probably true for the Mundurucú, although we cannot be so certain for the first Indian groups encountered by the Portuguese. The herbal knowledge of these coastal tribes is, of course, crucial to the question.

753 The Mundurucú theory of disease exists side-by-side with certain sound empirical observations on the subject. They are well aware that epidemics are contracted through contact with white people. For example, when either my wife or I caught a cold, the Mundurucú avoided close proximity to us. Even on those occasions when we fell ill after an epidemic had already developed in the village, they were inclined to blame us. Also, they recognized that residence along waterways or near swamps was often accompanied by fevers (malaria), and they knew that the savannah villages were therefore more salubrious. Both contagion and the unhealthfulness of certain locales were loosely connected with the prevalence of the sorcerer's evil objects, or *cauã*, despite the contradiction implied. However, in this as in many other lines of thought, the Mundurucú do not push logic to its conclusion, for the roots of the supernatural concepts are social and not intellectual. The empirical observations and supernatural concepts coexisted with little effort on the part of the Mundurucú to integrate them, if, indeed, they were aware of the mutual antipathy of the two.

757 755 Moreover, despite their supernatural explanation of disease, the Mundurucú freely sought the rational medication, that we provided. Every day, a number of people came to our house for treatment, some from other villages; in only a very few cases did we have to seek out the sick and persuade them to accept our aid. Our experience in this matter was not unique, for both the mission and the Indian Post dispensed large quantities of medicine to Mundurucú patients. Not even the shamans resisted treatment; many were, in fact, our most faithful patients.

There are a number of reasons for this lack of resistance to Western medicine by the Mundurucú. Through long contact with the whites, they had come to recognize the efficacy of the white man's medicines, especially in the treatment of diseases they know to be associated with the civilized population. Some even knew the names of specific remedies; I had the unusual experience of having a tattooed, unpleasant Indian ask me for "*ralfa*."

* Note also the many herbal remedies reported by Wagley (1953, pp. 245-252) from the Amazon River town of Itá.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

This receptivity has, in part, been communicated to them by the whites. The Brazilian population of the near-by Tapajós River places high value upon modern medicines, despite their accompanying belief in witchcraft, their use of herbs, and occasional resort to shamanism. Wherever we traveled, we were continually visited by sick or wounded people. The fact that we were not medical practitioners did not affect our position as curers. It was sufficient that we were American scientists and must, therefore, possess adequate knowledge and equipment to cure almost any disease. Penicillin was endowed with quasi-magical qualities by the backwoods Brazilians, and they used it to cure backaches, sprains, and intestinal ailments, as well as various types of infection. These attitudes have diffused to the Mundurucú, and our medicines were accorded high prestige by them. But, more importantly, Western medicines accorded with their own techniques for the treatment of disease. They placed the use of aspirin, sulfa, and other drugs in the same category as their own herbal remedies, and believed that they repaired the damage done by the evil objects, or *ewaki*, of the sorcerer. Thus, they would go first to the shaman to have the intrusive object removed and then to us for medication; neither by itself was considered sufficient for a complete cure.

The accommodation of rational medication to aboriginal curing techniques furthered Mundurucú acceptance of Western medicine more than did the example and prestige of the white man. For example, the Mundurucú were convinced that a feverish person should be made cool. The result of this erroneous, albeit clear and simple, logic was that the sick took frequent baths in cold streams and lay upon the cool floors of their houses rather than in their hammocks. We, and the priests for many years before, repeatedly cautioned them against this practice, but our words went completely unheeded. The result was that a person afflicted with slight cold and fever soon developed a violent grippe. The Mundurucú were not impressed by the clear association between bathing and a worsened condition, for the seriousness of an illness was believed to be a direct function of the type and strength of the *ewaki* that caused it. Similarly, we had very little success in convincing the Mundurucú of the savannah villages that they could prevent malaria by purchasing mosquito nets and sleeping in them during their summer stay on the banks of the large streams. Whether our explanation that the *ewaki* that caused fever were afraid of mosquito netting was ultimately of some influence could not be ascertained. Needless to say, we were not looked upon as authorities on *ewaki*.

The techniques used to cure attacks by the animal spirits or by the *Tawapori* are somewhat different from the remedies for *ewaki*. Although both involve the extraction of an intrusive object from the patient's body, different methods are used. Also, no herbal treatments are used to right the damage done by these supernaturals.

The malignant stone cast by the *Tawapori* into its victim is considered far too dangerous to be sucked out by the shaman. Special precautions must be taken during a cure, and shamans are truly apprehensive while treating an afflicted person. The following case of a *Tawapori* attack will perhaps illustrate

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

755 this more vividly than could a generalized description. On this occasion, Maria, the wife of the shaman Vicente, had chosen the unpropitious hour of nightfall to walk on the path behind her house. She returned in a few moments shouting and screaming, her body doubled over with tremendous stomach pains. Her husband, Vicente, diagnosed her affliction as caused by *Turupari* attack, an analysis that followed quite naturally from the location and sudden violence of her pains and from the time and place of their onset. Vicente, although the strongest shaman in the village, did not feel able to cope with the *Turupari* himself, and he called in three other shamans who were residing in the village at that time. A lone shaman can deal adequately with *osaki*, but the Mundurucú usually try to gather as many practitioners as possible when the *Turupari* attacks. When all had assembled, Antonio, one of the assisting shamans, blew smoke on the sick woman and attempted unsuccessfully to extract the object by the common means of massaging the affected part and pushing it from the body with a squeezing motion of the hands. But he was forced to stop, for the malignant power of the *Turupari* was already causing pains in his arms. Vicente then took Antonio's place, with somewhat greater success. He, also, avoided direct physical contact with the stone, and massaged his wife's body and squeezed the objects out. He extracted a total of three stones. The first flew from her body into the air and directed itself toward the floor of the house, where the stones usually lodge themselves after extraction. But the stone swerved in mid-flight to avoid a bow of which it was afraid, and escaped through a hole in the wall. The second, and largest, emerged from the woman's body and flew into the dirt floor near the wall of the house. The third stone was small, and Vicente was able to catch it with a wad of charred cotton as it came out of his wife's stomach. He dropped the stone and cotton in a fire that had been built in front of the doorway.

The shamans then turned to the problem of destroying the stone that had entered the floor of the house. While Antonio stood guard at one door, Vicente watched the other to make sure that the evil object did not escape. Another shaman, José, then pounded the end of a bow along the ground, driving the malignant object before it. When it was directly below the fire, he lifted the end of the bow quickly, and the stone was lifted into the blaze.

The stones destroyed, Vicente sucked at various parts of his wife's body to rearrange the internal organs and cleanse the damaged areas. At the conclusion of the treatment, his wife rested comfortably and no longer felt pain. But both Vicente and Antonio then began to feel ill owing to proximity to the hyper-malignant objects. The other shamans then proceeded to cure them by sucking the parts of the body where the pain was localized.

The emotional tone of both shamans and witnesses during a *Turupari* cure is quite different from that prevailing in a treatment for *osaki*. The latter performances are characterized by a quiet interest on the part of the audience; the shaman is believed to be in full command of the situation and fear is minimal. But when one of the *Turupari*'s stones is being withdrawn from an afflicted person, both shamans and audience are nervous and tense. A number of shamans must be called upon to battle the evil, but despite their numbers the practitioners

are still believed to be in great danger. The stone cannot be touched; small ones 755
can be plucked from the patient's body or from the ground with a piece of charred cotton, but large stones are allowed to enter the ground and are then safely driven into a fire with the tip of a bow.

The *yakip* and *wirakud* sent by the souls of the game animals or by their spirit mothers cannot be touched either, but they are not considered as dangerous as the stones of the *Furupori*. To extract these malignant objects, the shaman, working alone, blows smoke upon the patient and massages his body. He then flicks the object out of the body with a macaw feather upon which he has blown tobacco smoke. No attempt is made to catch and destroy the object, for this would further anger the spirits of the game. These cures are usually only temporarily efficacious, and other *yakip* or *wirakud* frequently strike the victim anew after his cure.

In addition to their supernatural curing techniques, most shamans are quite 752
skilled in the secular treatment of broken bones, dislocated muscles, and similar ills. On one occasion, my wife was in acute discomfort from a strained muscle in her back. The shaman instructed her to lie face downward across a hammock, and our interpreter was told to hold her legs while I maintained a firm grip on her shoulders. He then probed the musculature in the small of her back with his fingertips. Although she complained only of a generalized backache, he apparently believed that the source of the trouble was to be found in this area. When the shaman found the difficulty, he ordered the interpreter to pull on her left leg at his command. He then pressed gently but firmly into the musculature with his two thumbs and issued the order. The treatment was quite effective, for his patient's pain was relieved immediately.

The preceding account represents a fairly comprehensive description of 777
Mundurucú maladies and their treatment. But a final affliction recognized by the Mundurucú can be classified neither as illness nor wound. The concept of *ibikowem* is best translated as bad luck and is found widely distributed throughout the Amazon under the designation of *panema*. *Ibikowem* affects only men and becomes evident when a man hunts for several days without killing any game or prowls continually about the underbrush near the village without encountering a woman. So far as could be ascertained, bad luck is not caused by supernaturals. It strikes only men who do not rub their bodies daily after bathing with the ground root of a species of forest vine. The fragrance of this root lingers about the person and is thought to attract game animals and women. To insure good luck fully in one's pursuits, it is also believed necessary occasionally to drink sufficient quantities of this root mixed in water to induce vomiting. Most men undergo this purification process once or twice a year.

Shamans and Souls

Although Mundurucú shamans are not thought to control and use particular 754
spirits, they are believed to be in intimate contact with the supernatural world. 776
The shamans' souls are said to have the ability to travel to the afterworlds and 782
to the underworld of the *Kihorosot*, and they alone among the Mundurucú can

Dajourupirip ceremonies. Since bathing in the stream was considered particularly dangerous to them, the members had to bathe in the village from gourds. Also, their obligation to sing the songs of the tapir allowed the *Biaŭ* little sleep during ceremonies. 796 224

When night fell, all fires of the village were extinguished and the *Biaŭ*, their captives, and the men fortunate enough to have escaped them reëntered the village in total darkness. The women shut themselves in their houses and did not dare look at the procession lest their next children be born with the fleshy hump found between the shoulders of the tapir, that is, hunchbacked. The procession ended in one of the houses, where the *Biaŭ* partook of a sweet manioc drink; after they were thus refreshed the women could look upon them with impunity.

A number of creatures were imitated on the final night of the ceremony, and songs appropriate to each species were sung. Among the performances was that for the land tortoise, in which the men imitated the animal and acted in this role as the pets of the women. All lined up in close order and pretended to accept chewed food from the mouths of their owners. The Mundurucú recall with glee that on one such ceremonial occasion a local Brazilian trader, who had been visiting the village, participated in the land tortoise imitation and actually ate the proffered food. In other sequences the grasshopper was emulated by squatting with stomach close to the ground and chirping, and the cry and hopping movements of the toucan were also enacted.

The animal performances lasted throughout the night, and dawn saw the conclusion of the ceremony and the departure of the guests.

The Curing Ceremony

The above performances of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle are now defunct, and there is little likelihood that they will be revived. But some ritual activity is still extant. It will be noted that the following ceremonies, though quite important to Mundurucú society, involve little social participation beyond the confines of one or two villages. None calls for the large reunions characteristic of the ceremonies devoted to the animal spirits or to the trophy head. 796 755 [57]

The curing ceremony, referred to as *Pawahibwikapatepen*, does not call for broad participation, although all the people of the village in which it is held usually attend as bystanders. Four shamans and two men with special knowledge of songs are needed, however, and must frequently be summoned from a distance. The curing ceremony is held only in cases of robbery of the soul by the animal spirits, a belief which has already been described. Soul loss is commonly held responsible for illnesses in which general, progressive debility is noted without the specific symptoms usually indicative of bewitchment. Given this diagnosis, the shaman attempts to identify the violation for which the animal spirits have taken vengeance and then prescribes a curing ceremony. At least four shamans are necessary to effect a cure and two men are called in to sing the required songs. The latter are persons who, as was described in a previous chapter,[1] received

[1] See page 57.

796
755

knowledge of these supernaturally powerful songs through dreams. The ceremony takes place in the household of the sick person; a man, when ill, is usually brought from the men's house to his wife's dwelling, whatever the cause of the malady. The tapir skull used during the ceremonies of the game is installed in the house, and long tauari bark-wrapped cigarettes are inserted into either eye and three are thrust into the ground on the left side of the skull. The "dreamers" then seat themselves before this ensemble and proceed to sing to the various game animals, requesting that they return the soul of the sick person. While singing they wave a mutúm feather tied to the end of a stick before the skull.

It will be recalled that there is a definite sequence in the passage of the soul from one species to another, proceeding from large game animals to smaller ones and then from the largest fish to the smaller ones until the soul arrives at the smallest fish and the patient dies. The songs of the dreamers are believed to be completely efficacious in securing the return of the stolen soul, but the soul is returned only when the dreamers sing the song of the animal that possesses the soul at the moment the song is being sung. Since the shamans and dreamers have no idea which animal has the soul at the time, and since there are a large number of animals into whose hands the soul passes (and, correspondingly, a large number of songs), the dreamers must trust to chance and luck that they will sing the right song at the appropriate instant. The choice of song is up to the dreamers, and they frequently sing for a long time before hitting upon the animal that has custody of the soul. Obviously, a great deal of risk is involved in this process, for the passage of time brings the patient and his soul nearer to their fatal destination. And as the journey lengthens, the condition of the sick person steadily worsens.

However, the dreamers generally succeed eventually in retrieving the soul, which is believed to return to the tapir skull used in the ceremony. This account of the procedure following the return of the soul is based upon a curing ceremony that I witnessed in the savannah village of Cabruá. Both doors of the house in which the rite was held had been covered with palm leaves in the belief that the soul of the patient was ashamed to be seen and would return only in the dark. At the conclusion of the song to the peccary, the shaman looked inside the tapir skull and announced that the soul had been in the custody of the peccaries and had just been returned. Their intent accomplished, the singers ceased their activity and aided the shamans in the subsequent process of repairing the harm done to the patient and restoring the soul to her body.

One of the four shamans present extracted the soul from the tapir skull with his hand and held it for some time, examining it closely. In the meantime, the patient was lying in a hammock covered with mosquito netting, and two men, neither of whom was a shaman, blew smoke under the netting through long tauari bark-wrapped cigarettes. At the conclusion of the fumigation the shaman returned the sick woman's soul to the tapir skull, and she was taken from her hammock and seated upon a mat. One of the women of the house poured several gourds of water over her in the belief that this would reduce her fever. The

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

sick woman was then dried with a piece of cloth, and the shaman placed the lighted end of a cigarette in his mouth and blew smoke over her entire body. He then rubbed her legs from toes to thighs, blew more smoke upon her stomach and rubbed both front and back of her torso. Another shaman took his place and twice passed a palm leaf down her body and both arms. Each time, he cleaned the leaf of the malignant objects that it supposedly picked up from the patient's skin. 796 755

These ministrations were intended to rid the body of the sick woman of some of the accumulation of evil or extraneous objects that had entered her during her illness. An especially dangerous article was discovered in her chest, and the least powerful of the shamans applied his mouth to her body and sucked it out. He was immediately racked by a fit of violent coughing, and a shaman having somewhat more power sucked at his throat, whereupon the object lodged in his own throat. It was finally removed by the most powerful of the four shamans present. He, too, appeared to be choked by the malignant object but succeeded in spitting it out into his hand. All present were invited to look at it, and, evidently no longer dangerous, it was given to a small boy to throw into a fire.

The last part of the curing ceremony was the special duty of the only member of the *Bisiú* society present in the village. He approached the sick woman, chanting a song and stamping each foot upon the ground. In this manner he circled about her and then grasped her under the armpits and lifted her while stamping his feet. This process was believed to shake the last of the supernatural objects from her body, and she was then ready to have her soul restored. The shaman again plucked the soul from the tapir's skull and placed his clenched hand over the patient's head, making motions suggesting that he was placing the soul within. The sick woman, who was thought to be fully cured, returned to normal activity and enjoyed the appearance of restored health. Unfortunately, her condition, which was possibly tubercular, soon worsened, and again she began to cough steadily.

The Karihi

Certain supernatural beliefs and practices are connected with the *karihi*, or sacred musical instruments of the Mundurucú. The instruments themselves have been somewhat inaccurately termed trumpets for lack of a better word, although in design and operation they more nearly approximate the oboe. Each Mundurucú village of the savannahs has a set of three such instruments. Each set belongs to a different clan, but their essential design and construction are the same, though with some variation in size. This has no ritual significance but is regarded by the Mundurucú as a sign of degeneration, for the *karihi* of different villages were said to be formerly of the same size and much larger than those of today. However, the three instruments composing any single set are purposely and traditionally graded in size. 594 718

The *karihi* are actually extremely simple instruments. Each is merely a long, hollow cylinder made of a very light wood, into the end of which is inserted a reed. Those of the village of Cabruá were 43, 46, and 52 inches long and the

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents. 584

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the fatally ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Mundurucú* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes. 888 934

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars. 764

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (kudulé). The ceremony is repeated at yearly intervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finally buried in the house of the deceased. 766

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Mundurucú* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes success in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic dialogue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc. 796 952

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in holding off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes. 796 535 224

1 [Martius (Source #3) says this was done by the children -- Analysis]
2 [Martius says paternal rather than maternal - Analys.]

754 The most common affliction of the supernatural was *ewashi*. The *ewashi* was not a spirit but an object carved to a certain form by a sorcerer, given malignant animation by him, and sent sometimes against certain people, but usually against anyone that it might encounter. All illness was caused by *ewashi* and, therefore, ultimately by witchcraft.

[65]

754 Shamanism

The chief function of the Mundurucú shaman was curing. Among his other duties was the ceremonial one of guarding the people against the attacks of *Turunari* during certain rites. He was also responsible for putting to a deep sleep by a martial spell the people of a village about to be attacked and for feeding the spirit "mothers" of the game.

The power of shamanism was hereditary in the patrilineal line and present since birth. All the children of a shaman, including daughters, possessed the power, but, today, the women do not practice any more. In the aboriginal culture, female shamans had only a few specific ceremonial functions and did not cure. Curing was done by the common practice of blowing smoke on the sick person and then extracting the evil object, or *ewashi*, by massage and suction. The shaman then prescribed certain barks and roots applied externally or drunk mixed with water that were supposed to heal the internal damage done by the evil object. During the cure, the shaman smoked a large cigarette to generate the necessary curative smoke, but he did not inhale in large enough quantities to produce tobacco narcosis as do the

[66]

754 756

754 [276] Tenetehara and Tapirapé shamans.[24] This was done only when the shaman "traveled" to find the "mother of the game" in order to feed her. The shaman performed his services free of charge and was in no way liberated from the work of the man. He enjoyed prestige due to his position as a curer and also due to fear of him as a potential sorcerer.

754 Only the shaman had the sorcerer's power. Others could learn the effective techniques, but they were not able to launch the evil object into the air or endow it with its malignant force. He was also capable of turning himself into a jaguar and creating other jaguars that he sent against people. The penalty for sorcery was death. This severity is explained by the Tunduruká, who say, "If we had no sorcerers there would be no sickness and people would not die so fast. So we have to kill them." At present, only men practice shamanism and are recognized as being shamans and only men are killed as sorcerers, but Tocantins mentions three cases of women accused of witchcraft in the latter part of the nineteenth century.[25]

[755] All sickness and death were believed to be caused by sorcery, but it was only when a few people died that a powerful shaman was asked to detect the sorcerer. Only another shaman could do this because "the shaman is able to see everything." The shaman might not immediately tell the

24. Bagley, 1942.

25. Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109-111.

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1831:1313) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness. 708 726 756

No warfare rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments ahead to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew ant-eater hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow shaft, were ignited and loosed at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support. 726 [525] [611] 727

The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in rigor mortis. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the waiting warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran [202]

11: Murphy. E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 224 propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community. Moreover, great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to these spirits lest they strike back at the offender. The major Mundurucú ceremonies functioned mainly to secure the [156] benevolence of the spirit mothers, and one of the chief duties of the shaman was to make periodic offerings to them and thus insure their cooperation.

562 224 This preoccupation with animal spirits reflects certain basic facts about Mundurucú culture. The society is male-oriented; women are by no means passive actors in the social structure, but the major foci of the culture were male values and activities. And to the Mundurucú men, at least those of the remaining savannah villages, few activities are more important than the hunt. The male self-image is that of the warrior and hunter, the wayfarer of the forests,[1] and the Mundurucú are intensely concerned with all things arboreal. Hunting was as important as horticulture in the traditional subsistence economy and may well have been more basic to the diet in earlier times. There is some speculation about a more southerly origin of the Mundurucú,[2] which suggests the corollary [174] hypothesis that horticulture was less important in their former habitat. If this were true, it would help to explain why hunting is so heavily emphasized in Mundurucú religion, and horticulture is almost completely secularized.

776 224 156 The mother of the game, or *patoko ši*,[3] protects the animal kingdom as a whole from human offense. The relation between the *patoko ši* and animals is conceived by the Mundurucú to be a mother-child relationship. It is believed to be a single, unitary spirit, but it can be found in several places and under several guises at one and the same time. Expressed differently, the *patoko ši* is a single power having several manifestations.

The mother of the game is not an anthropomorphic personage; it has no form nor does it exist as a mobile and independent entity. Characteristically, the *patoko ši* is found in two forms; in one it is a very special stone called a *wirabud*, and in the other it travels in the bodies of the land tortoise and the *cotá* monkey. The Mundurucú *wirabud* concept, as many of their beliefs, is not highly conceptualized or rigidly formalized. It is vaguely conceived as a power and is described as a stonelike object visible only to shamans. Thus, the mother of the game and the *wirabud* are not identical, but the spirit does manifest itself in the latter object. In its *wirabud* guise, the *patoko ši* is usually found in the deep perennial springs at the headwaters of the streams that issue from the hills of the Mundurucú country. Hunting is invariably good in these locales because of the desire of the game to congregate about their mother, and Mundurucú shamans have techniques whereby they can place the *patoko ši* in springs near their villages. So placed, the *patoko ši* will remain indefinitely unless stolen by a shaman of another village. When the *patoko ši* is moved by a shaman, it emits

[1] See the myth of Pursuat on pp. 197–201 for the expression of this theme in legendary form.
[2] Cf. Métraux, 1967, p. 198 and Steinen, 1892, p. 1.
[3] Mundurucú words are italicized throughout the text. The system of phonetic transcription [129] and a complete glossary of all Mundurucú terms used may be found in Appendix A. Portuguese words are not italicized, but Appendix B contains the translations of all terms mentioned and the taxonomic classifications of most flora and fauna for which Portuguese designations have been given.

a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home.

The manifestation of the mother of the game in coatá monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *patóka ñ*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *patóka ñ*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *patóka ñ* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which *envira* *theresa* has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *patóka ñ*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area.

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *patóka ñ* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *patóka ñ*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *patóka ñ* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *patóka ñ* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be quite dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of these ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *patóka ñ* on ceremonial occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *patóka ñ* would become extremely angry.

The *patóka ñ* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are looked upon as the vengeance of the *patóka ñ*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *patóka ñ* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *patóka ñ* sends another.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SPIRITS OF THE UNDERWORLD

776 The *kokwiwat* are a class of spirits that are believed to inhabit the underworld. Although they are extremely mischievous, the *kokwiwat* are not specifically malevolent toward humans nor are they especially feared by the Munduruká. During the old Munduruká wars, *kokwiwat* warriors used to leave from the underworld and, unseen by all but the shamans, fought side by side with the Munduruká as allies. One informant stated that the *kokwiwat* were really the souls of Munduruká warriors of ancient times, but this is not a universally held belief and must be classed with our previously discussed minor variations on major themes. Despite the help given them by their invisible allies, the Munduruká warriors had to take certain precautions against the *kokwiwat*, for the latter always attempted to steal the teeth from the trophy heads taken by the war party. The Munduruká guarded against this by extracting the teeth, which were later strung on a cotton belt, and hiding them in the mouth of the head. When all the teeth were extracted, they were placed in a small box which the warriors suspended from their necks.

[842] The *kokwiwat* were also able to make women pregnant without their knowledge by assuming the form of a small bird and flying between their legs. They later returned to claim the issue. Several cases were reported in which the *kokwiwat* robbed the mothers of these surreptitiously begotten children. One child of the village of Parawarikika was sent by her mother to fetch water. After a considerable period of time passed by, the mother asked some women who were bound for the stream to tell the daughter to return immediately. The women went to the stream and found two sets of tracks leading away from the beach. They called the men of the village, who followed the tracks to a hill within which was situated one of the underworld homes of the *kokwiwat*. A shaman called out to the girl and asked her to return, but the *kokwiwat* replied in a voice heard only by the shaman, "She cannot return. I am keeping her for she is my daughter." The shaman was afraid to make any further attempt to regain the child, and she was left with the *kokwiwat*.

Informants were able to name three separate underworlds of the *kokwiwat*. The 776 one to which that child was taken was known as Pawaliuk. Another was called 772 Wikuchongpi and was on the banks of the Iruiri River, a tributary of the Cururi River. The third home of the *kokwiwat* was Kokwiwaika (literally, the place of the *kokwiwat*), which was near the Morro do Cavem on the Cururi River. All these places were abandoned by the *kokwiwat* after they became increasingly subjected to attacks by the Turopari. They now live in an underworld to the east and no longer have relations with the Munduruká.

The Munduruká know of the lands of the *kokwiwat* because many shamans are 776 said to have traveled there. Some shamans, as Pitchabei, a former chief of Capiapi, 756 even had wives there. The *kokwiwat* have human forms when in their own land, but everything else is the reverse of the terrestrial world. Pitchabei, for example, related that the first time he had intercourse with his *kokwiwat* wife he told her to lie on her back on the ground in the usual Munduruká position. But the *kokwi-*

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu\SQ13

wat do not have sexual relations in the same position as do the Mundurucú, and his wife replied, "If I lie on the ground I will get worms. We will do it standing up, instead." Furthermore, although the sun also rises in the east and sets in the west in the underworld, it is night there when it is day in the terrestrial world. The *kokoriwat* engage in fish-drugging expeditions, as do the Mundurucú, but they poison the water with the sipó snake and not with timbó. Also, they fish for anacondas rather than real fish. Fish-drugging expeditions are always noisy affairs, but those of the *kokoriwat* are so tempestuous that they create a huge wind which is felt in the terrestrial world as the two- or three-day cold spell which strikes the Mundurucú country in June of every year. Conversely, Mundurucú timbó-fishing causes a cold spell in the underworld. 776 756 [821]

Mothers of the Rain

The *mawhat ši*, or mothers of the rain, are a number of spirits, each of which is believed responsible for a certain type of rain or storm.* The Mundurucú believe that the rains are their children and that atmospheric disturbances are the results of their activities. Informants were not certain exactly how many mothers of the rain exist, but they were able to give the names of seven and to describe some of their attributes. The *mawhat ši* are colored in varying degrees of black or white, and all their possessions, such as carrying baskets and penis sheaths, are correspondingly black or white. All the *mawhat ši* described by informants are male, but these male spirits have wives who are also considered mothers of the rain. Three of the *mawhat ši* are mentioned by name in the legend of Perisuat.* They are Tipnahitum (storm of wind and rain), Iaxporungrung (strong thunder and lightning), and Kuwhiratayun (steady, slow rain). Kuwhiratayun was also mentioned by informants as the bringer of a fine, all-day rain and as being of whitish color. Of somewhat darker hue is Chuwarimungó, who appears on those days when clouds gather and thunder rumbles. The storm never breaks, however, and the sun always reappears. Dahituwhó causes rain and high winds, but, although black, he is not as black as Dahituwaipó, who brings storms with black clouds. Finally, Karuparahó, also a black *mawhat ši*, carries strong electrical storms with violent thunder and lightning. The thunder is believed to be the sound of his flattus, and the rays of lightning are thought by the Mundurucú to shoot from his anus. Karuparahó's violent behavior is attributed to his anger because of the intimacies of his wife and Chuwarimungó. 776 821

The *mawhat ši* live in houses below the ground; these houses are scattered throughout the world and their occupants determine the weather in their environs. One house of the *mawhat ši* is inside a hill near the Cabituká River, and its residents make the weather in the surrounding Mundurucú country. During the summer dry season, the *mawhat ši* wander afar, as do the Mundurucú, and do not return until the beginning of the rains. The people are able to detect the return of the spirits to their homes by the first rumbles of thunder in September.

* Tocantins' (1877, p. 136) statement that the souls of Mundurucú dead are believed to produce storms was unauthorized by informants.

* See page 30.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

part of its trip, the soul travels with the coatá monkey. This animal traverses one 774
section of its passage by bending an assaí palm over, grabbing its branches, and then letting it fling him into the foliage of another tree as it springs back. If the soul is not careful, it falls to the ground, killing its sick owner. The only dangerous part of the journeys with various species of fish, except for the invariably fatal end of the trip, is with the black piranha, which tries to eat the soul.

The concept of soul loss, like the belief in spirit mothers of game animals with which it is associated, is widespread among both Indian and rural Brazilian inhabitants of the Amazon region. Especially interesting because of its similarity to the Mundurucú belief is Wagley's report that the Brazilian population of the community of Ita believes that the mãe de bicho punishes humans by stealing their "shadows."*

Although the departure of the soul from a living body is generally an occasion 774
of great danger, there are some circumstances under which it is considered desir- 756
able and beneficial. The souls of shamans frequently travel abroad and are able to visit the underworlds of the *kakaiwaí* and the afterworlds of the Mundurucú. Shamans visit the afterworld of the game, (where they serve as shamans to the animals), and that of the trumpets, but they do not visit the Land of the Turupari.

The wounded warrior was believed to acquire temporary shamanistic powers dur- 774
ing the period of his incapacity, and his soul wandered abroad while he lay in his 727
hammock and dreamed of its experiences. These travels were considered desirable, and care was taken to remove the penis sheath of the warrior to allow him to dream. The Mundurucú were unable to explain why the penis sheath inhibited dreams and the wandering of the soul.

The souls of sleeping people sometimes travel harmlessly abroad, and dreams 787
are believed to be the experiences of the soul while away from the body. Dreams 774
are not considered visions or prognostications of future events, but they are thought to be good or bad omens. Thus, if a man dreams of some frightening experience, he will not leave the village for a few days for fear of some unknown danger.

Certain people are able to derive knowledge from their dreams. These people, 787
known as *ebaxwetaibikaxupa* (those who know how to explai.. dreams), derive their power through medication administered to them as children. The souls of Mundurucú of times long past appear to them in dreams and teach them certain songs that are sung during ceremonies. Significantly, the songs taught to dreamers are not new or forgotten ones, but songs that are quite actively present in Mundurucú culture and known by other dreamers.

All animals have souls, which return to the afterworld of the game and become 774
transformed into people upon the death of the animal. Fish are also thought to 825
have souls, but they are accorded little importance in Mundurucú thought. Although individual fish and animals have souls, only species of domesticated plants have souls. Dogs, too, are thought to have souls, but the canine soul returns to the Land of the Dogs upon the death of its body. Also, dogs are not considered to be

* Wagley, 1953, p. 225.

III. SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

THE PROBLEMS of illness, accident, and death are commonly conceived in supernatural terms by primitive peoples, and the techniques for their resolution are accordingly the province of religious practitioners. The supernatural dangers threatening the Munduruků currently preoccupy the society more than any other aspect of the supernatural realm, for they constitute the cause of all sickness and death; and epidemic disease has beset the Munduruků since their first contact with Europeans. But the Munduruků do not feel broken and powerless before the onslaughts of ailments to which they have little natural immunity. Mystical in nature through the evil may be, it is not mysterious, for it can be explained and controlled. The threat is no less concrete for existing on a level of reality beyond the sensory powers of ordinary mortals, but the protection of the society must, therefore, rest in the hands of persons who are able to see and act in this sphere. These individuals are viewed by the Munduruků as the possessors of great and manifestly beneficial power, although they recognize the corollary principle that this power is potentially dangerous and corrupting. 753

THE SHAMAN

The Munduruků shaman, or *wawé*, has the ability to deal with supernatural threats through possession of a mystical power latent within him from the time of his birth. His functions within the society are manifold. The shaman performs cures; he is essential to nearly all ceremonies; he propitiates the spirit mothers of the animal world; he rids the community of evil forces; and he can detect lost people and objects. But through essential to the well-being of society, the power of the shaman can be used for evil ends. His status is ambivalent; he maintains a balanced and favorable relation between the human and supernatural worlds, and he is capable of profoundly disturbing this balance. 756

Most Munduruků villages have at least one shaman in residence, although some have none. The shaman has high prestige, although the respect accorded an individual practitioner is at times mixed with fear when it is suspected that he indulges in black magic. In spite of the high regard in which he is held, he receives no material benefits for his services. Among the more acculturated Munduruků, a small present is sometimes given to the shaman for a cure, but this pattern appears to be of recent origin and obtains in only a minority of cases. The shaman does not devote full time to his specialty. All practitioners hunt, fish, and clear gardens with the other men and manufacture baskets, bows, and other objects. [554] [465]

The shaman frequently makes great personal sacrifices in the performance of his duties. Some travel great distances to treat those who are too ill to come to them, and they often make these trips to the detriment of other activities and tasks. The practice is considered dangerous, for the shaman must face the dual menace of contact with hostile spirits and the suspicion of his fellowmen. But most Munduruků shamans are motivated by a true sense of public service. They feel that they possess a great power that can be used both for good and bad ends and be-

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 lieve that it is incumbent upon them to help the sick and to perform their obligations to the supernatural world.

756 428 562 One does not seek to become a shaman among the Mundurucú, nor is shamanism the result of a serious illness or an extraordinary experience, as is true in many societies. The power is acquired only through inheritance from the father, and it is believed that all children of shamans are also shamans, although they may not practice the art in later life. For all practical purposes, however, only male children inherit shamanistic power. The female offspring of shamans are nominally classified as shamans also, and women evidently participated more fully in the practice until a relatively recent period, for Tocantins reports a number of women to have been accused of sorcery, knowledge of which is confined to shamans, in and about the year 1875.[1] Today, active status is limited to men, and the daughters of shamans are considered to be shamans in an academic sense only.

756 Mundurucú informants were unable to explain the shaman's power beyond saying that it is within him and that he is born with it. It is not thought of in concrete terms, as a supernatural object lodged within his body, nor is the power thought to reside in supernaturals whom the shaman controls. The absence of any concept of control or of coöperation with certain spirits is rather unusual in this section of South America. Métraux, for example, reports the trait for the Tupinamba,[2] and Wagley has written of the use of familiar spirits among both the Tapirapé[3] and the Tenetehara.[4] In the regions to the south of the Mundurucú, Oberg states that shamans are aided by spirits among the Kamayurá, Bacairí, and Nambicuara.[5] Investigation failed to indicate, however, that the Mundurucú shaman was aided in any way by supernatural beings. He is in contact with the supernatural world and is capable of coöperating with it or defeating its intents, but he accomplishes this through direct use of the unlocalized power contained within him and not through the intermediary of spirits. Also, all shamans have some form of contact with all supernatural beings; none has special relations with any particular supernatural.

Some shamans are thought to be more powerful than others. The most effective [888] practitioners are usually the older men, for they are considered to have acquired experience and skill. However, the crucial determinant of a shaman's strength is the strength of his father, for the sons are believed to inherit the degree of power of the parent. Some older Mundurucú men barely practiced, since their power was considered slight, whereas younger men were often highly regarded as shamans. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, two or three shamans are looked upon as being in possession of great strength, and their services are in heavy demand. On one occasion, a man became violently ill shortly after midnight and needed immediate care. The village shaman was away, so it was necessary for one of the sick man's relatives to set out through the forest, which is feared at night, on the path to the next village. He directed its shaman to the aid of his sick rela-

[1] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109–111.
[2] Métraux, 1948, p. 129.
[3] Wagley, 1943.
[4] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 108 ff.
[5] Oberg, 1953, pp. 60, 73, 100.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tive and immediately continued on a long journey to another village, where lived a greatly renowned practitioner. Both returned the next day, and the visiting shaman, after administering to the sick man, was visited by everybody in the village who had the slightest ache or pain. He proceeded to rid the village of the various evil spirits believed to be infesting it and returned home. The most renowned shaman among all the Mundurucú lives on the Cururú River. People are known to make overland trips of four days in order to seek his aid. It will be seen that these great shamans are of particular importance in that they are called upon to detect sorcerers.

The training of the shaman is not very complex or extensive. So far as his effectiveness depends on innate power, he need learn no involved techniques for the control of personal spirits. Curing methods are relatively simple, and the mechanics of the procedure are known to any Mundurucú child through mere observation. But the techniques used to propitiate the spirit mothers of the game necessitate some training, which is usually provided by the father or paternal uncle of the novitiate. The older kinsman also instructs the trainee in the use of various medicinal cures and teaches him the more esoteric aspects of his profession. The novitiate usually makes his debut as a shaman during one of the ceremonies for the spirit mothers of the animals, when his first official act is to call the mother of the game. This event takes place at about the age of puberty, but he generally does not practice curing until he reaches maturity.

The shaman employs a minimum of apparatus and techniques. Among the Mundurucú, he does not practice ventriloquism nor does he use any musical instruments or songs. In common with shamans in most eastern South American groups, a great deal of his effectiveness depends upon the magical use of tobacco smoke. But there is only one shamanistic activity, that of feeding the spirit mother of the game, in which he seeks a narcotic state through the use of tobacco smoke. Unlike the Tenetehara or Tapirapé shaman,* he does not fall into a trance during a curing performance. The Mundurucú cannot give a clear explanation of the efficacy of tobacco smoke; they say only that it is strong. But smoke is strong only when blown by a shaman, and the strength of the smoke is believed to stem from his power.

Only five instruments are essential to shamanistic practice. The most important of these is the *nanek*, a small piece of the root of the genipa tree carved to resemble a two-headed pestle. The *nanek* is used whenever the shaman feeds the mother of the game. It is believed to emit a thunderous noise audible only to the game, which calls together the animals of a wide area. Another instrument used by the shaman is the *ibōbōt* (literally, 'toy'), a small piece of arrow shaft that is sent out by him in search of lost people and objects. The *borombō* is an instrument, made of tucumá-palm-fruit pits, which leads the shaman to the *putcha ii* or mother of the game. The *pōtponchap* is a piece of wood some five inches long, carved in the shape of a knife with a round handle. This instrument is used to kill the intrusive objects sent by sorcerers. Finally, a tail feather of the mutúm

*Cf. Wagley, 1942.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 is used by the shaman to extract from afflicted people the yakip, or malignant object sent by the mother of the game. All these instruments are inert until the shaman blows power-giving tobacco smoke upon them. They are then thought to be "alive" and to have "strength."

Disease and Its Treatment

753 In order to understand fully the important role that the shaman plays among the Mundurucú, their theories of disease and affliction must be outlined. There is practically no human misfortune that cannot be attributed to supernatural influences. If a Mundurucú suffers a slight cut on his foot, he may admit that it was due to sheer mischance. But if he incurs a serious wound, the shaman is usually consulted and invariably attributes the affliction to the vengeance of the mother of the game. Any infection, pain, or other aftereffect of the wound is generally thought to be the work of the yakip, which is sent by the mother of the game or by the soul of the animal offended by the wounded man. Similarly, a snake bite, a fall from a tree, or any other serious misadventure that cannot be classified as a disease is usually diagnosed by the shaman as the vengeance of the animal world.

Diseases also are the result of evil supernatural influences. But whereas serious accidents are attributed to the spirit mother and therefore to the negligence or stupidity of the stricken person, disease strikes people regardless of their activities. And though afflictions that have clear and obvious causes, as cuts or snake bites, are also thought to be the vengeance of the supernaturals associated with the animals, disease is caused by sorcerers. All sorcerers are shamans who consciously [754] wish to hurt their fellow men. The sorcerer causes disease by modeling a variety of objects and blowing smoke upon them to give them life. The evil objects, called *cauã*, are then wafted off on the wind to wander through the air until they encounter some human. Invisible to ordinary people, they enter the body and cause illness. The particular illness depends upon the material out of which the *cauã* was modeled and the shape given it by the sorcerer.

755 Two distinct processes are required for the proper cure of illness. First the *cauã* 757 is extracted from the sick person's body by the shaman, and he then prescribes certain herbal remedies to repair the damage caused by it. The first part of the cure is uniform for all *cauã*; the herbal remedy prescribed is, however, specific for the malady.

755 The process of extracting a *cauã* is extremely simple. The sick person strips his 276 or her clothes from the part of the body where the pain is localized and sits or lies on the ground. The treatment most often takes place in the patient's dwelling, but the shaman sometimes receives the ill in the men's house. After the patient is prepared, the shaman takes one of his large cigarettes, which are wrapped in a thin layer of the inner bark of the tauari tree, and commences to smoke. As he smokes he crouches over the sick person and intently stares at his body. The shaman does not inhale or swallow excessive amounts of smoke, and narcotic effects are specifically denied. Rather, the smoke heightens his extra-visual ability

vine in hot water and applying the mixture to the stomach. The other consists of the trunks of very young buriti palms crushed in water. Part of this mixture is drunk, and the rest is applied externally to the torso of the sick person. 753 755 278 757

9. *Ok pipi*, or intestinal pain, is caused by the same *ewaö* as *ipon pipi*, or stomach-ache. However, the term *ok pipi* is in reality reserved for dysentery, for it is always accompanied by severe diarrhea. The medicines used for stomach pains are considered effective in the relief of intestinal pains also, but two additional cold remedies are used as specifics for the diarrhea. The roots of a certain shrub are boiled in water, part of which is taken internally and the rest allowed to steam below the hammock. The leaves of this shrub are also applied to the abdomen as a poultice. The same use is made of the leaves of the *muriri pagé*, a water plant. The local Brazilians also boil the leaves of this plant and place the steaming pot below the hammock of a bewitched person. The vapors are believed to cause an evil object to fall out of the victim's body.

9. *A pipé*, or headache, is treated by mixing *cuvira de castanheira* in water and applying the solution to the head. Uaripe Brazil nuts are also grated into water and similarly applied. Both remedies are considered cold. The nature of the *ewaö* that causes headache was not known by the informants interviewed.

10. The tenth and last ailment is a three-stage sickness generally known by the name applied to its first stage, called *ojowaö*. In this primary phase, the afflicted man or woman becomes unhappy and listless and eats mud, soap, and other [261] inedible substances. The symptoms increase in severity in the next stage, or *pouká*, and the victim becomes thin, yellow, and "bloodless." Finally, the patient passes into the state known as *tashokat*, at the end of which he usually dies. During the final illness, the person's soul sometimes becomes one of the dreaded wandering souls. The symptoms are descriptive of the chronic forms of a number of illnesses, such as malaria, dysentery, and jaundice. The Mundurucú attribute it to a *ewaö* made of roasted earthworms rolled into a ball and spread in the air. No remedies were known.

A person can be afflicted by more than one *ewaö* at a time, and the shaman often recommends a number of herbal preparations. The shaman does not himself administer these remedies, but instructs the kinsmen of the sick person in their use. They then collect the proper herbs and apply them.

The techniques used by the Mundurucú shaman are so widely distributed throughout eastern South America that any attempt to trace their provenience would be overly lengthy. The shaman's use of tobacco smoke and the techniques of sucking and massage are almost universal in the Amazon area. Of equally wide distribution are the use of herbs and the various methods of applying them. Infusions, external applications, and steam baths are, as Lowie indicates,[1] known among a number of tribes of the region. 756 171

One aspect of Mundurucú herbal medicine worthy of further discussion is the division of remedies into hot and cold categories. This distinction is made throughout most of Latin America with regard to both medicines and food. The Mun- 278 171

[1] Lowie, 1946, pp. 51–52.

are still believed to be in great danger. The stone cannot be touched; small ones 755
can be plucked from the patient's body or from the ground with a piece of charred cotton, but large stones are allowed to enter the ground and are then safely driven into a fire with the tip of a bow.

The *pakip* and *wirakai* sent by the souls of the game animals or by their spirit mothers cannot be touched either, but they are not considered as dangerous as the stones of the *Tawapari*. To extract these malignant objects, the shaman, working alone, blows smoke upon the patient and massages his body. He then flicks the object out of the body with a *wairiw* feather upon which he has blown tobacco smoke. No attempt is made to catch and destroy the object, for this would further anger the spirits of the game. These cures are usually only temporarily efficacious, and other *pakip* or *wirakai* frequently strike the victim anew after his cure.

In addition to their supernatural curing techniques, most shamans are quite 752
skilled in the secular treatment of broken bones, dislocated muscles, and similar ills. On one occasion, my wife was in acute discomfort from a strained muscle in her back. The shaman instructed her to lie face downward across a hammock, and our interpreter was told to hold her legs while I maintained a firm grip on her shoulders. He then probed the musculature in the small of her back with his fingertips. Although she complained only of a generalized backache, he apparently believed that the source of the trouble was to be found in this area. When the shaman found the difficulty, he ordered the interpreter to pull on her left leg at his command. He then pressed gently but firmly into the musculature with his two thumbs and issued the order. The treatment was quite effective, for his patient's pain was relieved immediately.

The preceding account represents a fairly comprehensive description of 777
Mundurucú maladies and their treatment. But a final affliction recognized by the Mundurucú can be classified neither as illness nor wound. The concept of *ibikoiwa* is best translated as bad luck and is found widely distributed throughout the Amazon under the designation of *pawwa*. *Ibikoiwa* affects only men and becomes evident when a man hunts for several days without killing any game or prowls continually about the underbrush near the village without encountering a woman. So far as could be ascertained, bad luck is not caused by supernaturals. It strikes only men who do not rub their bodies daily after bathing with the ground root of a species of forest vine. The fragrance of this root lingers about the person and is thought to attract game animals and women. To insure good luck fully in one's pursuits, it is also believed necessary occasionally to drink sufficient quantities of this root mixed in water to induce vomiting. Most men undergo this purification process once or twice a year.

Shamanism and Spirits

Although Mundurucú shamans are not thought to control and use particular 756
spirits, they are believed to be in intimate contact with the supernatural world. 776
The shamans' souls are said to have the ability to travel to the afterworlds and 782
to the underworld of the *Kokwiwat*, and they alone among the Mundurucú can

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ19 Mundurucu SQ13

756 776 782

ore and speak to certain supernatural beings. This power is of great importance to Mundurucú society, for the economic well-being of the community is believed to depend upon the proper propitiation of the spirit mothers of the game. Annual ceremonies were formerly held for this purpose, and the shaman had an important role in these rites. But the shaman was also responsible for pleasing the mothers of the game by 'feeding' them throughout the year. The latter required only the cooperation of other shamans and was of short duration and limited participation. Today, say informants, the spirit mothers are no longer fed because of the lack of sufficiently strong shamans. The Mundurucú believe that hunting is correspondingly poorer than in the old days and life less abundant.

The occasions when he fed the *patóka ši*, or mother of the game, constitute the only instances when the shaman went into a trance. A number of shamans were necessary for this performance. The strongest of them was usually selected to feed the *patóka ši*, and he prepared himself by magically inserting the three instruments known as *nawó* into his body. One was placed in the back of the neck and two others in the back of either knee. The shaman then lay in his hammock in the men's house and was covered with a blanket of buriti palm leaves. The other shamans lit large cigarettes rolled in tauari bark and, inserting the lighted ends in their mouths, blew dense clouds of tobacco smoke into the hammock. Fortified by the *nawó* in his body and intoxicated by the smoke, the shaman fell into an extraordinary state in which he was able to see the supernaturals clearly. He then leaped out of the hammock, seized a bowl of *mówi* (sweet manioc gruel), and, led by his *kowabi*, another instrument, dashed off to feed the *patóka ši*. He ran a short distance outside the village and there plunged into a hole in the ground which only he could see. He then traveled underground, shouting loudly in his passage, and emerged from another hole some distance beyond, from which point he continued his journey on the surface. The shaman visited the various manifestations of the *patóka ši* and fed *mówi* to all of them. He then selected the one that pleased him most and brought it back to one of the deep springs near his village, where its influence would attract game animals. The shaman returned to his village by the same route used on his outward journey. When he arrived back in the men's house, his waiting fellow shamans seized him and immediately extracted the three *nawó*, lest their power turn him into an animal. They then blew tobacco smoke on his body and washed and dried him, thus bringing him out of his dangerous state.

Only the strongest of shamans could feed the *patóka ši* personally. Weaker ones sent their *nawó* out alone to call the *patóka ši* together in the Land of the Game, and the shaman's wives went there to feed them. A shaman whose wife was pregnant could not travel under the ground, for the earth would close over him and trap him. One shaman related that this had once happened to a man, and the other shamans dug him out just in time.

756 776

The shaman also has the power to 'manufacture' the mother of the peccary (*daje ši*) and the mother of the tapir (*bis ši*). The mother of the tapir is made by killing a pregnant tapir and extracting the fetus, which is brought back

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to the men's house rolled it leaves and then slowly toasted and dried out over a fire. Tobacco smoke is blown upon it, and sweet manioc broth is ceremonially poured upon it to please and feed it. The dried fetus is believed to become transformed in time into a baby tapir containing the mother of the tapir, and the shaman places it near one of the pools at the headwaters of the streams. Even weaker shamans can make the *bia ši*, and any pregnant tapir serves this purpose. 756 786

Although the manufacture of a *bia ši* was never witnessed during our residence among the Mundurucú, I was able to observe the preparation of a mother of the peccary in the savanna village of Cabruú. On this day, the hunters had chased a band of peccary that had passed close to the village. The band, however, had a fair head start on the hunters and escaped, leaving a half-grown member behind. The dogs cornered the animal in a bush, and the hunters were about to capture it as a pet when the shaman arrived on the scene. He ordered the men and their dogs to stand back while he smoked intently and concentrated his gaze upon the animal. He then announced that the young peccary was carrying the mother of the peccary, or *daje ši*, within its body. As the news spread, all the villagers came out to gaze upon the animal and to admire its "beauty," evidently seeking thereby to gratify the spirit. The shaman then grabbed the squealing peccary and sat upon it, while another shaman secured it by its snout. A third shaman pulled out the animal's eyebrows and some hair from its back and released it unharmed. The first shaman then brought the hairs back to the trumpet chamber adjoining the men's house and placed them inside the hollow limb of a buriti palm. Every day thereafter he blew smoke upon his creation and poured a sweet manioc drink over it. After a period of this treatment it was believed that the hairs would turn into a young peccary with the mother of the peccary inside it. The animal would similarly be carried to one of the deep pools in the neighborhood and would attract herds of peccary. Strong shamans, it was believed, could make the *daje ši* from the hairs of any peccary, but weaker practitioners, as in this instance, had to select an animal that already had a *daje ši* within it.

Other Functions of the Shaman

In addition to his curing activities and his role in the propitiation of the spirit mothers, the shaman performs a variety of lesser duties. When the village is moved to a new locale every ten years or so, the shaman must inspect the site selected. He ascertains if there are many fever-producing *cauši* in the neighborhood, and he looks also for signs of the *Furapari* and other malignant beings. These malevolent forces can also exist below the surface of the ground, and the shaman must send his *wanch* to inspect the earth below the proposed village site. After the instrument has completed its investigation, it returns to the shaman and tells him of its discoveries. 756 787 361

The shaman, through another of his instruments, the *shibit*, can also discover lost persons and lost or stolen objects. He blows smoke upon the *shibit*—a small piece of cane—and sends it upon its mission. In the case of a stolen object,[1] the 756 787

[1] Theft is extremely rare among the Mundurucú and probably owes its occasional occurrence to the contemporary acquisition of trade goods.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 instrument follows the thief's tracks and then comes back and reveals his identity
787 and location to the shaman. If the object is merely lost, the *dihbit* searches for it and then informs the shaman where it is to be found.

Hunters occasionally lose their way in the forest, and their relatives immediately resort to the shaman to find them. The shaman's instrument locates the lost person and then returns to tell the shaman whether he is alive and homeward bound on the proper trail. If the person is still wandering aimlessly, the *dihbit* frequently nudges him in the right direction or enters his body and leads him home. Only the shaman can hear the voice of the *dihbit*; his dialogues with the instrument are inaudible to others.

One informant reported that in the old days the most powerful shamans of
796 the tribe were able to turn people temporarily into animals. The Mundurucú in those times performed a ceremony called the *Deparip*, which took place over a three-year period. As a part of this ceremony, the three most powerful shamans participating allowed their hair to grow to their shoulders and were believed able to turn the kinsmen, an insect, into the tapir and men into the tapir or deer. Nobody was able to see them perform these acts; the transformed men simply disappeared. It was considered extremely dangerous to be thus selected by these powerful shamans, because the men, in the guise of tapirs and deer, were frequently chased by the dogs and could be killed. However, the shamans recognized the slain animals as their own creations and proceeded to change them back to men. They took out the heart and blood, placing them on the ground and covering the pile with leaves, and then blew tobacco smoke upon it and stamped upon the ground; the man emerged from under the leaves alive and intact. It is said that men who had undergone this experience were considered especially successful because of their temporary membership in the animal world, and their presence was especially valued at the ceremonies connected with the animal *ewaip*.

Shamans possessing the power to assume this special ceremonial role were always married to equally strong female shamans. These women were able to transform other women into animals during the *Deparip* ceremony and are said to have been capable of transforming a Brazil-nut husk with a length of vine inside it into a cutia.

Finally, some shamans engage in the practice of making a woman into a
756 *sapi*, or wanton. No respectable shaman would perform such an act, however,
882 and those who use their powers for such disreputable ends are called *manii*
959 *kawa*, or bad or foolish shamans. Reprehensible though this may be to the Mundurucú, the *manii kawa* is not to be classed with the *dihkapet*, or sorcerer, who is believed to be a dire threat to society. He causes disease and death, whereas the *manii kawa* merely converts women into nymphomaniacs, a practice that is rather ambivalently considered both disgraceful and highly amusing by the Mundurucú men.

The *sapi* indiscriminately copulates with all men who desire her. Characteristically, she does not smile modestly in the presence of the men, but grins and laughs

in a manner thought to be quite lewd and suggestive. The other women look upon the *pepi* as a threat to their own marital happiness, but blame the men for her condition. Any sufficiently disreputable and irreverent shaman can make a *pepi* of a woman whom he desires. But, unlike love magic in most societies, once he creates her he must be prepared to share her with others, for his magic makes her want any and all men.

To make a *pepi* the shaman prepares a paste of serva sap and urucú and mixes it thoroughly with the roasted and powdered body of the uirapuré bird. Smoke is blown upon the preparation and it is magically sent into the body of the unsuspecting woman. Another preparation is made with a piece of uirapuré meat, and a third is made by mixing brilliantine with either the brains of the bea bea bird or of the matrinchão fish. The use of the uirapuré as a love charm or symbol is widespread in the Amazon region, especially among Tupian groups. The Mundurucú believe it to be an enchanted bird and explain that, as the other birds of the forest follow the uirapuré, so also will the men follow a woman who has been bewitched with a charm made from its body.

The *pepi* is not physically damaged by the spell cast over her by the shaman. She appears happy and laughs constantly; her appetite for men is insatiable, but she enjoys herself thoroughly when in their company. However, her condition is viewed with disfavor by the other women, and she becomes marginal to female society. Also, she soon becomes the subject of widespread gossip and ridicule, both of which are unendurable to a Mundurucú. For these reasons, the *pepi* generally goes to the shaman to be cured. He extracts the charm by the same techniques used to take out comb and then recommends a preparation made of serva sap and the root of a tree near which a jaguar has slept or rolled about. The woman applies this preparation to her face and body until she feels that she has been completely cured. The remedy is considered to be effective in keeping men away as it partakes of the qualities of the jaguar, which is considered an ugly and repulsive animal by the Mundurucú.

The treatment is not always effective. A young woman of the village of Cabruá went to the shaman to be cured of her condition. During the following days a marked change was noted in her deportment. She smiled demurely behind her hand and no longer fixed the men with direct and inviting glances. But as the days passed, she returned slowly to her old ways and was seen meeting the men in the underbrush surrounding the village. When the shaman who had performed the cure was asked why she behaved in this manner, he shrugged and replied, "Sometimes the treatment works, and sometimes it does not."

Sorcery

When his power is used for socially approved purposes, the shaman is accorded the respect due a major benefactor of the community. But his power can be used for evil ends, and witchcraft is invariably believed to emanate from shamans gone bad. The sorcerer or *shikaipat* is thought by the Mundurucú to engage in his nefarious practices with conscious and deliberate intent. All shamans have

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

754 lived in different villages, but the sorcerer leaped the distance to his brother's village and stalked him in the forest. The married brother heard the approaching whistle of the jaguar and backtracked and lay in wait for it. When it appeared, he shot the creature in the head, the only vulnerable point in its body, and thus killed it. He then cut the jaguar's throat, thrust his hand into its body, and dragged out its liver. He mixed the liver with gunpowder and left it on the trail. After he returned home, a group of men from his brother's village arrived with the intent of killing him. The sorcerer, whose jaguar form had been slain, had returned to his village sick and had accused his brother of bewitching him. The brother explained that he had merely defended himself against his own brother, who was the real sorcerer. The assembled men believed him, and the guilty brother wasted away and died.

Cases of jaguar sorcery were extremely common among the Mundurucú. During our residence with them, one of the residents of the mission was suspected of making and spreading cauã and turning into a jaguar at night. It was further believed that he had created other jaguars that were constantly lurking behind his house. But the presence of the priests prevented the Mundurucú residing at the mission from killing the suspected man, and they merely avoided his person and his dwelling. Even the powerful shaman who lived in the mission village had resolved to move away rather than live near such a dangerous personality.

753 Although all disease is believed to be caused by witchcraft, a single occurrence
754 of illness within a community does not generally provoke direct action against
c89 an accused sorcerer. When, however, sickness becomes rife within a village, and
756 especially when deaths result, the responsible sorcerer is sought out and killed. The practice of destroying a witch is resorted to only when the community is faced by a major threat, and the inevitability of occasional illness is usually rationalized as owing to stray cauã. In spite of this inconsistency, the simple formula which attributes disease to witchcraft, and therefore calls for the death of the sorcerer, cannot be more rigorously applied if shamanism is to continue. Even under this modified application of the rule, the shaman's position is most precarious. One or two shamans are executed as sorcerers during an average year, and their numbers are steadily dwindling. Those shamans who are fortunate enough to escape accusation are visibly insecure, especially when the rainy season reunites people in their villages and the annual cycle of colds and epidemic diseases begin.

756 This constant fear induces many shamans to leave their villages and to migrate
754 to the vicinity of the Brazilian population. As an example, there were three shamans in the village of Cahruá, one of whom rarely practiced for fear of accusation. He had been suspected of sorcery once before and had escaped retribution only because of membership in the strong family of the chief. The numerical strength and influence of his family was, however, his only protection from execution, for one need not actively practice shamanism to be accused of sorcery. The possession of the latent hereditary power of the shaman suffices

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to establish eligibility for suspicion. Both of the two active shamans had resolved to move away from Cabruú and to dwell in the isolation of their rubber avenues. But neither would admit to fear of being accused of sorcery. One claimed that he wished to reside with his own kin although he was already living, as is considered proper, with his wife's relatives in Cabruú. The other said that he would find food more abundant at his rubber avenue locale. Such minor subterfuges are common among the Mundurucú when queried on an unpleasant personal subject. In reality, both shamans knew that several years had passed since the last sorcery execution in Cabruú, and neither wished to be present for the next. Also, as soon as one had made the decision to leave, the other had no choice but to follow. To be the only available suspect in the village was not a very promising prospect.

The men of a village afflicted with a great deal of illness usually seek out the most powerful shaman available and request that he not only attempt to cure the sick, but destroy the *caxi* that infest the village. He is also expected to use his great powers to detect and name the responsible sorcerer. Shamans are said to be capable of discovering and naming sorcerers at any time, but they do so only when requested by the villagers after a particularly severe epidemic or after a death from disease. Informed of the culprit, who is almost always a fellow villager, the men collectively decide to dispose of him and delegate the task to two or three of their number. But, as will be shown subsequently, such unanimity of communal decision is the ideal situation; sorcery killings are frequently stormy affairs among the contemporary Mundurucú.

Only a few Mundurucú shamans are considered to be powerful enough to destroy the *caxi* in a village and unerringly point out their creator, and it is, therefore, usually necessary to invite one from outside the community. After he has treated the sick, the visiting shaman proceeds to destroy the *caxi* and other malignant spirits within the village. He first builds a small thatch hut, no larger than necessary to contain him and his instruments, and retreats to it for the day. His first act is to lean his five *pitpowchap* (spears), the previously described dagger-shaped instruments, against a piece of wood laid upon the floor of the hut. Next he places an ordinary steel lock in line with the *pitpowchap*. The lock is considered to be the most effective of all these instruments owing to the *caxi*'s fear of metal, and it is referred to as the leader of the others. The shaman then blows smoke twice on the *pitpowchap*, and they suddenly come to life and move from their leaning position to balance perfectly across the piece of wood. He blows smoke on them a third time, and the instruments then stand in a vertical position, their sharp points directed upward. Thus animated, the lock addresses the other instruments to suggest that they attack the shaman in order to test his strength. At this juncture the shaman says, "No. I only assembled you to kill *caxi*, *Furupari*, and any other evil thing that you can find. But be careful not to harm anything that belongs to the game animals." He then flips the piece of wood upon which the lock has been lying and sends it through the thatch into the open air. The five *pitpowchap* immediately fly after

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756
754

is and spend the day spearing malignant spirits and objects. At nightfall, they return the shaman's hut, their points covered with the blood of these beings, and the practitioner asks them what variety of supernaturals they had destroyed and how many of each there were.

After he has rid the village of the evils inhabiting it, the shaman divulges the name of the sorcerer, if he believes the situation to be sufficiently serious. The accused shaman is usually killed from ambush outside his village, although some are dispatched by direct assault within its confines. Since the sorcerer's soul is believed to be dangerous even after death, another shaman must extract and destroy it immediately after the execution. This is done by brushing it from its position in the back to the top of the head with a macaw feather. When the soul emerges from the head, it is caught in a hollow bamboo tube and cast into a fire.

754
518

Most studies of the subject conclude that sorcery executions are conducive to social cohesion, since they constitute a mechanism for the externalization of aggression and release of tension in a socially approved way, and also because they constitute a mechanism of social control. The Mundurucú data tend partly to substantiate this thesis, for sorcery executions are the only occasions on which intersocietal violence is sanctioned. Interpersonal tensions are rife among the Mundurucú, but during our research no Mundurucú was even heard to raise his voice against another, and the occurrence of overt violence between men was specifically denied by informants. The social structure demanded complete harmony and cooperation; the latent and suppressed aggressions inevitable in such a situation were projected into the person of the sorcerer, and his execution was cathartic for the community. It will be shown, however, that the changing nature of this community has caused sorcery to be involved in its progressive and ongoing fission.

In spite of the fact that sorcery was a perilous practice, resort to black magic served as a covert expression of generalized hostility for the shaman, as well. Although it is impossible to induce any Mundurucú to admit witchcraft, I am inclined to believe that it is actively practiced. The techniques by which evils are manufactured and propagated are well known to all shamans, and some informants claimed that sorcerers have revealed their activities to them, as in the case described above.* There is no doubt that many, if not most, accused shamans are entirely innocent of the charges, but this, of course, does not alter the function of sorcerer execution as an escape valve for repressed aggression and hostility within the society.

Aside from the suspicions, fear, and personal insecurity engendered by belief in witchery among prospective victims and shamans alike, the execution of sorcerers is frequently a source of factionalism within the society. During our residence in the village of Missão Velha, the community was split by an impending sorcery execution. Two years earlier, a powerful shaman had been called to the village to destroy the malignant objects believed to have caused an outbreak of

* See pp. 46–47.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ready been mentioned that depopulation, the disintegration of the social structure, and the decline of such highly valued activities as warfare and the hunt have robbed the Mundurucú of much that was vital and positive in their way of life and left them disheartened and apathetic. Frustration, in the classic paradigm, normally leads to aggression, the expression of which is forbidden in this culture. Fear of sorcery among the Mundurucú is a means of embodying and phrasing in understandable terms not only the manifold anxieties of their existence but the latent aggression that nearly all members of the society carry within them. In this connection, it will be remembered that the intrusive objects made by the sorcerer are spread abroad and are not usually directed against any one person. The sorcerer is then, as the Mundurucú say, malevolent toward society in general. This is not only logically consistent with the indiscriminate ravages of epidemic disease, but it also suggests that the sorcerer of the sorcerer displace generalized aggression to his person and eradicate it through his execution.

That considerable aggression is unleashed upon the executed sorcerer can be inferred from the quality of the executions and the way in which informants report them. Many, if not most, executions take place from ambush, but some are bloody affairs in which the accused is beaten to death with clubs. And the Mundurucú enthusiastically relate these episodes with obvious hatred for the victim. The men of the village of Cabruk derived evident satisfaction by pointing to a brown smear on the posts of their men's house and saying: "That is where we wiped the blood of our last sorcerer from our hands." This emotional intensity parallels that reported by Kluckhohn among the Navaho,[4] and among both peoples this is atypical behavior.

Since aggression is related not only to real interpersonal differences but to frustration and general insecurity, it should be expected that witchcraft accusations would be most common in periods of stress. This is borne out by the Mundurucú practice of refraining from direct action against the sorcerer until illness becomes severe in the community and deaths occur. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient historical material to demonstrate conclusively, as did Kluckhohn, that sorcery troubles are correlated with historical periods of crisis. The best primary source on the Mundurucú, the report of the Brazilian engineer Antonio Tocantins, in 1875, describes sorcery executions as extremely frequent and one of the major problems of the Barabal mission.[5] But it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this data and to control all the variables in the situation without similarly complete reports from other periods. In 1875 the Mundurucú still waged war and therefore had available a means of expression of hostility which had the obvious advantage of being directed outside the society. But on the other hand, Mundurucú society was then being subjected to its greatest threat since the contact with the whites, for these were the first years of the rubber-extraction period, and the Indians themselves were becoming increasingly involved in the industry. White rubber tappers were penetrating the area in growing numbers, and the mission had just been established. In

[4] Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 98.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 107–111.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756
754
152
578

view of the complexity of the problem and the paucity of data, however, it can only be concluded that sorcery was also common in times past. Whether or not accusations and executions have increased in number or in proportion to the number of shamans cannot be positively ascertained, but it is highly significant that the institution has been perpetuated into the present, a period that has seen the disappearance of much of Mundurucú religious activity.

It has been said that the shaman occupies a most precarious role today. The source of much of the evil threatening the group, he also is the only person who can cope with the harmful forces, and his services are in great demand. The Mundurucú are deeply concerned with illness and frequently sought relief in the medicine afforded by my wife and me and by the mission and Indian Service Post. But given their theory of disease, modern medicines were inadequate for a complete cure and were believed efficacious only in healing the damage done by supernatural agencies. The removal and destruction of the latter can only be accomplished by the shaman. The role thus has a dual function; society purges itself of repressed hostility through the imputation of malevolence to the shaman, and it is also the means by which society protects itself from the believed evil.

This dual function makes shamanism a most ambivalent practice. All but the most powerful practitioners, who usually are called upon to detect sorcerers, are in great and continual danger. The general reduction of the Mundurucú population has proportionately thinned the ranks of the shaman, and executions have further reduced their numbers. Many leave the Mundurucú country in flight from execution parties or in fear of future accusation. Others refuse to practice shamanism in the hope, often vain, that they will thus shield themselves from suspicion. The result is that many villages are without shamans, and their residents accordingly lose another motive for remaining members of nucleated communities.

The involvement of sorcery in repressed conflict may be seen through an examination of a few case histories. The instance already cited in which the village of Kissão Velha split on whether to kill the accused Antonio is a case in point. Antonio was the most industrious rubber tapper of the village and was much disliked by the family of the chief. The latter group was, as in most Mundurucú villages, the strongest aggregation of kinsmen in the community, since it included not only the sons-in-law of the chief, but also his sons, who are customarily exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Relations were strained between the chief's group and the men of many other households of the village, for the latter looked upon the chief as the appointee of the missionaries and resented the strength of his family. These dissidents sided with the condemned shaman. They were not, however, willing to court the possibility of open factional struggle by offering physical defense of Antonio, but resolved instead to leave the village.

Another case of sorcery, this time in the savannah village of Cabruá, saw the men of the village determined to kill the stepson of the chief. The latter, supported by his sons and sons-in-law, intervened, and the man's life was spared. In a

third village, however, the power of the chief's family must have been weak, for both he and his son were slain as sorcerers by the other men of the village. The tendency for villages to fractionate because of sorcery fears and accusations is probably greater now than in the past. Not only is village cohesion in general much weaker, but the disappearance of such leadership activities as heading war parties and trading on behalf of the village as a whole has made it most difficult for the chief to obtain the consensus necessary to carrying out an execution. It must not be thought, however, that lack of unanimity in sorcerer killings indicates a decline in belief in black magic; it rather reflects distrust of the sincerity of the sorcerers and the existence of latent factionalism that may not be directly caused by witchcraft. But these occasions bring conflicts to a head and open breaches that are in many cases irreparable and can be resolved only by the removal of one party.

This analysis of the Mundurucú data indicates that although the institution of sorcery may be viewed in one light as socially integrative, so far as it acts as a cathartic for aggression, it may also be most disruptive of social cohesion, for it often aggravates tensions.* It would seem that shamanism and sorcery have become complementary to the central direction of social and economic change. The ecological accommodation to increased participation in rubber production calls for the dispersal of the population into ever smaller units in the vicinity of the stands of wild rubber trees. Correspondingly, sorcery conflicts tend to disintegrate larger village units while being integrative for factions within the village, which then commonly establish themselves as small local groups. This is not the only means by which social fission occurs. Latent conflicts that do not involve sorcery sometimes cause families and factions to leave villages; others leave because of the economic expediency of residence near their rubber avenues. But sorcery remains as a contributing motivation for the participants in the process. The Mundurucú example thus suggests that the institution of sorcery may promote the cohesion of a society as a whole, but only where other bases for such cohesion exist.

The close relationship of religion to the social structure can be seen quite as clearly in the context of change as in a synchronic dimension. As the society has become progressively divested of those mechanisms that integrated tribe and village, so also have group religious activities fallen into abeyance. What remains are the essentially individual practices of shamanism and sorcery. This is the same process noted for other parts of South America by Steward, and which he has phrased as part of a change in "level of sociocultural integration."† But beyond the scope of participation in religious activity we have seen another selective factor determining which segments of religion will persist. This, in brief, is the simple question of whether the element serves some social function in the changed setting. By this criterion, the warfare ceremonies have totally disappeared, and the ceremonies for the animal spirits have declined with the shift of a large part of the population from hunting to fishing. Similarly, the

* Kluckhohn (1944, p. 71) has noted the presence of disruptive elements in Navaho witchcraft also, although the analysis of these tendencies were beyond the scope of his treatise.

† Steward, 1951.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Mundurucú is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of [619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Mundurucú tribal integration in times past.

611 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary
622 significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the oldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also,
611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain
756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important in-
768 heritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Mundurucú. A young man in search of a mate

583 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[584] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his pri-
[582] mary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[752] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Few techniques for pleasing these animal spirits are now practiced, but in former times there were many. Powerful shamans, of whom there are now said to be but few, used to travel magically to the "Land of the Game" to "feed" the animal spirits, and the two most important ceremonies also had this purpose. These two rites, called the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip* were held, as all Mundurucú ceremonials, during the rainy season, and were almost identical but for duration; the former was said to have occupied almost the whole rainy season, while the latter lasted ten days. In both, the game animals were honored and their spirit protectors summoned and offered a food particularly pleasing to them. Annual observance was not mandatory, but either the long or the short festival was usually held every year. Villages usually rotated the duty of staging the rite, and the residents of several communities were invited. A number of powerful shamans were a prerequisite to the ceremony and had to be recruited from many villages, for only they could ward off the attacks of evil spirits that were attracted by the ritual food offerings.

Other ceremonies were also held to celebrate the trophy heads taken during war. These rites lapsed, of course, with the end of headhunting in 1912. The game-animal ceremonies persisted into relatively recent times, however. The last Araiarai was held in the early 1930's, and the shorter Dajearuparip lasted until about 1945. The Mundurucú explain the lapse of the ceremonial cycle as caused by the contemporary lack of powerful shamans. There is some merit in this view, for sorcery executions, the migration to the Cururú River, and general loss of population have greatly lowered the number of shamans available in the savannah villages. Also, the Mundurucú look upon themselves as being in a degenerated state; they feel that their

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[82] women are no longer as desirable as in the good old days,
[796] nor are men as brave and strong. Correspondingly, the
[792] shamans are thought to have lost much of their power and knowledge. Besides, there are significant social and economic reasons for the lapse of the ceremonies. The larger ceremony fell into abeyance after the migration to the Cururú River had gained full force, and the shorter form w terminated after the exodus had reduced the savannah p ,ulation to its present 300. Significantly, the Dajearuparip ended in 1945, at the conclusion of the period of rising rubber prices in World War II and the concomitant growing preoccupation of the Mundurucú Indians with extraction of latex. Thus, there is not only an insufficient number of shamans at present, but there are not enough people left in the savannahs to stage a large-scale reunion.
[224] Furthermore, only the campineiros, a bare one-quarter of the total Mundurucú population, still depend on game as
[326] the principal source of protein; the others rely primarily on fishing, and the ceremonies have correspondingly less economic significance to them. Finally, to the degree that the old social system has weakened, so also has this positive, affirmative aspect of the religion. The rites were vital to tribal unity and male activity and were a function of them. The decay of intervillage coöperation in other spheres and the inevitability of eventual abandonment of residence on the savannahs make the Mundurucú apathetic to the continuity of the group-based and group-affirmative rituals—actually, those aspects of relations with the supernatural that Emile Durkheim defined as "religion." * The people still believe in the game-animal spirits and still give credence to the efficacy of the ceremonial means of propitiating them. But the failure to translate the
[869] beliefs into the realm of action has robbed them of im-

* Durkheim, 1947.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders, this may constitute a significant bloc within the community under current circumstances. 683 754

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the number of shamans. This not only includes people who were actually executed, but also those who escaped or who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay, but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced with the unhappy prospect of being the only available scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the services that village life traditionally afforded. 683 754 756

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. Fellow clan members are no longer united by 182 771 182 628 796

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

622 554 182 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [758] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

all Mundurucú still believe firmly in the supernatural causation of illness. Thus, the drugs of the white man are considered efficacious in the repair of the damage caused by the sorcerer's evil objects, but this in no way circumvents the necessity for the shaman to extract them. A corollary of the continued belief in native explanations of disease is the persistence of accusations of sorcery and the occasional killing of witches.

The only shaman in recent practice in Missão Velha was executed as a sorcerer in 1950. It is now necessary to call a shaman from another village or to bring the sick person to him. The lack of an actively practicing shaman has not prevented another case of sorcery from arising in the village, for the accused in this instance was a shaman by descent. The case will be described in some detail, for it illustrates how political factionalism, sorcery, and general disaffection have combined as fission elements in the loosely integrated Cururú River villages.

Several months before we stayed in Missão Velha, a great deal of illness caused the chief's son-in-law and sons to seek the services of Pedro, the most renowned of all Mundurucú shamans and a resident of the mission. Pedro, without the knowledge of the priests, of course, went to Missão Velha and performed the necessary acts to destroy all evil objects in the vicinity of the village. He then informed the others that the man responsible was one Antonio, a resident of Missão Velha whose father was a shaman, although he himself never practiced. The chief wanted no trouble and planned for a time to move away from the supposedly malignant Antonio, but the younger men of his family were determined to kill the sorcerer. Certain other men of the village, however, were not fully convinced of Antonio's guilt and opposed his condemnation. Their doubts were not a reflection of skepticism in

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159
578
754
756

supernatural belief, but arose from hostility to the chief's group, Antonio's most persistent persecutors. The fact that they would also doubt the accuracy and integrity of the most powerful shaman in the tribe is indicative of the intensity of this animosity. Some of the men opposed to the execution felt, on the other hand, that Antonio was in all probability guilty, but expressed revulsion at the idea of more bloodshed and would have rather preferred to let him depart in peace. In any event, no unanimous community action could be taken.

The split in the village was exactly along the lines of the two village political factions. Favoring the execution of Antonio were the chief, his two sons, his two sons-in-law, and the brother and brother-in-law of one son-in-law. The opposition consisted of the brother-in-law and former co-resident of a shaman killed at Missão Velha two years earlier, the brother-in-law and house mate of the accused Antonio, and a household whose men were related affinally to the chief's group. The position of the latter house in the dispute is of particular interest, for it included the brother-in-law, brother, and nephew of that son-in-law of the chief who was the moving spirit of the other faction. The people of this household had originally moved to Missão Velha to be near the latter kinsman.

The dilemma was finally resolved when the frightened Antonio decided to move completely out of the Mundurucú country to the relative safety of the Tapajós River. Those who defended him, however, were completely alienated from the village, and all had made plans to move. The man whose brother-in-law was killed two years ago was ready to settle permanently near his rubber avenue, the brother-in-law of the accused contemplated his departure, and the members of the third household wanted to move farther upstream. We left Missão Velha before the shifts

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

occurred. If all the planned moves took place, however, the net loss to the village would be 36 out of 90 people, the residents of three of the ten occupied houses. As a footnote to this episode, Antonio fled shortly after our departure, but he made the fatal error of settling in a Mundurucú hamlet on the lower Cururú River. His reputation was, of course, widely known, and he was slain by his new fellow-villagers.

To our knowledge the dispute never flared into an open display of aggression. On a few occasions the accused man was seen to talk to one of the men who wished to kill him and, more rarely, there was mutual visiting. Hostility between Mundurucú is generally more open on the Cururú than in the savannahs, but violence is still suppressed. Here, too, the only escape valve consists in killing suspected sorcerers; otherwise, one may move away from the object of hostility. The latter is easily done in the socioeconomic framework of the Cururú settlements, for interpersonal and interfamilial dependence is low, and individuals have correspondingly greater mobility than on the savannahs.

Although no personal violence attends these disputes, the facts of conflict and withdrawal are socially disruptive beyond their effects on village membership. In the above-described conflict, two brothers were ranged in opposite factions, because one had chosen to follow the stand in defense of the accused taken by the oldest member of his household. And the position of the latter placed him in conflict with one of his wife's brothers, who favored killing Antonio. An even more interesting split occurred in a household whose inhabitants were absent from the village during my research. The oldest man and head of the house wished to avoid strife by taking no action against the condemned man, but his son, who resided with the father, was

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

159 578 754 756 a leader in the movement for execution. Although many of these bonds were probably not permanently fractured by the dispute, they were all certainly placed under strain. The fact that first-degree kinsmen, not to mention clan fellows, can become embroiled in internecine strife that can result in the withdrawal of one of the parties is indicative of the progressive weakening of kin bonds. The ethic of harmony and nonviolence that was associated with the traditional institutions of descent and residence continues to some extent on the Cururú River, but it does not prevent social disruption.

184 571 [592] Another noteworthy contrast between Missão Velha and the savannah villages is the lower level of social interaction in the former. It has been pointed out that the household, most often a nuclear family, is the basic economic unit of the Cururú River Mundurucú. The same applies to everyday social intercourse, for not only are the men's house and the all-village collective female labor of the savannah farinha shed absent, but visiting between houses is also less frequent. After the day's labors, the husband, wife, and children usually sit around their own fire to eat and talk, and afterward retire to their hammocks. Occasionally a neighbor and his family will visit briefly. [574] Visiting is almost always done in groups with two or three families coming together at one time. The all-male or all-female gatherings of the savannahs which have for their respective nuclei the men's house and the farinha shed are absent.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE CURURÚ VILLAGES

182 578 The conflict over sorcery in Missão Velha is typical of the schisms constantly arising in the Cururú villages and which account, in part, for the fact that the average village population is on the decline with a corresponding increase in the number of villages. In addition, many people are

439 the chieftaincy, it is common practice to select one or two possible heirs and
622 rear them in his household; this is what happened to Biboi. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favor of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, as he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his wishes, even at the expense of the Mundurucú villagers.]

The contemporary Mundurucú chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both ends have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by maximal adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and minimal acquiescence to the demands of the traders. Biboi's father, Caetano, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Caetano would communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubber; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He also sincerely sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

622 Caetano embodied many characteristics of the traditional chief. An older man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and cajoled, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Caetano knew Mundurucú traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

622 Biboi's position was very different from that of his father, for he was
177 the prototype of the Indian boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he would recognize only Biboi in dealings with Cabitutú. The residents grudgingly assented, but they regarded him as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was, [756] in reality, a renowned shaman who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office.

622 Biboi's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under
554 thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To complicate matters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Cabitutú. Matrilocality, I have [591] said, is the normal mode of residence among the Mundurucú, but the sons of chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of conscious motivation, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters to them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilocality of the chief's family is twofold. By keeping the sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the discontinuity that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilineally related kin, a small and solidary patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Much as this may reënforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise unilateral authority, for the rest of the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 is used by the shaman to extract from afflicted people the *yakip*, or malignant object sent by the mother of the game. All these instruments are inert until the shaman blows power-giving tobacco smoke upon them. They are then thought to be "alive" and to have "strength."

Disease and Its Treatment

753 In order to understand fully the important role that the shaman plays among the Mundurucú, their theories of disease and affliction must be outlined. There is practically no human misfortune that cannot be attributed to supernatural influences. If a Mundurucú suffers a slight cut on his foot, he may admit that it was due to sheer mischance. But if he incurs a serious wound, the shaman is usually consulted and invariably attributes the affliction to the vengeance of the mother of the game. Any infection, pain, or other aftereffect of the wound is generally thought to be the work of the *yakip*, which is sent by the mother of the game or by the soul of the animal offended by the wounded man. Similarly, a snake bite, a fall from a tree, or any other serious misadventure that cannot be classified as a disease is usually diagnosed by the shaman as the vengeance of the animal world.

Diseases also are the result of evil supernatural influences. But whereas serious accidents are attributed to the spirit mother and therefore to the negligence or stupidity of the stricken person, disease strikes people regardless of their activities. And though afflictions that have clear and obvious causes, as cuts or snake bites, are also thought to be the vengeance of the supernaturals associated with the animals, disease is caused by sorcerers. All sorcerers are shamans who consciously [754] wish to hurt their fellow men. The sorcerer causes disease by modeling a variety of objects and blowing smoke upon them to give them life. The evil objects, called *cauši*, are then wafted off on the wind to wander through the air until they encounter some human. Invisible to ordinary people, they enter the body and cause illness. The particular illness depends upon the material out of which the *cauši* was modeled and the shape given it by the sorcerer.

Two distinct processes are required for the proper cure of illness. First the *cauši* 755 is extracted from the sick person's body by the shaman, and he then prescribes ● 757 certain herbal remedies to repair the damage caused by it. The first part of the cure is uniform for all *cauši;* the herbal remedy prescribed is, however, specific for the malady.

The process of extracting a *cauši* is extremely simple. The sick person strips his 755 or her clothes from the part of the body where the pain is localized and sits or 276 lies on the ground. The treatment most often takes place in the patient's dwelling, but the shaman sometimes receives the ill in the men's house. After the patient is prepared, the shaman takes one of his large cigarettes, which are wrapped in a thin layer of the inner bark of the tauarí tree, and commences to smoke. As he smokes he crouches over the sick person and intently stares at his body. The shaman does not inhale or swallow excessive amounts of smoke, and narcotic effects are specifically denied. Rather, the smoke heightens his extra-visual ability

to see the *cauši* within the patient's body, and he is considered to be in a state of 755
intense concentration. During this period the many observers of the cure fall silent, 276
and even the children are hushed. After completing his examination and identification of the *cauši* lodged within the patient's body, the shaman blows clouds of smoke over him. This is an essential part of the cure, for the tobacco smoke is believed to dislodge the *cauši* from its place deep within the sick person and to bring it nearer to the surface, from where it can be easily extracted. Once the shaman 755
has accomplished this end, he commences to massage the patient's body, stroking inward toward the point where the pain is localized. At the completion of the massaging the *cauši* is believed to be directly below the skin and just above the source of pain. The shaman quickly applies his mouth to this point and sucks noisily at the patient's skin. He then draws away and deftly removes the *cauši* from his mouth, into which he has supposedly sucked it, and holds it out in his open palm for all to observe. He examines it with great care for some time and throws it into a fire, where it is thought to be completely destroyed. The object exhibited by the shaman is usually a small piece of wood or the pit of a palm fruit. The sleight of hand involved apparently requires no great ingenuity, but everybody is firmly convinced that the shaman has really extracted an evil object from the patient. I was unable to induce any shaman to reveal the innermost secrets of his art, but I am convinced that the shaman, too, believes that he extracts *cauši*, elusive though his reasoning may be.

The sole deviation from the above procedure occurs during the extraction of a very large and dangerous *cauši*. The shaman localizes the object and brings it to the surface of the body in the usual manner, but he extracts it with a quick, grabbing motion of the hand.

The *cauši* is visible to the shaman both when flying freely through the air and when lodged in the patient's body. Ordinary persons can see it only after the shaman has extracted it. There are ten reported varieties of *cauši*, each of which represents a type of disease recognized by the Mundurucú. The *cauši* is believed to wreak considerable damage while in the sick person, and its extraction and destruction is not sufficient for a full recovery. This can only be through the application of herbal remedies, each of which is a specific for a certain type of *cauši*. These medicines are thought by the Mundurucú to be either "hot" or "cold"; the *cauši* is believed to cause considerable internal bleeding, and hot medicines remove this old blood from the body, and on the other hand, cold medicines reduce fever and alleviate pain.

The following is a list of the ten varieties of disease recognized by the Mun- 753
durucú and a description of the *cauši* believed to cause each and the medicinals 755
used to repair their damage. 278

1. *Dau* (leg) *pipí* (pain), or pain in the leg, is caused by a *cauši* carved in the 757
shape of a sting ray and made from its tail. This *cauši* lies on the floor in the doorways of houses and waits for an unwary person to step on it. Although it causes intense pains in the leg, its effects are not fatal. To cure the aftereffects of *dau*

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

753 pipí, the shaman heats the leaves of a tracuá vine over a fire and applies them to
755 the center of the pain. This poultice, despite being heated, is considered a cold
278 remedy.

757 2. *Ipsa pipí*, or pain in the stomach, is instigated by a *cauši* that is made from a bitter manioc tuber or a piece of soap. When the object is made from soap it causes a mild stomach-ache, but when made from bitter manioc the poison is believed capable of killing the victim. Three varieties of cold medicine are used to cure the aftereffects of this illness. An unidentified species of potato is grated in water, and part of the mixture is drunk while the rest is poured over the patient's stomach. Another remedy uses a few scrapings from the castanha de arara mixed in water and taken both externally and internally. Also, the root of the jambú plant is beaten into a half-gourd of water and drunk.

3. *Eksobí pipí*, pain in the back, differs from the other ailments in that it is caused by a *cauši* that is actually a living bird. This bird, a species of curujá da noite, can be heard at night, but is never seen. When it flies directly above the house, the inhabitants are in danger of being afflicted with backache. A cold remedy for backache consists of a paste of grated ginger root which is applied to the affected parts. Another medicine is made in a similar fashion from the root of an unidentified shrub.

4. The material and form of the *cauši* that causes *eũnsobí pipí*, or pain in the side, was not known by my informants, although five remedies were listed as effective in its cure. The following three are cold medicines. Pau de candeia is grated into boiling water and the compound drunk while still very hot. A broth is also made from envira de cacao, and grated deer antler is mixed with cold water and used both internally and externally. Hot medicines include a poultice of heated jamarú leaf and a broth made of the ashes of kamaíu cane mixed in hot water.

5. The common cold is called *ockõ ockõ*, an onomatopoetic word, and is believed to be caused by a *cauši* which consists of a bit of talcum powder rolled in paper. Four cold remedies include hot drinks made with lemon, ginger root, the root of an unidentified shrub, and the sap from a tree. The only hot remedy known is made by boiling mel de chupe and taking it internally.

6. The *cauši* that causes *nunchai pipí*, or pain in the uterus, is made from the root of an unidentified tree. Menstrual pains are not believed to be caused by this object, nor is it thought to cause labor pains. A hot medicine, used to free the woman of the old blood from the intra-uterine bleeding caused by this *cauši*, is made by cutting up the root of a paxiuba palm and boiling it in water. Some of this preparation is administered internally, and the remainder is placed in a pot below the woman's hammock. The rising vapors are believed to aid in the cure. Ashes of the paxiuba palm are also mixed in water and drunk.

7. *Paiat*, or fever, generally accompanies stomach-ache, according to informants. Actually, such a concurrence of the two afflictions occurs during an attack of chronic malaria, and the stomach-ache is, more accurately, a pain in the liver. Two cold remedies are used to reduce the fever. The first is made by grating a

vine in hot water and applying the mixture to the stomach. The other consists of 753
the trunks of very young buritú palms crushed in water. Part of this mixture is 755
drunk, and the rest is applied externally to the torso of the sick person. 278

8. *Ok pipí*, or intestinal pain, is caused by the same *cauíi* as *ipes pipí*, or stom- 757
ach-ache. However, the term *ok pipí* is in reality reserved for dysentery, for it is always accompanied by severe diarrhea. The medicines used for stomach pains are considered effective in the relief of intestinal pains also, but two additional cold remedies are used as specifics for the diarrhea. The roots of a certain shrub are boiled in water, part of which is taken internally and the rest allowed to steam below the hammock. The leaves of this shrub are also applied to the abdomen as a poultice. The same use is made of the leaves of the murirú pagé, a water plant. The local Brazilians also boil the leaves of this plant and place the steaming pot below the hammock of a bewitched person. The vapors are believed to cause an evil object to fall out of the victim's body.

9. *A pipí*, or headache, is treated by mixing envira de castanheira in water and applying the solution to the head. Unripe Brazil nuts are also grated into water and similarly applied. Both remedies are considered cold. The nature of the *cauíi* that causes headache was not known by the informants interviewed.

10. The tenth and last ailment is a three-stage sickness generally known by the name applied to its first stage, called *ujewsií*. In this primary phase, the afflicted man or woman becomes unhappy and listless and eats mud, soap, and other [261] inedible substances. The symtoms increase in severity in the next stage, or *yauhú*, and the victim becomes thin, yellow, and "bloodless." Finally, the patient passes into the state known as *tawhokat*, at the end of which he usually dies. During the final illness, the person's soul sometimes becomes one of the dreaded wandering souls. The symptoms are descriptive of the chronic forms of a number of illnesses, such as malaria, dysentery, and jaundice. The Mundurucú attribute it to a *cauíi* made of roasted earthworms rolled into a ball and spread in the air. No remedies were known.

A person can be afflicted by more than one *cauíi* at a time, and the shaman often recommends a number of herbal preparations. The shaman does not himself administer these remedies, but instructs the kinsmen of the sick person in their use. They then collect the proper herbs and apply them.

The techniques used by the Mundurucú shaman are so widely distributed 756
throughout eastern South America that any attempt to trace their provenience 171
would be overly lengthy. The shaman's use of tobacco smoke and the techniques of sucking and massage are almost universal in the Amazon area. Of equally wide distribution are the use of herbs and the varjous methods of applying them. Infusions, external applications, and steam baths are, as Lowie indicates,[7] known among a number of tribes of the region.

One aspect of Mundurucú herbal medicine worthy of further discussion is the 278
division of remedies into hot and cold categories. This distinction is made through- 171
out most of Latin America with regard to both medicines and food. The Mun-

[7] Lowie, 1948, pp. 51-52.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

279 171 durucú, however, do not classify their foods in this manner, suggesting that the concept was perhaps borrowed from their Brazilian neighbors together with certain medicinal recipes. Furthermore, although the list of diseases and remedies is undoubtedly incomplete, it is significant that only twenty-four herbal medicines were reported. A much longer list could be collected among rural Brazilians of the area, who also use most of the same herbs employed by the Mundurucú.[8] This leads immediately to the question of whether the civilized inhabitants of the Amazon borrowed the medicinal preparations from the Indians or whether diffusion operated in the reverse direction. Although the use of herbs by the Indian population of the Amazon is undoubtedly a pre-Columbian practice, and although diffusion probably operated in both directions, it is very possible that the greatest borrowing was by the Indians. This is probably true for the Mundurucú, although we cannot be so certain for the first Indian groups encountered by the Portuguese. The herbal knowledge of these coastal tribes is, of course, crucial to the question.

753 The Mundurucú theory of disease exists side-by-side with certain sound empirical observations on the subject. They are well aware that epidemics are contracted through contact with white people. For example, when either my wife or I caught a cold, the Mundurucú avoided close proximity to us. Even on those occasions when we fell ill after an epidemic had already developed in the village, they were inclined to blame us. Also, they recognized that residence along waterways or near swamps was often accompanied by fevers (malaria), and they knew that the savannah villages were therefore more salubrious. Both contagion and the unhealthfulness of certain locales were loosely connected with the prevalence of the sorcerer's evil objects, or *cauši*, despite the contradiction implied. However, in this as in many other lines of thought, the Mundurucú do not push logic to its conclusion, for the roots of the supernatural concepts are social and not intellectual. The empirical observations and supernatural concepts coexisted with little effort on the part of the Mundurucú to integrate them, if, indeed, they were aware of the mutual antipathy of the two.

757 755 Moreover, despite their supernatural explanation of disease, the Mundurucú freely sought the rational medication, that we provided. Every day, a number of people came to our house for treatment, some from other villages; in only a very few cases did we have to seek out the sick and persuade them to accept our aid. Our experience in this matter was not unique, for both the mission and the Indian Post dispensed large quantities of medicine to Mundurucú patients. Not even the shamans resisted treatment; many were, in fact, our most faithful patients.

There are a number of reasons for this lack of resistance to Western medicine by the Mundurucú. Through long contact with the whites, they had come to recognize the efficacy of the white man's medicines, especially in the treatment of diseases they know to be associated with the civilized population. Some even knew the names of specific remedies; I had the unusual experience of having a tattooed, seminude Indian ask me for "*sulfá*."

[8] Note also the many herbal remedies reported by Wagley (1953, pp. 241–252) from the Amazon River town of Itá.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

This receptivity has, in part, been communicated to them by the whites. The Brazilian population of the near-by Tapajós River places high value upon modern medicines, despite their accompanying belief in witchcraft, their use of herbs, and occasional resort to shamanism. Wherever we traveled, we were continually visited by sick or wounded people. The fact that we were not medical practitioners did not affect our position as curers. It was sufficient that we were American scientists and must, therefore, possess adequate knowledge and equipment to cure almost any disease. Penicillin was endowed with quasi-magical qualities by the backwoods Brazilians, and they used it to cure backaches, sprains, and intestinal ailments, as well as various types of infection. These attitudes have diffused to the Mundurucú, and our medicines were accorded high prestige by them. But, more importantly, Western medicines accorded with their own techniques for the treatment of disease. They placed the use of aspirin, sulfa, and other drugs in the same category as their own herbal remedies, and believed that they repaired the damage done by the evil objects, or *cauši*, of the sorcerer. Thus, they would go first to the shaman to have the intrusive object removed and then to us for medication; neither by itself was considered sufficient for a complete cure. 757 755

The accommodation of rational medication to aboriginal curing techniques furthered Mundurucú acceptance of Western medicine more than did the example and prestige of the white man. For example, the Mundurucú were convinced that a feverish person should be made cool. The result of this erroneous, albeit clear and simple, logic was that the sick took frequent baths in cold streams and lay upon the cool floors of their houses rather than in their hammocks. We, and the priests for many years before, repeatedly cautioned them against this practice, but our words went completely unheeded. The result was that a person afflicted with slight cold and fever soon developed a violent grippe. The Mundurucú were not impressed by the clear association between bathing and a worsened condition, for the seriousness of an illness was believed to be a direct function of the type and strength of the *cauši* that caused it. Similarly, we had very little success in convincing the Mundurucú of the savannah villages that they could prevent malaria by purchasing mosquito nets and sleeping in them during their summer stay on the banks of the large streams. Whether our explanation that the *cauši* that caused fever were afraid of mosquito netting was ultimately of some influence could not be ascertained. Needless to say, we were not looked upon as authorities on *cauši*.

The techniques used to cure attacks by the animal spirits or by the *Furuparí* are somewhat different from the remedies for *cauši*. Although both involve the extraction of an intrusive object from the patient's body, different methods are used. Also, no herbal treatments are used to right the damage done by these supernaturals. 755

The malignant stone cast by the *Furuparí* into its victim is considered far too dangerous to be sucked out by the shaman. Special precautions must be taken during a cure, and shamans are truly apprehensive while treating an afflicted person. The following case of a *Furuparí* attack will perhaps illustrate

/15 cont./

*241 Also:

192 pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties

262 banana—aku, 11 varieties

cotton—buru, two varieties

urucú—tyuku, tyuku a

papaya—asïu a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Mundurukú also have a certain number of vegetables which back-

[302] woodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor.

[157] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet

[189] are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 From this list, it becomes clear that the Mundurukú must have

177 had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Mundurukú are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (9)

[171] 9. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

622 554 182 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unpecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [758] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

12; Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper 648
Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a
prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or 743
private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém 759
visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but
medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There
is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company
rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural
experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for
most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants 371
who read and write usually learned to do so in another [212]
area or through literate parents. Actually, the Mundurucú 648
are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, be- 658
cause both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service
post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educational facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the 361
Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical
habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle [342]
and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower
Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher section of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods.
These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the
major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers,
often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the
barracões (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local
traders, who buy the produce of the caboclo and sell him
needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm
clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses adjacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same
forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the
houses of rubber tappers whose rubber avenues are
nearby, and others belong to people who live there during
the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

571 578 592 males is extremely close knit and is probably the most cohesive group in Mundurucú society. Such is the emotional bond between the women of these groups that I know of [762] one who committed suicide because of alienation from her two sisters and house mates. But beyond the extended family, conflicts between individual women or households are common. All women of the household generally join with a member in her antipathy for another woman or household; this, of course, follows from the fact that the housemates are closely related to each other, which complements the allegiance arising from co-residence.

521 578 Hostility between the women generally takes the form of malicious gossip. My wife, Yolanda, was the recipient of most of the confidences that passed among the women, [123] which constituted one of our most valuable sources of information. Coleta, an Indian girl who lived in our house [115] and worked for us, used to regale Yolanda by the hour with tales of adultery and of the promiscuity of certain women. Coleta was an excellent source of such data, as she herself was well known for waywardness in affairs of the heart. And we usually managed to learn by this means of the well-repressed hostilities in the village, of fears and accusations of sorcery, and in general of relations between the sexes. Yolanda's participation in the gossip network brought her even closer to the women, and they, in turn, gossiped about her. One of the favored places for the exchange of female information and opinion was the shed where farinha was made. The women usually chatted animatedly as they worked there, but as soon as one left the group, the heads of the others drew together and she was thoroughly discussed; after a couple of months of residence in the village, the same thing happened, as we had no difficulty finding out, when Yolanda left their midst. Gossip is the chief form of expression of antagonism among

[805] 821 They say that summer begins when the swallows appear.
They call the moon caxiate.
The full moon, caxi-tupambon-pimau.
The first quarter of the moon, caxi-quite.
The last quarter of the moon, caxi-hian.
Day, cabiá; night, ximan.

[805] To signify morning, noon, or afternoon, they point out with their index finger the location of the sun at that particular hour.

They call the stars cacutá.
The seven-star constellation (Hesperides) they call tauadirá.
The morning star, cabiará.
The Southern Cross, chenchentá (ch as in Spanish muchacha).

823 They say that the earth is flat, but they know not where it begins or where it ends.

775 When a Mundurucu dies -- man or woman, elder, youth, or child -- his spirit, biumbê, passes on to another world, a sort of paradise which they call cabi.

The cabi consists of a boundless plain, in the midst of which stands an ekçá large enough to hold them all.

[821] Sometimes these spirits wander through the air and cause storms. Sometimes the Mundurucu spirit comes down to earth and turns into a matin tapirera to hunt at night. It so happens that throughout the valley of the Amazon the repeated cries of a bird may be heard during the night, echoing over and again the same syllables -- "matin tapirera."

Beyond this life, beyond the grave, there is no more pain and no realm set aside for the torture of spirits. Life beyond the grave is much sweeter than earthly existence. [117]

Once in the cabi they can never die, and if they need something they come down to earth in the form of thunder. There are no evil spirits intent on bringing ruin on the Mundurucu.

[776]

764 When one of these savages dies, his relatives dig a grave beneath [his?] own hammock, in the shape of a vertical cylinder. They lower the body into it, head uppermost, folded in the posture of the foetus in the maternal womb.

764 This is the squatting position which was also used by the Quechua and the Egyptians. [The Mundurucu] bury with the deceased a few objects he had used in life, such as weapons, feather ornaments, etc. My interpreter was an intelligent Indian and spoke, besides his Mundurucu dialect, the Portuguese and Tupi tongues. He would translate without hesitation into Mundurucu the following sentences: "I miss my mother -- Nheben uexi cahi" "I miss my son -- Nhebên opute cahi." The word nehbên means "to miss." "My soul goes to heaven -- Ubiumbê cabi cahi dhê."

115 191

This knowledge of the heavenly bodies, though still quite rudimentary; these beliefs in a future life, free from odious superstitions; this faculty to conceive and express abstract ideas and the purest and sweetest feelings of the human heart, such as nostalgia for mother or son -- all this surprised me on the part of a people that has always been considered one of the fiercest and most barbarous in the valley of the Amazon.

If the Mundurucu did not derive their beliefs and knowledge from some of the civilized groups on the Andean Plateau, I presume at least that for centuries they must have lived as the inhabitants of the plains villages do today -- that is, in centers as densely populated as [118] a savage economy based on hunting and the meager resources of a crude husbandry will permit. These villages are in constant communication with each other and preserve the same uses and customs. As I mentioned above, the Mundurucu tattoing pattern is really a blood initiation which stamps them with an indelible mark -- a sacred tie binding in brotherly communion all the members of this numerous and powerful tribe.

I will, however, abstain from drawing any conclusions whatever. My purpose is to observe facts with scrupulous care and to describe them with fidelity.

It may be that the light sketch I am tracing of the life of a savage tribe will be pondered by one of those superior minds who cogitate on human destiny and on the problems of mankind.

Theirs is the task to plumb the mysteries of Providence, to search for the beginnings of man's journeys on this earth, for the paths he has followed and the destinies that await him.

846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the
child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened
to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is
changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the
bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the
same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already de-
termined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband
dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take
her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage,
for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons
888

*The hopelessly degenerate Camês, Voturôes, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do
this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a
service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[101] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tame-
puyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to
this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old peo-
ple" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
[302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside
the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
[775] Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
000 the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents. 584

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the fatally ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Mundurucú* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes. 888 734

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars. 764

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (kaduké). The ceremony is repeated at yearly intervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finally buried in the house of the deceased. 766

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Mundurucú* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes success in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic dialogue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc. 796 756

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in holding off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes. 796 535 224

1 [Martius (source #3) says this was done by the children -- Analyst]
2 [Martius says female rather than maternal - Analys.

614 mission, who described a rather complex system of 34 patrilineal clans, some of which were linked in unnamed phratries, and which were parceled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamic moieties. This report is substantially correct, but for the minor fact that Mundurucú informants can list 38 clans, and the actual number, before depopulation set in, must have been well above 40. Actually, only 30 clans are currently extant.

DESCENT AND RESIDENCE

616 Although the clans are formally exogamic, their marriage-regulatory functions are superseded by the more inclusive moiety system. The moieties, called "Red" and "White" by the Mundurucú, comprehend 16 and 22 clans. In addition to their marriage-regulatory functions, the moieties partake of the characteristics of reciprocity, rivalry, and antithesis, which, as Lowie notes, are commonly found in moiety systems.[4] During many ceremonies and on all festive occasions intersexual joking between members of opposite moieties is acceptable and expected; and in the course of everyday village life, one may act with much greater levity toward a person of the complementary group. While the joking aspect of moiety relations may indicate behavior appropriate to prospective sexual part-
[578] ners, latent affinal antagonism is manifest in their recip-
[764] rocal duties and rights. Every clan in each moiety is designated as the *iboiwatitit* of certain clans of the opposite. This mutual relationship entails the duty to bury each others' dead. The Mundurucú look upon this not only as an obligation, but as a right and a privilege, or, as they sometimes phrase it, a mode of revenge. This is not merely
616 symbolic phraseology. During the period when raiding
727 still occurred, it was considered necessary that every dead

[4] Lowie, 1948, p. 242.

XXI

Funerary honors for warriors who die in battle

766 When a Mundurucu happens to die in the course of one of their frequent wars, his comrades cut off his head and mummify it in the accustomed manner.

Upon their return to the village, they put it in a special place along with the weapons, horn and ornaments which belonged to the dead warrior.

This relic becomes the object of public veneration.

765 If a Mundurucu from a neighboring tribe happens to come by, he goes to see it and pays it the proper respects, weeping and lamenting its fate. In the native village, public honors are paid to the late warrior; the time is settled in advance and invitations are made to neighboring villages.

When the time comes the people get together; the head is laid in a sort of basket or hamper, which is placed across the laps of the widow, mother and sisters of the dead man.

The other women sit around them in a circle. Several torches of resinous wood blaze near the funerary basket.

The warriors, bedecked with ornaments and armed with bows and arrows, dance around the group, blowing their horns and playing other musical instruments.

Other groups of men do likewise inside the ekçam while some dance and sing around the house where the head receiving these funerary honors is located. All the while they pronounce in loud voices the following lament:

"Thou hast died, my kinsman, we shall avenge thee; this is the [131] purpose for which we are on this earth, each to avenge the other who dies in battle. Our foes are no braver and no more manly than we."

In Mundurucu it runs as follows:

[539] "Ftean ari ubaripeinhaçan eted ei ue-gne ari utiede aipanme idie ôpe te atedeiame rupanhô be tean anhem parui áte bé. Uterupanhon ibeixi ame utie de utedie ute beixi."

These funerary celebrations last for longer than one day.

765 They are held once a year for the first four years following the warrior's death.

On the fourth year, the celebration ends with the burial of the head; on this occasion, the women as well as the men address it with the following words:

765 "My brother (or my son), we have come here to bury thee.
539 Thou hast died; to this end wert thou born. Thou hast died in war, because thou wert brave; to this end did our mothers and fathers nurture us. We must not fear our foe. Whosoever dies in war dies with honor; it is not as death from illness. We have come from all the malocas to weep and dance to the end of thy burial."

The Mundurucu version runs as follows:

"Uanhum inhaçan uté sõte écũ tchãme. Iménhame ari utiẽ bai utiẽ mai pãnme. Eteã nanhum utẽ rupanhum bẽ anhocate ediẽ. Imenhame utiẽ xi utiẽ me pito utiẽ bai ari ué utiẽ ũebé anhocate epeçupeidié ipi bé utiẽ parará ama utiẽ rupanhum bẽ-xime. Rupãnhum-bẽ tié à ãen anhocate ediẽ tutu uẽ-ẽ utié rupanhum bẽ-ibé pame une pite idiotié má utié pa-ãme pai bẽxime cauxi pibõne. Idiõtié utiésote anhuncaxiri bẽũi caracuie cuié ãẽ uadime uté cabé ute racui axirau umãe iueipe iũé utiẽ uéné pam utié sote nhaçam achi-tutũne pré ibiman utié diepite diei." [132]

At the same time, around the funerary basket, the women speak as from the dead man's mouth:

"My mother (or my wife), thou wilt die in bed of illness. I died in war because I was brave."

534 In the course of these ceremonies the shamans blow on a
784 special instrument: it is a kind of horn which they call caruquẽ.

To this end the shaman hides in a small hut which is espe-
[349] cially built for the purpose, and where the women are strictly forbidden to enter.

On the other hand, these superstitious women avoid the sight of that sacred and mysterious instrument in every possible way. They are convinced that were they to glance at the caruquẽ but for an instant, they would commit a sacrilege that would cause them misfortune for the rest of their lives.

765 Finally, a vertical grave is dug inside the dwelling of the warrior's family, and the head in whose honor the ceremonies took place is buried there.

XXII

Hunting, fishing, and agricultural celebrations

796 224 Each Mundurucu village also carries out every year at the start of winter a public ceremony which celebrates hunting and fishing on alternate years.

To this end the village elects a ceremonial leader who is chosen among the most reputed warriors and who must also be a good singer. [13

They accumulate beforehand ample quantities of game, beiju (a kind of manioc bread), sweet potatoes, and other foodstuffs.

The women paint themselves with genipap, urucu, and other highly effective colors.

Men and women, adorned with feather ornaments and necklaces of enemy teeth, assemble in groups wherever they please and begin to make music, to dance and to sing.

They gather the skulls of tapir, deer, and other species of game or fish, and offer them the best delicacies -- dau, taruba, maniqueira, and other foods.

At midnight the shaman retires to a special room, beyond the reach of unhallowed glances. There, in the midst of absolute darkness, he first calls in loud voices upon the tapir's "mother," if the ceremony is in celebration of hunting.

After a while, those who surround the mysterious hut hear within it the sharp scream of the tapir.

[325] It is the shaman imitating the cry of this animal to notify his audience that the spirit has answered his call and has come down to the hut.

There ensues a lively debate in loud voices between the tapir's "mother" and the shaman. He requests her to favor the

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 765 [616] Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the [5[illegible]3] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 554 784 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 554 [609] [825] The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajeboiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 224 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiši

727 mentary moiety have the privilege (or pleasure, as some informants phrased it)
616 of burying the dead of the other moiety, if only symbolically. For this purpose,
766 the humerus of the dead Mundurucú was cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone after the arm was boiled and allowed to dry in the sun. Indicative of the symbolic importance attached to the moieties' prerogative of burying each other's dead was the practice of amputating the humerus of a wounded but still living warrior who was unable to continue the return journey. Furthermore, when the body was lost or a vengeance party was in hot pursuit and such Draconian measures were impossible, a symbolic arm bone was made out of a short piece of arrow cane and duly mourned, treasured, and buried.

The grisly operation of taking the humerus of the fallen warrior was per-
727 formed by a member of the latter's *iboiwatitit*, or those clans of the opposite moiety
766 that held the special burial right over the deceased's clan. This man brought the bone back to his village and guarded it carefully, sleeping with it in his arms "as if it were a baby." After an unspecified period, the man's mourners and many members of his *iboiwatitit* gathered to bury the bone in the floor of its custodian's house.

Both male and female kinsmen of the slain warrior were expected to weep
765 loudly upon hearing news of his death. The patterned wailing of the men was of short duration, but that of the women was expected to last for several months.
[302] Also, women, as in the event of the death of any relative, had their hair cropped close to the scalp and were prohibited from wearing any body ornamentation. The latter restriction applied also to men, but their hair was not cut. The cutting of the woman's hair was always done by a male member of her *iboiwatitit*.

The actual cycle of trophy-head ceremonies began shortly after the return of
727 the war party with an observance known as *Inyenborotaptam*, or Decorating the
796 Ears. This ceremony and those celebrated in the two succeeding rainy seasons were held under the leadership of the taker (or takers) of the trophy head, who was thereafter honored by the title of *Dajeboiši*, or Mother of the Peccary. Food was amassed by the host village under his direction, and invitations were issued to other villages. The purpose of this phase of the trophy-head ceremony was to decorate the head. Implicitly, its function was to inaugurate the head and its owner into the status that both would occupy until the conclusion of the cycle.

The preparation of the trophy head began during the return march from the enemy village. First the brains were extracted with the wide bamboo point of a war arrow, which was inserted into the head through the foramen magnum. The teeth were then knocked out and carefully stored away, and the head was lightly boiled and dried near the fire. This process made the skin dry and parchment-like and effectively preserved it. Finally a woven cord was inserted in the mouth and led out through the nostril by a hole pierced in the hard palate, leaving the tasseled ends of the cord dangling from the mouth and nostril. At a later time, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth affixed across either eye.

The Mundurucú considered the crowning glory of a trophy head to be the

XXI

Funerary honors for warriors who die in battle

766 When a Mundurucu happens to die in the course of one of their frequent wars, his comrades cut off his head and mummify it in the accustomed manner.

Upon their return to the village, they put it in a special place along with the weapons, horn and ornaments which belonged to the dead warrior.

This relic becomes the object of public veneration.

765 If a Mundurucu from a neighboring tribe happens to come by, he goes to see it and pays it the proper respects, weeping and lamenting its fate. In the native village, public honors are paid to the late warrior; the time is settled in advance and invitations are made to neighboring villages.

When the time comes the people get together; the head is laid in a sort of basket or hamper, which is placed across the laps of the widow, mother and sisters of the dead man.

The other women sit around them in a circle. Several torches of resinous wood blaze near the funerary basket.

The warriors, bedecked with ornaments and armed with bows and arrows, dance around the group, blowing their horns and playing other musical instruments.

Other groups of men do likewise inside the ekçam while some dance and sing around the house where the head receiving these funerary honors is located. All the while they pronounce in loud voices the following lament:

"Thou hast died, my kinsman, we shall avenge thee; this is the [131] purpose for which we are on this earth, each to avenge the other who dies in battle. Our foes are no braver and no more manly than we."

In Mundurucu it runs as follows:

[537] "Ftean ari ubaripeinhaçan eted ei ue-gne ari utiede aipanme idie õpe te atedeiame rupanhõ be tean anhem parui áte bé. Uterupanhon ibeixi ame utie de utedie ute beixi."

These funerary celebrations last for longer than one day.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents. 584

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the fatally ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Mundurucú* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes. 888 734

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars. 764

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (kaduké). The ceremony is repeated at yearly intervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finally buried in the house of the deceased. 766

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Mundurucú* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes success in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic dialogue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc. 796 956

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in holding off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes. 746 535 224

1 [Martius (Source #3) says this was done by the children -- Analyst]

2 [Martius says female rather than maternal - Analy.]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dancers clothed in cloaks of buriti leaf, who danced from house to house, playing in each. Another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat. 796 881 852 [304] [616]

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing signalized full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Duperip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of pecking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group. 304 796 884

Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundurucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and returned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad. 796 727

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.* No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundurucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain clans of the comple- 766 727 616

* Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 616 766 mentary moiety have the privilege (or pleasure, as some informants phrased it) of burying the dead of the other moiety, if only symbolically. For this purpose, the humerus of the dead Mundurucú was cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone after the arm was boiled and allowed to dry in the sun. Indicative of the symbolic importance attached to the moieties' prerogative of burying each other's dead was the practice of amputating the humerus of a wounded but still living warrior who was unable to continue the return journey. Furthermore, when the body was lost or a vengeance party was in hot pursuit and such Draconian measures were impossible, a symbolic arm bone was made out of a short piece of arrow cane and duly mourned, treasured, and buried.

727 766 The grisly operation of taking the humerus of the fallen warrior was performed by a member of the latter's *iboiwutitit*, or those clans of the opposite moiety that held the special burial right over the deceased's clan. This man brought the bone back to his village and guarded it carefully, sleeping with it in his arms "as if it were a baby." After an unspecified period, the man's mourners and many members of his *iboiwutitit* gathered to bury the bone in the floor of its custodian's house.

765 [302] Both male and female kinsmen of the slain warrior were expected to weep loudly upon hearing news of his death. The patterned wailing of the men was of short duration, but that of the women was expected to last for several months. Also, women, as in the event of the death of any relative, had their hair cropped close to the scalp and were prohibited from wearing any body ornamentation. The latter restriction applied also to men, but their hair was not cut. The cutting of the woman's hair was always done by a male member of her *iboiwutitit*.

727 796 The actual cycle of trophy-head ceremonies began shortly after the return of the war party with an observance known as *Iwyrnborutaptom*, or Decorating the Ears. This ceremony and those celebrated in the two succeeding rainy seasons were held under the leadership of the taker (or takers) of the trophy head, who was thereafter honored by the title of *Dajeboši*, or Mother of the Peccary. Food was amassed by the host village under his direction, and invitations were issued to other villages. The purpose of this phase of the trophy-head ceremony was to decorate the head. Implicitly, its function was to inaugurate the head and its owner into the status that both would occupy until the conclusion of the cycle.

The preparation of the trophy head began during the return march from the enemy village. First the brains were extracted with the wide bamboo point of a war arrow, which was inserted into the head through the foramen magnum. The teeth were then knocked out and carefully stored away, and the head was lightly boiled and dried near the fire. This process made the skin dry and parchment-like and effectively preserved it. Finally a woven cord was inserted in the mouth and led out through the nostril by a hole pierced in the hard palate, leaving the tasseled ends of the cord dangling from the mouth and nostril. At a later time, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth affixed across either eye.

The Mundurucú considered the crowning glory of a trophy head to be the

614 expected to show warmth, support, and hospitality to each other; they are "brothers" and are expected to act accordingly. These obligations are discharged when a Mundurucú is called upon to do so. He seldom meets more than a few of his clan fellows in the course of everyday life, however, and the opportunity for the exercise of expected behavior toward any large number of fellow clansmen rarely arises. This follows from the results of matrilocality and also from the contemporary rarity of gatherings involving people of several villages. The latter factor is of [619] some importance, for multivillage participation in warfare and ceremony was the distinguishing feature of Mundurucú tribal integration in times past.

611 The patrilineal principle of descent has contemporary 622 significance beyond the inheritance of clan membership. Chieftaincy is ideally transmitted in the male line; the oldest son of the chief is considered the appropriate heir, but the office may also be passed to a brother or a younger son. In order to accommodate patrilineal inheritance to the continuity of village leadership, the sons of village chiefs are generally exempt from the matrilocal rule. Also, 611 shamanistic power is believed to be inherent in certain 756 people from birth and is inherited only through the father. Whole family lines are recognized as shamans, whether or not they actually practice the art.

428 Shamanism and chieftaincy are the only important in- 768 heritable offices. All portable personal property is destroyed on the death of the owner. Houses, which are abandoned every ten years, are not inherited, and there is no private or group property in land.

MARRIAGE

584 Entry into a marital compact is an extremely simple affair among the Mundurucú. A young man in search of a mate

554 In addition to the glory of being an owner of a head, he was a valuable economic asset due to the charm that the head exerted over game.

726 622 Warfare was an occasion upon which the position of the chief became of great importance. The young warriors depended heavily on his experience and leadership. His authority was not unlimited, but it was more fully exercised and more necessary to successful results than during any peaceful endeavor in the village.

726 181 This is only a brief sketch of Mundurucú warfare for its complexity rivaled the war patterns of the North American Plains Indians. To the Mundurucú, themselves, it was the most important single pursuit and characterized their way of life more than any other activity. Its results were extremely destructive to other tribes but was a source of élan and vitality in Mundurucú culture.

Religion

771 The following discussion of Mundurucú religion will be brief and will touch mainly on those points pertinent to the problem of socio-cultural integration. In conformity with Tropical Forest patterns, the religious system was of great simplicity. There were the typical Tupian spirits of animal, fish, and plant species, souls of the dead and certain malignant spirits.[22] Magic was simple and usually directed towards antisocial ends. The only specialist was the shaman. All the males participated in the ceremonials

22. cf. Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 102-109; Oberg, 1953, pp. 53-4.

771 to a degree that varied slightly with their ceremonial knowledge.

775 Spirits

[776] The Mundurucú spirits consisted of three rough classes. These were souls of the dead, spirit "mothers" of animals, fish, and plant species, and a variety of malignant beings. The soul was known as the ibiõnbõk, which also means shadow and image, and lived after death in the land of the sky, which was a hemispherical dome placed over a flat earth. The afterworld was a pleasant place where there were Mundurucú villages and the old Mundurucú culture was active. The souls of the dead were not dangerous and remained aloof from human society with the exception of that of the sorcerer which had to be destroyed after he was killed. Otherwise, the only time that the soul was malignant was when a very sick person lost his soul during sleep or a coma. The soul wandered abroad and tried to rob the souls of sleeping people. The Mundurucú distinguished the "real" soul (ibiõnbõk), which was located in the center of the back, from the ibiõnbõk which was the reflection or the shadow of the person. The latter persisted after death also and, under circumstances to be discussed later, could roam the world as a certain type of evil spirit.

Souls could also be lost through offending the spirit "mother" of a game animal. The spirit "mother" robbed the soul and passed it from one game animal to another and finally through all the species of fish. This journey of

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

797 rise in rubber prices in the latter part of the 1920's was partly responsible for
175 causing the people of some savannah villages to migrate to the rubber-yielding
[161] forests along the Cururú River. Today, some 200 Indians reside at the mission, and another 300 are also clients of the priests.

797 Although this is not a study of changes in Mundurucú religion consequent
upon proselytization, it is necessary to survey briefly the effects of the mission
771 upon native belief in order to interpret the data to be presented. Catechization is most actively pressed among those Indians on the Cururú River with whom the mission has trade contacts. The other 200 residents of the Cururú River have their closest relations with the local post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios and only occasionally encounter the priests. The residents of the Tapajós River are far too scattered to be accessible with any frequency to the missionaries; these Mundurucú receive Christian influences through prayer sessions and religious fiestas held at the trading posts and through informal discourse with their Brazilian neighbors. The residents of the savannah villages maintain trade relations with the traders of the Tapajós River, but they are visited once a year by a priest who performs baptisms and remains for two or three days in each village to give religious instruction.

The personnel of the mission have proceeded with some degree of tact and restraint in their conversion of the Mundurucú population. All Mundurucú are technically Catholic, having been baptized, but only a minority have received all the subsequent sacraments. Children in residence at the mission school are administered Communion, and at intervals of several years the Bishop of Santarém visits the mission to hold Confirmation rites for those ready to receive them. All Indians in the villages under mission influence are married in religious ceremonies. These rites generally are the result of considerable pressure by the priests and follow a period of marriage according to native custom. The Indians themselves look upon the public marriage ceremony as most embarassing and shame-provoking and make every effort to avoid it. The sacrament of Extreme Unction is administered only to people who die at the mission itself. Otherwise, the customary funeral rites are followed and the body is interred under the floor of the dwelling.

Each Sunday a number of Mundurucú arrive at the mission for the primary purpose of trading and with the secondary intent of visiting; they are strongly urged to attend Sunday Mass, and most do as a means of keeping in the good graces of the prestigeful and respected missionaries. The superior of the mission has spent more than thirty years among the Mundurucú and speaks the language fluently. All of the Mass except the part universally recited in Latin is given in the Indian tongue. The Mundurucú observe the social division of the sexes while attending church. The front pews are occupied by the nuns and the 40-odd children usually resident at the school, and the remaining seats are occupied by the men. Most remain in a rigid kneeling position throughout the service, with the exception of one or two old men who imitate and even anticipate the ritual postures of the nuns. The women sit cross-legged on the floor of the center aisle; many nurse their children during the rites.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Attendance at church services is always greatest on such special holy days as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of St. Francis, the patron of the mission. The nuns serve refreshments to the participants, and dances are held in the houses of the Mundurucú who reside at the mission. These occasions unite hundreds of people and thus serve as the social equivalents of the now defunct tribal ceremonies devoted to the game-animal spirits. 797 771

Most Mundurucú ceremonies are no longer practiced by any segment of the population. The priests have made special efforts to discourage the practice of native rites in those Cururú River villages under their influence, and only the ceremony to regain stolen souls is still held. This rite requires the participation of only three or four shamans and two men who possess knowledge of certain songs, and is held in the closed house of the sick person. It is thus quite easily concealed from the attention of the priests, and the rites have been held in houses only a stone's throw from the priests' residence. Ceremonies involving a large number of participants have fallen out of practice, even among the more traditional savannah dwellers, who are not readily responsive to the dictates of the priests. As in the case of warfare, it is obvious that culture change was on the side of the missionaries and that their efforts were not the crucial factor in the decline of these aspects of Mundurucú culture. On the other hand, more individualized religious practices are still quite active among the Mundurucú. The priests recognize the psychological value of shamanism and have made little effort to inhibit its practice. They are quite realistic as to its tenacity among not only the Indians but the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon. But the position of the missionaries is of necessity ambiguous, for the ideological basis of shamanism is inextricably connected with the concepts surrounding sorcery, to which they are adamantly opposed. Frequent sermons are delivered against belief in witchcraft as the cause of illness, and the priests are extremely severe with those of their parishioners who take part in sorcery killings. Their efforts in this direction have had the net effect of causing the Mundurucú to withhold information on their religious beliefs, but it can be confidently stated that even the most acculturated Mundurucú believe firmly in witchcraft.

One of the more interesting facets of contemporary Mundurucú culture on the Cururú River is the general indifference of the people to Christian beliefs, in spite of their acceptance of the mission as an institution. There can be no denial of the fact that the priests are greatly respected by the Mundurucú and have great power among them. Chieftaincy in the Cururú villages is dependent upon recognition by the missionaries, and the major function of the chiefs is to act as intermediaries between the villages and the mission. The priests continually recruit children for the mission school in spite of the passive resistance of their parents, and they are able to bring considerable coercion to bear upon individuals through their economic power. But the Indians are only nominally Christians in spite of this influence and the intensive catechization to which they are exposed. [622]

The following chapters describe the manner in which the Indians have integrated and syncretized Christianity into their own belief system. This process

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

797 had doubtless begun long before the establishment of the present mission; it
771 is probable that items of Christian belief have diffused to the Mundurucú and been reinterpreted by them for a period of more than 150 years. These items of belief are now, from the viewpoint of the Indians, Mundurucú ideas. They recognize the affinity between Christian concepts and stories and some of their own, but they shrug off the former by saying that that is the way the priests tell the stories. Some informants thought that the priests had learned them from the Mundurucú—and learned them poorly.

The vast majority of Christian teachings have not, of course, been integrated into Mundurucú culture, and the Indians are exposed to these alien beliefs whenever they visit the mission or are visited by priests. Some of these, as the concepts of sin and damnation, are well known to the people, but make no emotional impact upon them. The idea of sin, especially original sin, is predicated upon the type of internalized authority more characteristic of the members of a complex society. Mundurucú social control is not dependent upon a sense of guilt, and the structure of personal relations is adequate to govern individuals. The Indians look upon this central theme of Christianity with mixed views. Some feel that hell is the particular destination of white people, but others barely bother to think about it at all. This summarizes the attitude of most Mundurucú toward missionary instruction. They rarely disbelieve the priests, for the latter are regarded as wise and sincere men. But their teachings are thought to be those of white men and thus to be true only for white men. There is no single and absolute body of unchangeable truth to the Mundurucú mind. Within their own mythology, for example, there are two separate origins of man; logically, this appears contradictory, but the Mundurucú do not put these beliefs to the test of logic. This statement does not imply that the Indians are illogical. Rather, it merely suggests that they, like most primitives, are not theologians. For this reason, the native and Christian beliefs coexist quite easily; but most Mundurucú have little interest in the latter, although they may not actively resist and reject them.

Social and Economic Changes

178 Although it is doubtful that Christian proselytization has resulted in a large-
174 scale displacement of native beliefs, the fact still remains that many aspects of
105 Mundurucú religion are in full decline. This decadence is not understandable as the result of a conflict of patterns of belief. Rather we must view religion,
[771] with Durkheim, as being in some way an expression of the mode of organization of the society. Also we are not concerned merely with belief, but with the closely connected subject of ritual; and the form of ritual is directly related to the structure of the social group that implements it.

With this thought in mind, we can review some of the major changes that have taken place in Mundurucú society since their contact with the whites. First, the Mundurucú were evidently patrilocal, as contrasted to their later matrilocality, until some time in the early nineteenth century.[32] This change in residence patterns revolutionized Mundurucú social structure. More than 40

[32] See Murphy (1956) for a full discussion of the causes and implications of this change.

II. HEROES AND SPIRITS

771 776 MUNDURUCÚ RELIGION is animistic in its broadest outlines, although vague and unpersonalized concepts of power pervade belief. Spirits and powers are active agents in Mundurucú life, and the constant manipulation and propitiation of them are essential to the well-being of the tribe.

CULTURE HEROES

773 Culture heroes were people of great supernatural power who lived in mythological times and who were responsible for creating people and much of the animal world. They are also believed to have endowed the Mundurucú with certain items of their culture, although the origin of most of it is not rationalized by mythology. Culture heroes are considered by the Mundurucú to be people of a remote past who accomplished wonderful deeds and then passed out of contact with the world of people and nature. They are in no way worshipped or manipulated nor are they objects of fear and veneration or, outside of their existence in the myth cycle, the subjects of much thought or interest.

One culture hero, Karusakaibö, stands above all the rest to such a degree that C. Strömer has referred to him as a "Hochgott."[1] Although the "Gott" stem of the appelation, as applied to Karusakaibö, does violence to most definitions of deity, Karusakaibö's dominant position in Mundurucú mythology is undeniable. Like many culture heroes, his origin is unexplained. He exists in a cycle of six myths in the course of which people, the peccary, and the tapir are created, and the hills and sky are formed. Karusakaibö, although an extraordinary person of great power, was believed to be a Mundurucú who lived in a village named Uacuparí, situated near, but not identical with, a recent Mundurucú village of the same name. His son Korumtau, his wife Shikiridjá, and his sisters also enter into his adventures.

773 797 Karusakaibö has been syncretized by the Mundurucú with the Christian God preached to them by missionaries from the nineteenth century to the present day. The missionaries followed the example of the Jesuits of the early colonial period and have translated "God" as Tupan, the Tupian thunder deity; the Mundurucú have partly integrated the Christian and native myth cycles by incorporating pleasing tales from the Old and New Testament into their own mythology and substituting their own Karusakaibö for the missionary's Tupan. However, the subtleties of the concept of the Trinity have resulted in some ambiguity, and Karusakaibö is equated alternately with the Father and the Son.

773 797 842 Identification of the Christian deity and the principal Mundurucú culture hero has altered the position of the latter somewhat. Many Indians, especially those in closest contact with the mission, offer the influence of Karusakaibö as explanation for many phenomena not specifically accounted for in the cycle of Karusakaibö myths. As an example, various women stated that a couple must copulate several times to have children. After sufficient semen is accumulated within the woman, Karusakaibö (or Tupan, according to some informants) enters

[1] Strömer, 1932, pp. 5–6.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

VI. RELIGION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

In the first chapter of this study it was suggested that changes in Mundurucú religion could better be understood through an analysis of changes in other aspects of the culture than through knowledge of the activities of the missionaries. This is not to deny that the priests are and have been powerful and influential figures among the Indians. But their proselytizing efforts have consistently been realized only after certain social and economic changes have taken place. Also, changes in religion have consisted principally in the disappearance of activities and beliefs. The acquisition of Christianity has been an extremely slow process, although it might be hypothesized that it will become accelerated with further disintegration of Mundurucú society.

Until very recent years, the core of Mundurucú religious beliefs was the relationship between the world of humans and that of the game animals; the sharp decline of this aspect of Mundurucú religion is one of the most striking changes. The bond between animals and humans was clearly expressed in the complex of beliefs and rites connected with the spirit mothers of the game, and the *Araiarai* and *Dajearuparíp* ceremonies were the most important of all Mundurucú rituals. Their enactment protected humans from the vengeance of the spirits and promoted the fertility and availability of game. Even the sacred trumpets, originally the abodes of ancestral spirits of localized clans, acquired a vague and undefined relationship with the animal spirits. Warfare, also, was rationalized by the beneficent influence of the trophy head upon these supernaturals. Furthermore, the shaman was not only responsible for feeding the spirits, but he was believed to be able to cure the animals that dwell in human form in the Land of the Game, much as he cures the tame game animals found in every Mundurucú village.

The closeness of the human-animal bond can be seen in other aspects of belief. Mythology abounds with accounts of animals that at one time had human forms, and the origin of certain species from the metamorphosis of humans is common. That the reverse can also take place is seen in the conversion of people into animals during the *Duparíp* ceremony. The best example of the merging and interpenetration of the two realms is the saga of Perisuát, who became almost animal through an extended and solitary stay in the forest.

The relationship between Mundurucú society and the animal kingdom was one of symbiosis. The Mundurucú depended upon the animals for subsistence, and the animals, through their spirit mothers, depended upon the Mundurucú for the performance of rituals essential to their well-being and increase. The disappearance of these rituals is explained quite simply by the Mundurucú as owing to the lack of shamans sufficiently powerful to protect the animal spirits and human participants from attacks by the *Yurupari*. This view is true to the extent that there are fewer shamans among the contemporary Mundurucú, but it also reflects a characteristic fatalism and apathy toward the aboriginal culture. Not only are modern shamans said to be weaker, but men, in general, are not believed to be as strong, brave, and wise as were their forebears. And game is not as plentiful as it was in times past, nor are women considered as beautiful and desirable.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

771/178 In short, the Mundurucú view their present condition with apathy and face the future with pessimism. They make no great effort to preserve past practices because they feel the struggle is futile and their way of life altered beyond redemption. As one Mundurucú informant phrased it: "We are now all *pariwat* [non-Mundurucú]."

Reasons for this attitude can be found in the effects of more than a century and a half of contact with white society. During this period the population has been assailed by European-introduced epidemic diseases, and large numbers of people have migrated to the vicinity of white settlements where trade goods can be procured. The present Mundurucú population is probably one quarter that of the mid-nineteenth century. This depopulation and the increased involvement in the extraction of wild latex brought an end to warfare during the early part of this century. This had the obvious effect of terminating the ceremonial cycle devoted to the trophy heads, but it also had other repercussions. Warfare was, even more importantly than hunting, the principle expression of masculine values among the Mundurucú. It served to provide the men of several villages with a common goal, thereby promoting social cohesion, and it constituted a means of safely releasing repressed hostilities that had accumulated between members of the society. The end of warfare thus deprived the males of their sustaining and fortifying self-image as valiant warriors and removed one of the chief bases of social unity.

The pursuit of the hunt, however, continued after the termination of military forays. But the Mundurucú had become deeply committed to rubber tapping, and the demands of this activity upon their time forced them to depend even more heavily upon fishing during the dry season, when rubber is collected. Today, the men of the savannah villages still hunt almost daily during the rainy season, but three quarters of the surviving Mundurucú population, who live along the banks of the larger streams, rely chiefly upon fish as a source of protein throughout the year.

The shift from hunting as a primary substance activity further undercut the cultural emphasis upon masculine values, which were central to the religious complex surrounding game animals. Of even greater importance, it stripped the ceremonies of their economic rationale and made them less meaningful in terms of mundane activity. Finally, the progressive, ongoing fragmentation of Mundurucú society has not only induced apathy toward the traditional culture, but it has weakened the group unity upon which the performance of ceremonies depended, and which they expressed.

Collective religious activity, in general, has almost completely disappeared among the Mundurucú. Small gatherings take place when the sacred musical instruments are moved to a new men's house, and the trumpets are still played a few nights a week. But social change has had a profound effect upon this sector of Mundurucú religion also. The connection between the instruments and the clans was based essentially on a patrilocal rule of residence. Under it, the dominant or only clan of the village could quite reasonably be considered as the owner of the village instruments which were the repository of the ancestral spirits of the clan. Since the change to matrilocality, the instruments are considered to belong to

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the clan [illegible] man who manufactured them. If he dies or moves to another village, it is quite possible that no other man of that community will belong to the clan owning the trumpets. It is, therefore, understandable that informants were often vague when asked to explain the connection between clans and instruments. Many people believed that the trumpets had souls of their own and that these were the most important spirits resident within them. And, as has been mentioned, it was commonly thought that the playing of the instruments was pleasing to the spirit mothers of the game. 771 178

The actual function of the trumpets in present-day Mundurucú society has little to do with clanship, but much to do with the maintenance of the sharp dichotomy between the sexes. The instruments are primarily the property of the village men and are expressive of their unity and identity in the face of the women. In this connection it is significant that the villages that arose along the Cururú River have never had either the men's house or the sacred trumpets. As a corollary, the gulf between the sexes in social participation and labor that characterizes the savannah villages is lacking. On the Cururú the nuclear family is the basic social and economic unit. Men eat and sleep with their families and join their wives in tasks that would be considered degrading by a savannah dweller. But the demands of the rubber trade, combined with the covert hostility and factionalism that exist in all Mundurucú villages, are currently promoting migration from the savannah communities either to the Cururú River or to isolated residence along other streams. The end result will be the complete lapse of the sacred instruments and the men's organization.

The only other extant ceremonial is the one devoted to curing victims of soul loss. Since human souls are stolen by the spirit mothers of the game, this rite is also one of the few remaining religious acts that deals with this category of supernaturals. It is most significant that all the important means of obtaining the good will of these spirits and the increase of game have lapsed, although the Mundurucú have clung tenaciously to the technique of defending themselves against the spirits and rectifying the damage done by them. It may be said of the religion of the contemporary Mundurucú that it has retained those items that specifically protect the individual and, to a less degree the society, from harm though dropping those features that were not so immediately defensive in nature and which were more expressive of the integration and central values of the society.

To continue this line of thought, we turn to a consideration of those elements of Mundurucú religion that have maintained greatest vitality—shamanism and sorcery.[1] The two institutions are inseparable in the Mundurucú mind; the shaman cures diseases, which are invariably caused by sorcery, and the sorcerers are recruited from the ranks of the shamans. But disease, its explanation and its cure, has much greater significance than as a system of belief. Kluckhohn has shown for the Navaho that sorcery plays a vital role in the release of aggression,[2] and Beatrice Blythe Whiting's monograph *Paiute Sorcery*[2] shifts emphasis somewhat and stresses the function of sorcery as a mechanism of social control. Both of these fac- 178 771 152 754 578

[1] Kluckhohn, 1944.
[2] Whiting, 1950.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 tors, but primarily that of aggression release, play a part in Mundurucú sorcery
771 also.

152 In a previously published work[3] I set forth the thesis that aggression cannot be
754 tolerated in Mundurucú society because of the combination of a matrilocal resi-
578 dence rule and a patrilineal descent system. Under these social conditions each man has two sets of allegiances, one to his clan and the other to the household and village of his wife. Since the two do not coincide, he occupies social roles that potentially can conflict. That is, a quarrel between households or villages may well pit fellow clansmen against each other, and, correspondingly, conflict between clans can cause internal dissension within villages and even households. Open aggression is therefore avoided among the Mundurucú, and, although interpersonal and interfactional tensions abound within the group, they are generally suppressed. The feeling of horror at the outward display of hostility between men is so strong that informants were unwilling to give data upon its occurrence, although it occasionally happens.

Violence during warfare or the execution of a sorcerer, however, is thoroughly condoned. Attacks upon enemy tribes served to channel hostility upon surrogate objects outside the society and thus promoted social cohesion, but this avenue of release is no longer open. The only remaining catharsis for aggression is the practice of sorcery and the execution of suspected sorcerers. Another alternative, withdrawal from the frustrating situation, has been made possible by the general pacification of the upper Tapajós area and the consequent possibility of flight from village life. In former times it would have been most risky for an individual or family to forsake the mutual security offered by the local group, but today it is common for Mundurucú to live in the midst of the Brazilian rubber-gathering population. Even within the confines of Mundurucú territory, the tendency toward neolocal residence makes isolated or semi-isolated existence socially acceptable.

Mundurucú sorcery has a number of interesting facets. It is impossible to induce any shaman to admit the practice, but the body of detailed knowledge of witchcraft techniques suggests that it indeed exists. Granting that witchcraft is not completely a figment of the Mundurucú imagination, the practitioner undoubtedly derives considerable gratification of his antisocial inclinations. Also, the Mundurucú generally fix suspicion of sorcery upon the more deviant shamans. Thus of the two people known by me to have been suspected of witchcraft, one was a rather humorless, silent, and aloof man, and the other, although more outgoing, far outstripped the other members of the village in rubber production. The threat of sorcery accusation, it may be inferred, tends to enforce social participation and conformity.

These factors of covert release of aggression and social control are, however, applicable only to the ranks of shamans. Persons born without shamanistic powers are unable to practice witchcraft, and sorcerers do not practice on behalf of others. But the dogged persistence of belief in black magic among the members of the society at large suggests that it does perform a very vital social function. It has al-

[3] Murphy, 1957.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ready been mentioned that depopulation, the disintegration of the social structure, and the decline of such highly valued activities as warfare and the hunt have robbed the Mundurucú of much that was vital and positive in their way of life and left them disheartened and apathetic. Frustration, in the classic paradigm, normally leads to aggression, the expression of which is forbidden in this culture. Fear of sorcery among the Mundurucú is a means of embodying and phrasing in understandable terms not only the manifold anxieties of their existence but the latent aggression that nearly all members of the society carry within them. In this connection, it will be remembered that the intrusive objects made by the sorcerer are spread abroad and are not usually directed against any one person. The sorcerer is then, as the Mundurucú say, malevolent toward society in general. This is not only logically consistent with the indiscriminate ravages of epidemic disease, but it also suggests that the accusers of the sorcerer displace generalized aggression to his person and eradicate it through his execution.

178 771 152 754 578

That considerable aggression is unleashed upon the executed sorcerer can be inferred from the quality of the executions and the way in which informants report them. Many, if not most, executions take place from ambush, but some are bloody affairs in which the accused is beaten to death with clubs. And the Mundurucú enthusiastically relate these episodes with obvious hatred for the victim. The men of the village of Cabruá derived evident satisfaction by pointing to a brown smear on the posts of their men's house and saying: "That is where we wiped the blood of our last sorcerer from our hands." This emotional intensity parallels that reported by Kluckhohn among the Navaho,[4] and among both peoples this is atypical behavior.

Since aggression is related not only to real interpersonal differences but to frustration and general insecurity, it should be expected that witchcraft accusations would be most common in periods of stress. This is borne out by the Mundurucú practice of refraining from direct action against the sorcerer until illness becomes severe in the community and deaths occur. Unfortunately, we do not have sufficient historical material to demonstrate conclusively, as did Kluckholn, that sorcery troubles are correlated with historical periods of crisis. The best primary source on the Mundurucú, the report of the Brazilian engineer Antonio Tocantins, in 1875, describes sorcery executions as extremely frequent and one of the major problems of the Bacabal mission.[5] But it is difficult to evaluate the significance of this data and to control all the variables in the situation without similarly complete reports from other periods. In 1875 the Mundurucú still waged war and therefore had available a means of expression of hostility which had the obvious advantage of being directed outside the society. But on the other hand, Mundurucú society was then being subjected to its greatest threat since the contact with the whites, for these were the first years of the rubber-extraction period, and the Indians themselves were becoming increasingly involved in the industry. White rubber tappers were penetrating the area in growing numbers, and the mission had just been established. In

754 756 152 578

[4] Kluckhohn, 1944, p. 56.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 107–111.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

third village, however, the power of the chief's family must have been weak, 756
for both he and his son were slain as sorcerers by the other men of the village. 754
The tendency for villages to fractionate because of sorcery fears and accusations
is probably greater now than in the past. Not only is village cohesion in general 152
much weaker, but the disappearance of such leadership activities as heading war 578
parties and trading on behalf of the village as a whole has made it most difficult for the chief to obtain the consensus necessary to carrying out an execution. It must not be thought, however, that lack of unanimity in sorcerer killings indicates a decline in belief in black magic; it rather reflects distrust of the sincerity of the accusers and the existence of latent factionalism that may not be directly caused by witchcraft. But these occasions bring conflicts to a head and open breaches that are in many cases irreparable and can be resolved only by the removal of one party.

This analysis of the Mundurucú data indicates that although the institution 182
of sorcery may be viewed in one light as socially integrative, so far as it acts 152
as a cathartic for aggression, it may also be most disruptive of social cohesion, 754
for it often aggravates tensions.[6] It would seem that shamanism and sorcery have 578
become complementary to the central direction of social and economic change. The ecological accommodation to increased participation in rubber production calls for the dispersal of the population into ever smaller units in the vicinity of the stands of wild rubber trees. Correspondingly, sorcery conflicts tend to disintegrate larger vi'lage units while being integrative for factions within the village, which then commonly establish themselves as small local groups. This is not the only means by which social fission occurs. Latent conflicts that do not involve sorcery sometimes cause families and factions to leave villages; others leave because of the economic expediency of residence near their rubber avenues. But sorcery remains as a contributing motivation for the participants in the process. The Mundurucú example thus suggests that the institution of sorcery may promote the cohesion of a society as a whole, but only where other bases for such cohesion exist.

The close relationship of religion to the social structure can be seen quite as 182
clearly in the context of change as in a synchronic dimension. As the society 178
has become progressively divested of those mechanisms that integrated tribe 771
and village, so also have group religious activities fallen into abeyance. What remains are the essentially individual practices of shamanism and sorcery. This is the same process noted for other parts of South America by Steward, and which he has phrased as part of a change in "level of sociocultural integration."[7] But beyond the scope of participation in religious activity we have seen another selective factor determining which segments of religion will persist. This, in brief, is the simple question of whether the element serves some social function in the changed setting. By this criterion, the warfare ceremonies have totally disappeared, and the ceremonies for the animal spirits have declined with the shift of a large part of the population from hunting to fishing. Similarly, the

[6] Kluckhohn (1944, p. 71) has noted the presence of disruptive elements in Navaho witchcraft also, although the analysis of these tendencies were beyond the scope of his treatise.
[7] Steward, 1951.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182
771
178

religious complex of the sacred musical instruments is extant only in five villages. The beliefs connected with all these rituals remain, but, lacking expression in action, are no longer effectively transmitted to the young.

On the other hand, those aspects of religion that are keyed to the persistent problems of Mundurucú society show great tenacity. Sorcery beliefs may be currently disruptive of tribal and village integration, but they maintain a vital social function in terms of the needs of a society undergoing fractionation and individualization. These are beliefs that explain human malice and suffering and offer techniques for defense against them. They are not closely linked to and dependent upon the peculiarities of native Mundurucú culture, or of any particular lowland South American culture, and it is undoubtedly for this reason that shamanism and sorcery remain active among the peasants of the impoverished Amazon and can be found among the lower classes of its cities. The maintenance of specifically defensive functions of native religion is not peculiar to South America. We need only look to the United States, where the Sun Dance and the peyote cult have become primarily curing rites. These are flourishing parts of radically changed cultures and expressions of altered social systems and cannot be looked upon as lag phenomena. If there is a functional relation between religion and society, it must also exist in historical depth.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

In the sphere of material culture, the planting and use of cotton were introduced 171 after their contact with the whites, and their only water- [248] craft were bark canoes of the type the German ethnologist [501] Karl von den Steinen saw in the upper Xingú.[4] The moiety- phratry-clan system of Mundurucú social organization is [61] considerably more complex than most Tupian societies, and the system of kinship nomenclature is correspondingly divergent. Mundurucú religion follows the broad [171] outlines of supernatural beliefs and rites of the area, but there are significant differences in mythology.

These are only a few points of dissimilarity between the Mundurucú and the other Tupian tribes of the coast and lower Amazon region, but when considered with the linguistic data, they are sufficient to suggest a considerable period of independent development. There are also fundamental points of similarity: subsistence techniques are much akin to those found throughout the tropical-forest region of South America, and the Mundurucú are a village-dwelling people. And in common with other tribes of the area, class stratification is absent, political controls are simple, and the fundamental organization of the society is established along lines of kinship.

Certain characteristics lead me to suspect that the Mun- 174 durucú may have originally dwelled south of their present habitat. Their lack of cotton and the dug-out canoe and the absence of cannibalism and alcoholic beverages suggest that they may have come from the Planalto de Mato Grosso. Also, although they were and are industrious horticulturalists, their supernatural beliefs and ceremonies are only marginally concerned with cultivation; their major emphasis in ritual is on hunting. One other factor suggests a more southerly origin. The traditional Mundurucú villages were situated in the northernmost savannah coun-

[4] Steinen, 1894, pp. 222–223.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to as in the past, the conflicting modes of segmentation noted above still largely apply. And, correspondingly, aggression is repressed and the highest degree of harmony and coöperation is enjoined on the members of the society. The even and calm tonality of interpersonal relationships is most evident in the village, but it extends also to all men of the tribe. The men are unaggressive and uncompetitive; it is difficult to elicit relative prestige rankings from Mundurucú informants and practically impossible to learn of the overt hostilities that occasionally occur. The observer receives the initial impression of enormous cohesion, but prolonged residence in any community reveals severe grievances and smoldering factionalism. Despite these tendencies, the savannah Mundurucú do not fight among themselves, and they maintain the external appearance of solidarity and coöperation. But the society is extremely vulnerable to factionalism and hostility; social cohesion is precarious, and disaffection is an important motive for emigration from the savannah villages.

Today, this communality is primarily operative on the level of village organization; coöperative endeavors among several communities are largely defunct. Warfare and the ceremonial cycle have lapsed, and intervillage relations are structured by personal ties of kinship and not by the interdependency of villages as groups. Tribalism has further decayed as a consequence of the migration to the shores of the Cururú River and the alienation of the latter residents. But clan, language, and much of the traditional culture remain to maintain the boundaries between "people" and "foreigners."

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF RELIGION

Certain features of Mundurucú religious belief and activity are of particular relevance to the economy and social

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

structure.[4] The religious life of the contemporary savannah dwellers has been largely reduced to the practices of shamanism and sorcery, and group ceremonial activities have for the most part disappeared with little prospect of revival. One or two half-hearted attempts have been made by older men to resurrect parts of the ritual cycle, but they have met with lack of enthusiasm on the part of the young and have failed largely through inability to organize properly. Today, the Mundurucú regard the decadence of their religion as part of their transition to the status of foreigner (pariwat), and have resigned themselves to this situation.

The focus of Mundurucú religion in the past was the relationship between society and the animal world. This was consistent with the cultural emphasis on hunting, in terms of importance to subsistence and as a highly valued masculine activity.[5] The mythology is concerned with the origins of species of animals, which significantly were either human or had human form in mythological times, and an important class of supernaturals is believed to exert protection over game. The latter spirits are of two kinds: there is a generic spirit "mother" of all game animals, and several of the more important species have their own particular spirit "mothers." If offense is given to these supernaturals through such means as killing an animal for its hide and leaving the carcass to rot, they take swift vengeance against the guilty party. This is usually done by supernaturally bringing injury upon the culprit. But the spirit "mothers" can also be benevolent and helpful to the community and can make game abundant, if humans observe proper relations with them.

[4] A full description of Mundurucú religion may be found in my monograph *Mundurucú Religion* (1958).

[5] It will be remembered that the Mundurucú believe that the males wrested the sacred trumpets from the control of the women because only men could supply the meat that must be offered to the instruments.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders, this may constitute a significant bloc within the community under current circumstances. 683 754

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the number of shamans. This not only includes people who were actually executed, but also those who escaped or who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay, but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced with the unhappy prospect of being the only available scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the services that village life traditionally afforded. 683 754 756

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. Fellow clan members are no longer united by 182 771 182 629 796

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SPIRITS OF THE UNDERWORLD

776 The *kokeriwat* are a class of spirits that are believed to inhabit the underworld. Although they are extremely mischievous, the *kokeriwat* are not specifically malevolent toward humans nor are they especially feared by the Mundurucú. During the old Mundurucú wars, *kokeriwat* warriors used to issue from the underworld and, unseen by all but the shamans, fought side by side with the Mundurucú as allies. One informant stated that the *kokeriwat* were really the souls of Mundurucú warriors of ancient times, but this is not a universally held belief and must be classed with our previously discussed minor variations on major themes. Despite the help given them by their invisible allies, the Mundurucú warriors had to take certain precautions against the *kokeriwat*, for the latter always attempted to steal the teeth from the trophy heads taken by the war party. The Mundurucú guarded against this by extracting the teeth, which were later strung on a cotton belt, and hiding them in the mouth of the head. When all the teeth were extracted, they were placed in a small box which the warriors suspended from their necks.

[842] The *kokeriwat* were also able to make women pregnant without their knowledge by assuming the form of a small bird and flying between their legs. They later returned to claim the issue. Several cases were reported in which the *kokeriwat* robbed the mothers of these surreptitiously begotten children. One child of the village of Parawarétikā was sent by her mother to fetch water. After a considerable period of time passed by, the mother asked some women who were bound for the stream to tell the daughter to return immediately. The women went to the stream and found two sets of tracks leading away from the beach. They called the men of the village, who followed the tracks to a hill within which was situated one of the underworld homes of the *kokeriwat*. A shaman called out to the girl and asked her to return, but the *kokeriwat* replied in a voice heard only by the shaman, "She cannot return. I am keeping her for she is my daughter." The shaman was afraid to make any further attempt to regain the child, and she was left with the *kokeriwat*.

776 Informants were able to name three separate underworlds of the *kokeriwat*. The one to which that child was taken was known as Paradná. Another was called 772 Wikotchongpö and was on the banks of the Iririri River, a tributary of the Cururú River. The third home of the *kokeriwat* was Kokeriwatka (literally, the place of the *kokeriwat*), which was near the Morro de Careca on the Cururú River. All these places were abandoned by the *kokeriwat* after they became increasingly subjected to attacks by the Tuxuari. They now live in an underworld to the east and no longer have relations with the Mundurucú.

776 The Mundurucú know of the lands of the *kokeriwat* because many shamans are 756 said to have traveled there. Some shamans, as Pöiubaboi, a former chief of Capikpö, even had wives there. The *kokeriwat* have human forms when in their own land, but everything else is the reverse of the terrestrial world. Pöiubaboi, for example, related that the first time he had intercourse with his *kokeriwat* wife he told her to lie on her back on the ground in the usual Mundurucú position. But the *kokeri-*

727 According to the same informant, some warriors from this village, had returned from a war a few days previously, bringing back with them the mummified heads of two of their enemies, necklaces of human teeth, and other trophies.

As it turned out, I did not regret my choice, for I was well received in Necodemos and I encountered there, more vivid [773] than anywhere else, the legend of Mundurucu beginnings which considers this very maloca or village the cradle of the human race.

133 I continued up the Cadereri, strange river! Every day we had to carry bodily our light boat over sand bars. Here was confirmed an opinion I had already formed, namely, that the Cadereri, as well as the Araguaia, Juruena, Mamoré, and other upper branches of the great southern tributaries of the Amazon, such as the Tocantins, the Tapajoz, the Madeira and others, would dry up completely during the summer months, baring their channels, were it not for the falls of the middle course which serve to dam up the violent flow of the stream. The average gradient on the middle course of these great Amazon tributaries, which descend from the central plateau, is steeper than necessary to maintain a normal flow of water. [76]

133 Finally, on the morning of the sixth day as calculated by [491] the Indian, we came upon a tree thrown across the river in the form of a bridge. On the bank stood a crude hut. There was no one around. We blew a horn to call out the owner of the hut, who was probably out hunting in the nearby woods. As no one appeared, we continued our journey. I left behind some trifling gifts to mark the passage of a friendly person.

I thought it best to behave in this fashion, remembering [549] that Lieutenant Captain Soares Pinto had been attacked and killed by the savages for having destroyed some bridges which they had laid across the river. It is impossible to proceed upriver without destroying the bridges, and it is not always feasible to replace them.

For this reason, whenever I found myself unable to replace one in the same spot -- and on that day we encountered four more bridges -- I left gifts to make up in some degree for the damage I had caused the savages. At the end of the day the river became totally impassable: we could not carry the canoe any further. Happily, at this difficult moment we found another bridge over 000 the river and a hut upon the bank. We blew our horn persistently.

[i.e., Necodemos. - Analyst]

174 live in a strongly organized republic; for a long time they have made war on their enemies whenever it has pleased them to do so; they pronounce sentence of [86] death on sorcerers; they have a legend of their own beginnings; and they possess beliefs and traditions which are handed down from generation to generation.

Could these people, I wondered, be descendants of Quechua or Aymara who came down from the Andes and settled in these parts? I investigated their traditions with the greatest care, and questioned repeatedly the oldest inhabitants of the maloca as to whether their ancestors might have come from the high and distant lands that lie towards the sun's hiding place. But they invariably answered that it had not been so; the first men to appear upon the earth had founded the maloca of Acupari. Caru-Sacaebê appeared among them and taught them how to hunt: until then the game had been poor; Caru-Sacaebê caused larger game to appear.

773

He had neither father nor mother; he had a son by the name of Carutaũ and a companion by the name of Rairu, who acknowledged him as his master.

One day, Caru-Sacaebê had no luck in hunting. He returned to Acupari and sent his son Carutaũ to ask the hunters for some of the fowl -- inhambu and partridge -- which they had killed in abundance.

The hunters however, turned him down and mockingly threw Carutaũ the birds' feathers, saying: "Your father, too, is a good hunter."

Thrice Caru-Sacaebê repeated his request; thrice the hunters turned him down.

Then Caru-Sacaebê gathered up the feathers which they had mockingly thrown at Carutaũ and thrust them one by one into the ground around the maloca. And suddenly, with one gesture, he changed all the inhabitants of Acupari -- men and women, old people, youths and children -- into wild pigs.

The hungry animals roared and threshed about [87] and were about to scatter, when with another gesture Caru-Sacaebê turned the feathers into high hills.

773 Now it so happens that a large cave actually exists near the
[323] present site of Acupari. The Mundurucu say that even today the grunts of wild pigs and cries of agony may be heard there.

Others state that women's ornaments such as bracelets made of chestnut shells may be found near the cave entrance, as well as other vestiges of the tremendous catastrophe. The Mundurucu dare not enter the cave of Acupari.

Then Caru-Sacaebê left with Rairu, the only survivor of the disaster.

Arriving at the place where Necodemos stands today, he stamped his foot upon the ground, and from the large fissure that resulted he drew one pair of Mundurucu, one of white people, one of Indians, and one of Negroes.

[302] Caru-Sacaebê painted the Mundurucu couple in the same fashion as he himself was painted, and this was the origin of the maloca of Necodemos and the beginnings of the tribe, which grew so large and powerful that the earth shook when they marched off to war.

The white people, the Indians and the Negroes set off to populate other lands.

In Necodemos, Caru-Sacaebê laid out a field and sowed it, and when the first rains fell there sprouted manioc, maize, sweet potato, yam, cotton, and other food-yielding and medicinal plants.

He taught how to build ovens and how to make manioc flour.

He made a small wooden statue, gave it life, and named it Hanhu-Acauãte; this was his second son.

To provide Hanhu-Acauãte with a mother, Caru-Sacaebê took as consort a maiden of the tribe by the name of Chicricha. [88]

Hanhu-Acauãte grew; some women eluded the vigilance of Chicricha and seduced him.

Caru-Sacaebê changed Hanhu-Acauãte into an ant, and Chicricha and the guilty women into fish.

Necodemos was already strong and powerful.

773 Caru-Sacaebê drew on a high rock between Acupari and
172 Necodemos those symbolic characters which are still to be seen

773 on the hills of Areucrê. He had Rairú snatched away by the clouds,
172 and he himself disappeared from Necodemos, following the course of the Tapajoz; on the left bank of the river, at a height no human hand can reach, he also drew some characters on the cliff of Cantagalo.

773 And since then no one has known where he is. The Mundurucu faithfully preserve the memory of his deeds, and paint themselves, their wives and their children in exactly the same fashion as Caru-Sacaebê was painted.

VI

Appearance of the dog in Necodemos -- Legend

Among all peoples, the dog is looked upon as a faithful
[825] friend. The Mundurucu, who are hunting savages, picture the dog in their legends as descended from a maiden of their tribe and from an unknown warrior, who appeared in the maloca and disappeared again without anyone finding out who he was, whence he had come, or where he had gone. He was a deus ignotus.

The story ran as follows. After Caru-Sacaebê had disappeared, the Mundurucu of Necodemos continued [89] to hunt, searching every part of the plains and forests. One day, while they were out hunting, an unknown warrior by the name of Caru-Pitubê appeared at the maloca.

He went to the ekçá, climbed into a hammock, seized a horn from the roof, and proceeded to blow upon it in a peculiar way. A maiden of the maloca, Iracheru by name, responded to
[262] the call and offered the warrior daú [food prepared from Brazil
[574] nuts] as a sign of good hospitality.

Caru-Pitubê had arrived almost at nightfall.

There was no one else in Necodemos.

773 At dawn of the following day, Caru-Pitubê said to the maiden:

"You will give birth to beings who will astonish the warriors of your tribe. Do not kill them."

And he vanished.

Great indeed was the terror, amazement and indignation in Necodemos when Iracheru gave birth to a pair of dogs.

Iracheru's brothers and her own mother were the first to pronounce against her the sentence of death.

But when the executioners approached to kill Iracheru and her newborn babes, she fled swift as an ema bird into the woods, snatching in her trembling arms the fruit of her mysterious loves.

Wandering through the forest, Iracheru finally stopped, exhausted, by the source of a clear brook.

But it was not long till the young mother beheld already grown the children she had nursed with such difficulty, warming them at night against her fiery bosom.

Finally she saw them crossing the woods and the fields hunting and bringing back inhambu birds and partridges, and then Iracheru lived in the midst of plenty. [90]

At night her children made formidable guards, and they watched over her unceasingly. Even the jaguar kept fearfully away.

One day, Iracheru went to Necodemos and recounted these marvels.

She knew well that if the warriors of Necodemos did not revoke the death sentence, she alone would die; her children would easily elude the executioners.

But if the sentence were to be revoked, the Mundurucu would become the masters of the forests and the plains; they would vanquish all other tribes; their rule would go unchallenged.

The children of Iracheru were received amid general applause; the whole tribe acknowledged them as their own.

And indeed the Mundurucu treat the dog as their own offspring; the women suckle newborn pups at their own breast and shelter them in their hammocks with the children as if they had been born of the same womb.

When a dog dies it is copiously mourned and its body carefully buried, for it would be considered impious to abandon it to the vultures.

172 I shall offer no conjectures as to the origin or meaning of these characters. I shall only point out that Humboldt found characters of the same type similarly located on the banks of the Orinoco [105] at a height inaccessible to human hands.

If I remember correctly, this famous scholar is of the opinion that in remote times the level of Orinoco waters rose to a much greater height than today.

I believe that the same deductions reached by the famous German scholar about the Orinoco would apply to the characters of the Upper Tapajoz.

I made a sketch of the characters on the Upper Tapajoz; I do not know whether they are symbolic.

When I showed them to the Mundurucu of Necodemos and Samuuma (Aikã), they all told me that similar characters are to be found in greater numbers on the hills of Areucrẽ, in the midst of the plains which stretch between Acupari and Necodemos. I had no opportunity to see them.

173 Mundurucu tradition holds that Caru-Sacaebẽ, after destroying the maloca of Acupari to punish its inhabitants for their ingratitude, went on to found Necodemos, which thus became the cradle of the human race. It was then, according to the same tradition, that he drew those characters between the two villages, as a monument to recall this memorable event. When Caru-Sacaebẽ left Necodemos, which had become wealthy and powerful, he went down the Tapajoz River and left some further characters on its banks to preserve more vividly among the Mundurucu the memory of his deeds and of his stay among them. [107]

XV

The Mundurucu pronounce sentence of death against sorcerers.-- Some of the more recent applications of this sentence.

200 As late as the beginning of this [19th] century, Portuguese law burned alive in public squares those unfortunate victims accused of being sorcerers by the credulity and superstition of the

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

"In olden days the sibs, *rinat*, lived very far apart from one 614
another. They warred among themselves. Then they became 173
brothers.[3] Karusakaibê said, 'No more killing! Let us just be brothers.' 'Now let us be gay. Now everything is all right,' said he."

In this manner through Karusakaibê there arose the Mundurucú confederacy. The brave "Black-faces" have done quite right in giving this noble Indian the honorable title "*Our Father*". As they express it, *Karusakaibê wey ebai*, "Karusakaibê is our father."

Myth of Early Matriarchy and of its Abolition

This tale was received in two versions. I shall here relate the 773
shorter of the two.

"In olden days the women were in possession of the Men's House, *êksa*, while the men lived in the Big House, *êkqa*.

"The men had to do all the work for the women. They had to hunt, fetch firewood, and even provide the mandioca roots and bake the meal. All these things they did. They also carried the water.

"Now, at this time three women—namely, Yanyubêri, the ruler of our people, Taiñbiru and Parawarê—found three *kaduke*. They took these wind instruments in a brook: they caught three little Jeju fishes. They tried the instruments. 'They sound good,' said they. Now they played: they played every day in the forest. Secretly they went there. Then the men became suspicious. 'Where can the women be going all the time?' they said. They hid themselves and kept watch. Then it was that they saw how the women played. Said the men, 'What shall we do?' 'We don't know,' they concluded. Then said the youngest brothers of Yanyubêri, that is Marimarebê and Mariburubê: 'Let us take the *kaduke* away from them. Why, the women folk don't even hunt, whereas we have to take this work upon ourselves alone!' So they spoke, and took the *kaduke* for themselves. They tried them. 'They sound good,' they said. Then they played.[1]

[3] Wiaⁿnyen of Witûri appeared in October, 1927. From the signs which [609]
they left behind them, our Mundurucú concluded that these people who speak a related language wanted to become brothers.

[1] [See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A.--Analyst]

796 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
535 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
224 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

796 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants.
786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred
796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[776] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibõ, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and
[578] goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kaibõ (Caru-Sacaibê (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Karusakaibu (Farabee, 1917 a). His wife, Sikrida (Strömer, 1932); 776
Chicridha (Tocantins, 1877), is a *Mundurucú* woman. Korumtau 773
(Carutau (ibid.)) is his eldest son and his second born is Anukaite (Hanu-Acuate (ibid.)). Karusakaibõ's companion and helper is Daiiru (Rayru (ibid.)), an armadillo.

Conflict between Karusakaibõ and his sons and companion is a recurrent theme in several myths reported by Strõmer and Tocantins. 773 In one story, Anukaite is seduced by his mother. Karusakaibõ learns of the incest and in anger pursues his son. Anukaite delays his flight to have sexual intercourse with several importunate women whom he meets on the way; his father overtakes him and transforms him into a tapir. The insatiable women are transformed into fish.

On another occasion the offenders are Daiiru and Korumtau. Their offense is not explained clearly in the account (Strömer, 1932) but appears to involve an improper relationship between Korumtau and some peccaries, for which Daiiru is partly responsible. Again the guilty are pursued by Karusakaibõ; to evade his father, Korumtau transforms himself successively into a peccary, a cricket, a bird, and a monkey. Once he is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing father, but the armadillo draws the arrow from the wound. The animals of the forest give aid by warning of the father's approach. Finally, the two fugitives throw themselves into a body of water and escape.

The *Mundurucú* origin myth tells of the emergence of mankind from under the ground. According to one version (Farabee, 1917 a), Karusakaibõ had made the world but had not created men. One day Daiiru, the armadillo, offended the creator and was forced to take refuge in a hole in the ground. Karusakaibõ blew into the hole and stamped his foot on the earth. Daiiru was blown out of the hole by the rush of air. He reported that people were living in the earth. He and Karusakaibõ made a cotton rope and lowered it into the hole. The people began to climb out. When half of them had emerged, the rope broke and half remained underground, where they still live. The sun passes through their country from west to [821] east when it is night on the earth; the moon shines there when the earth has moonless nights. According to another version of the tale (Tocantins, 1877), the creator stamped his foot at the site of the village of Necodemos; White people, Indians, and Negroes emerged from a fissure in the ground. The creator tattooed the *Mundurucú* like himself; the Whites and Negroes scattered. Karusakaibõ then showed the *Mundurucú* how to raise manioc, maize, cotton, and other plants and how to utilize them. It was he who [531] traced the petroglyphs now found on certain cliffs in the region of Necodemos. Another origin-of-agriculture myth is given in a text gathered by Strõmer (1937).

Kruse (1934) reports a myth in which the women are said to have 773
once been in possession of the men's house, while the men lived in the 562

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

773 562 dwelling house. The men did all the work, including such women's tasks as fetching firewood, providing manioc, and baking manioc meal. The woman ruler of the tribe and two companions found three sacred trumpets and secretly practiced playing on them in the forest. When the men discovered the secret, they took the trumpets away from the women. The women were sent to the dwelling house and were forbidden to look again upon the trumpets, while the men took possession of the men's house.

773 Both Strömer (1932) and Farabee (1917 a) report a myth which tells that the sun once fell upon the earth and destroyed its inhabitants by fire. Five days after the fire, the creator sent a vulture from the sky to see if the earth had cooled, but the vulture remained to eat the bodies of men who had been killed. After 4 days a blackbird was sent, but it remained to eat the charred buds of the trees. Four days later, the creator sent a dove, which returned with earth between its claws. Then the creator came down and recreated men and animals of white potter's clay.[4]

LORE AND LEARNING

773 821 A few miscellaneous cosmological beliefs were obtained by Farabee: Karusakaibö created the sun by transforming a young man who had red eyes and long white hair. The moon is a transformed virgin with white skin. The rain spirit makes thunder by rolling a pestle in a mortar. The constellations are men and animals in a great savanna. An eclipse of the sun is due to a great fire which sweeps over its surface. A powerful shaman once ascended to the sun and put out the fire. Now, when an eclipse occurs, the shaman sends his yakpu to clear the sun. The yakpu (a fragment of meteoric iron) falls to the earth as a ball of fire. After it cools, the shaman puts it away until the next eclipse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Baena, 1885; Barbosa Rodrigues, 1882 a; Bates, 1892; Campana, 1904–06; Chandless, 1862, 1870; Coudreau, H., 1897 a; Farabee, 1917 a; Hartt, 1885; Hörschelmann, 1918–20; Katzer, 1901; Koseritz, 1885; Kruse, 1934; Martius, 1867; Nimuendajú, 1938; Nordenskiöld, 1924 b; Spix and Martius, 1823–31, vol. 3; Steinen, 1899; Strömer, 1932, 1937; Tocantins, 1877; Wood, 1868–70.

[4] For texts of some of the myths given in condensed form above, see Strömer (1932); for other myths, not included in this account, see Strömer (ibid.) and Tocantins (1877). Farabee (1917 a) also gives three animal fables which he attributes to the *Mundurucú*.

614 The existence of the sib system was first reported by Mme. Agassiz in 1865[16] and was more thoroughly described by Fr. Alberto Kruse, O.F.M. in 1934.[17] The latter reported only thirty four sibs, but this is understandable by the fact that no one Mundurucú can remember more than twenty five to thirty. In addition, these sibs were grouped by now obscure linkages into unnamed phratries. For the purposes of this paper, it will be unnecessary to give a list of the sibs and their affiliations. Sib and moiety membership was inherited in the patrilineal line. The exogamic moieties were the ultimate marriage regulators as they subsumed the sibs in this function. There were no other exogamous groupings.

Totemic features were generally lacking in the Mundurucú sibs. Each sib was named for an animal, plant, [784] or fish but there were no taboos on the killing or eating of the fish or animals. However, they were vaguely considered to be ancestors, or "the old people," a term that is also applied to the people of the mythological age. Kruse reports [775] the myth that the various sibs in ancient times were warring tribes that were united to form the Mundurucú tribe and were given names and ancestors by the culture hero, Karusakaibõ.[18] My informants could not confirm this myth but said merely that the Mundurucú were already existent and that Karusakaibe divided them into sibs and assigned ancestors to each one. The Mundurucú term for these sibs is <u>diwat</u> (literally,

16. Agassiz, 1869, p. 320.

17. Kruse, 1934.

18. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 51-52.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were abandoned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complementary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasionally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tubö*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[2] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tubö* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú informants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibö, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *diwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

11: Murphy
539, 773

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

[For the texts of 58 Mundurucu myths and folktales, see category 116, pp. 70-132.]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

II. HEROES AND SPIRITS

771 776 MUNDURUCÚ RELIGION is animistic in its broadest outlines, although vague and unpersonalized concepts of power pervade belief. Spirits and powers are active agents in Mundurucú life, and the constant manipulation and propitiation of them are essential to the well-being of the tribe.

CULTURE HEROES

773 Culture heroes were people of great supernatural power who lived in mythological times and who were responsible for creating people and much of the animal world. They are also believed to have endowed the Mundurucú with certain items of their culture, although the origin of most of it is not rationalized by mythology. Culture heroes are considered by the Mundurucú to be people of a remote past who accomplished wonderful deeds and then passed out of contact with the world of people and nature. They are in no way worshipped or manipulated nor are they objects of fear and veneration or, outside of their existence in the myth cycle, the subjects of much thought or interest.

One culture hero, Karusakaibö, stands above all the rest to such a degree that C. Strömer has referred to him as a "Hochgott."[1] Although the "Gott" stem of the appelation, as applied to Karusakaibö, does violence to most definitions of deity, Karusakaibö's dominant position in Mundurucú mythology is undeniable. Like many culture heroes, his origin is unexplained. He exists in a cycle of six myths in the course of which people, the peccary, and the tapir are created, and the hills and sky are formed. Karusakaibö, although an extraordinary person of great power, was believed to be a Mundurucú who lived in a village named Uacuparí, situated near, but not identical with, a recent Mundurucú village of the same name. His son Korumtau, his wife Shikiridjá, and his sisters also enter into his adventures.

773 797 Karusakaibö has been syncretized by the Mundurucú with the Christian God preached to them by missionaries from the nineteenth century to the present day. The missionaries followed the example of the Jesuits of the early colonial period and have translated "God" as Tupan, the Tupian thunder deity; the Mundurucú have partly integrated the Christian and native myth cycles by incorporating pleasing tales from the Old and New Testament into their own mythology and substituting their own Karusakaibö for the missionary's Tupan. However, the subtleties of the concept of the Trinity have resulted in some ambiguity, and Karusakaibö is equated alternately with the Father and the Son.

773 797 842 Identification of the Christian deity and the principal Mundurucú culture hero has altered the position of the latter somewhat. Many Indians, especially those in closest contact with the mission, offer the influence of Karusakaibö as explanation for many phenomena not specifically accounted for in the cycle of Karusakaibö myths. As an example, various women stated that a couple must copulate several times to have children. After sufficient semen is accumulated within the woman, Karusakaibö (or Tupan, according to some informants) enters

[1] Strömer, 1932, pp. 5–6.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the woman and blows upon the semen, giving it life. Such atypical intervention in everyday affairs by the culture hero remained puzzling until it was learned that the nuns explain pregnancy to the girls at the mission school by telling them that Tupan places babies inside their bodies. 797 773 842

In all his activities, Karusakaibõ is accompanied by his constant companion, Daiiru, a trickster armadillo whose plots and interference are essential to nearly all of the culture hero's acts. In spite of the hero's great power, he finds it difficult to eliminate the wily armadillo and succeeds only at the end of the myth cycle, when he turns him into a tree that now holds up the sky. 773

The other Mundurucú culture heroes are of decidedly less importance and do not appear in the body of Karusakaibõ mythe. There is a three-part saga in which two men named Karuetaouibõ and Wakurumpõ ascend to the sky and become the visible sun. The latter was an especially powerful shaman whose powers were so great that he once caused the sun to grow dark. He ended the eclipse by magically scraping off the face of the sun.

Moraichõkõ is the subject of a brief tale in which he is credited with making the rock paintings that are frequently encountered in the country adjacent to the Tapajós River. Since most of these paintings are on inaccessible cliffs, Moraichõkõ is acknowledged by the Mundurucú to have been a person of considerable supernatural power.

A series of four other stories surrounds Nung-nung, who is now in the Milky Way. In other stories, a man named Karukchewe was transformed into the tree from whose wood bows are made, and an old woman named Kapiru was responsible for the origin of horticulture. Thus, although Karusakaibõ is viewed as the most important and powerful of the culture heroes, he was not responsible for the creation of all Mundurucú culture.

Another class of culture heroes had no part in the creation of the natural or human environment, but are figures in sagas. A long legend is told about the wanderings of Perisuat, and the wars of Yurichungpõ and Karudaiibi are related in a two-part cycle. There are several such personages and, though many have some supernatural gifts, none is as powerful as Karusakaibõ and Wakurumpõ. Nonetheless, the stories of these mythical characters are important in the education of the young and in the expression of themes central to Mundurucú values and world view.

Spirit Mothers

The most important single class of supernaturals believed to be active in the world are the spirit mothers of the game animals.[2] The generic spirit mother of all game animals and the various mothers of certain species must be continually 776 224

[2] Belief in spirit mothers, owners, or protectors of animals and plants is widespread in the Amazon basin. For example, Oberg (1953, pp. 53–54) reports the concept of spirit mothers of plants and animals from the upper Xingú River, and Wagley and Galvão (1949, p. 102) describe two Tenetehara spirits, the Owner of the Forest and the Owner of the Water, which are clearly related to the Mundurucú spirits. Belief in these bush supernaturals is evidently extremely tenacious, for Wagley (1953, p. 235) reports the concept of the "mãe de bicho" among the Brazilian residents of the town of "Ita." Most groups in eastern Brazil visualize these protector spirits as mothers; in contrast, the Taulipang refer to them as fathers (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, pp. 176–177).

V. MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

538 A COLLECTION of fifty-eight myths and folktales was recorded in the villages of
773 Missão Velha and Cabruá. The latter community, one of the more conservative
[114] savannah settlements, was far more productive of traditional lore of all kinds and most of the material below was gathered there. Although this chapter represents the complete body of oral literature collected in the field, there is undoubtedly more available if a wider range of Mundurucú informants were to be sampled. Some myths, such as that of the origin of class collected by Father
[178] Kruse,[1] were specifically sought, but were unknown to those questioned. Mundurucú mythology has undoubtedly undergone considerable attenuation, and these may be among the large number of stories no longer extant.

The older Mundurucú say that oral literature was formerly much more actively
537 recounted and transmitted. During the evenings, the elders told tales to all the
538 assembled men, and children were brought to listen. These sessions are no longer frequent, but considerable interest is still manifest among the listeners. A number of men and children and usually some women gathered around whenever I found an informant with a story. Indeed, without an audience the narrator would not put forth his best efforts. The delivery was always quite animated and was accompanied by vivid gestures, imitations of animals, and dialogues between the personages in the story. The audience gave full attention, and it was considered most disrespectful to create any diversion during the narration. All
[522] laughed readily and spontaneously at the appropriate passages, although many had heard the tale several times before.

538 The stories themselves range over a variety of subjects and are told for a number
773 of purposes. They have been broken down into six major categories to provide
517 continuity. This does not represent an attempt toward a systematic classification of the myths; actually the categories overlap considerably. For example, the animal tales are generally told for amusement, but they frequently explain the origins of certain species. On the other hand, the Karusakaibö cycle is a true creation myth and is centered upon the activities of the principal culture hero.
[522] There are numerous passages in this myth cycle, however, that are considered highly humorous by both narrators and audiences, and in other incidents animals are also created. Similarly, a category of cosmological myths has been included, but there are several events in other tales that are also important to an understanding of Mundurucú cosmology.

538 Through all, there is a running theme of the importance of the animal world
773 to Mundurucú society and of the close interrelation between the two. In many tales, animals either have the form of people or are able to take on this form. The mythology does more than explain the origin of animal species, for in almost all cases the various animals are transformed people. That the species had their origin in the human world tends to reinforce the special significance given them in ceremonies and the supernatural belief system.

This affinity between animals and humans will be evident in the saga of

[1] Kruse, 1954, pp. 56–57.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Perimãt, the young man who makes an incredible journey through the forest and returns home more animal than human. The Mundurucú visualize themselves as hunters and voyagers of the forest, and the odyssey of Perimãt has deep meaning for them. They are also warriors, and several of the tales abound with head-hunting episodes and warfare. And some are tales of internecine strife, which, to a Mundurucú, is one of the most horrible eventualities imaginable.

The reader familiar with European mythology will recognize many thematic similarities, either independently invented or diffused, in Mundurucú tales. And the student of lowland South American mythology and folklore will see in the Mundurucú another example of the widespread dissemination of tales, in whole or in part, throughout the area. No attempt has been made toward any exhaustive distributional analysis of this material, and only a few of the more interesting parallels have been noted.

The Karusakaibó Cycle of World Creation

The major creation legends of the Mundurucú revolve around the figure of the culture hero, Karusakaibó. Métraux has made the apt suggestion that this personage merits the title of "transformer" rather than "creator" and compares him to Maira, a figure widespread in Tupian mythology.[7] But apart from this rough similarity of roles of the two culture heroes, the Mundurucú creation legends seem to be quite divergent from those of most other Tupian groups. The Tupian grandfather personage, subsumed under the names of Monan, Maira-Monan or Sumé, is absent, as are the twins commonly found in Tupian creation myths.[8] Despite these points of difference in the structure of the tales and in the main actors, there are numerous parallels of episode and theme between the Mundurucú creation cycle and the oral literature of Tupian and other South American groups.

The first story of the Karusakaibó legend shows a marked resemblance to a Christian-influenced tale collected by Wagley and Galvão among the Tenetehara and entitled by them, "Creation of Wild Pigs."[9] In both Tenetehara and Mundurucú versions, a culture hero imprisons a group of people in a wall of feathers and converts them into peccaries. Other Tenetehara resemblances include the widespread emphasis on the tapir as a symbol of virility, as derived no doubt from the size of the genitalia of the male of the species. In one Tenetehara story, a woman marries a tapir,[10] and in the corresponding Mundurucú tale the culture hero transforms his sexually precocious son into that animal. Another widely distributed theme is found in the discovery of humans in the underworld. Nimuendajú relates an Eastern Timbira story in which the discovery is made by a man digging for an armadillo,[11] whereas in the Mundurucú episode the armadillo

[7] Métraux, 1928, p. 27.

[8] The Mundurucú denied all knowledge of episodes concerning twins and even claimed that twins were an unknown phenomenon in their own society. It is interesting to note that though other forms of infanticide were freely admitted, they specifically disavowed the killing of twins. They are not and were not a genetically isolated population, and I assume that the practice exists but that there was very strong resistance to giving this information.

[9] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 134.

[10] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 148–149.

[11] Nimuendajú, 1946, pp. 247–248.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

773
538
171

himself makes the find. In the further development of the Mundurucú story the culture hero pulls a number of peoples out of the underworld, but his cord breaks and many are left behind. This theme is distributed beyond South America, as in the Magic Flight passage found in the first tale of the Karusakaibé cycle.

1. KARUSAKAIBÉ AND THE WILD PIGS

*539 In times long past, Karusakaibé lived in the village of Uerupari. This settlement was not at the site of the modern Uerupari, but was near by.

During one dry season Karusakaibé and all the people of the village were out hunting in the forest, where they lived in temporary lean-tos. That of Karusakaibé was separated from those of the other people, and he stayed there alone with his son Korumtau. The people killed a great deal of game, but in that time there were no tapir, wild pig, or veado capoeira; the only equivalent of the wild pig was the catitú. Karusakaibé, however, hunted the nambú bird to the exclusion of all other game, and every day he sent Korumtau to the lean-tos of his sisters to handle his kill for games that their husbands had taken. On the first three days that Korumtau went to the lean-tos of his aunts, they said to him, "We do not have any meat, but we will get you some." On the fourth day the aunts became angry with the boy and said to him, "Your father hunts only nambú which is no good to eat, and we always have to give you food. We do not have any." Korumtau began to cry and went away. The sisters called him back, offering him food, but he would not return.

The boy returned home crying, and Karusakaibé asked him what had happened. He replied that the aunts had scolded him because the nambús did not please them. Karusakaibé said, "They will pay for this," and sent his son outside to gather the feathers of the parrot, the mutúm, the jacú, and the nambú and to bring them back to him. There were many feathers outside, for Karusakaibé had killed many birds, and the boy gathered them and brought them back. The father then transformed his son into a small bird, the *Ikakirajujut*, and sent him out to surround the lean-tos of all the other people with the feathers. In this disguise, Korumtau flew around the lean-tos and planted the feathers in the ground, quills first. As he went about his task, he sang the song of the bird. He was nearly out of feathers when someone in one of the lean-tos called out, "Who is that singing out there," and threw a piece of burning firewood at him. The boy flew away and returned to his father.

Karusakaibé asked the returned son, "Did you put all the feathers in the ground?" The boy said that he had not finished, and his father sent him out for more feathers. He replenished his supply and finished his task in two more days.

Upon completion of his chore, Korumtau reported to Karusakaibé, and the latter told him, "Now go back and tie the feathers together at the top." For this purpose he transformed the boy into a frog and made the feathers grow to a great size. The boy, in the guise of a frog, returned to the encircled lean-tos and climbed a tree, singing the song of the frog, "pik, pik, pik . . . " as he tied the tips of the feathers together. When he finished, the lean-tos and their environs

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. 616 727 A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during ceremonies. 616 The members of the *Biuli anyen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack 614 most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any 778 special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö*; this term [776] is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief 614 in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in 773 no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

614 myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Mun-
773 durucú. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaibö divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This belief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to
[114] which the Mundurucú were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaibö through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[1] The latter account and the previously
614 mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *diwat*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*di* = river, *wat* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Parawadiwat* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would
614 contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the
591 Mundurucú are—and this is important—predominantly matrilocal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brides; fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patrilocality, and we are here presented with the possibility that the Mundurucú underwent a basic change in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than the conjecture raised by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued in the following discussion of the ritual prerogatives of clanship.

614 Each savannah village has a men's house, which is the
[345] dormitory and club house for all post-pubescent males.

[1] Kruse, 1934, pp. 56–57.

leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attentuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

complied under the condition that they could occupy the men's house and play the trumpets there. The men acceded, and the women, their position supernaturally reinforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beiṗú* (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the *ekaś* and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to the karökö is one of the social charters of male superordination. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karökö, although nobody can remember this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

771 structure.[6] The religious life of the contemporary savannah dwellers has been largely reduced to the practices of sha-
[K2] manism and sorcery, and group ceremonial activities have for the most part disappeared with little prospect of revival. One or two half-hearted attempts have been made by older men to resurrect parts of the ritual cycle, but they have met with lack of enthusiasm on the part of the young and have failed largely through inability to organize properly. Today, the Mundurucú regard the decadence of their religion as part of their transition to the status of foreigner (pariwat), and have resigned themselves to this situation.

The focus of Mundurucú religion in the past was the relationship between society and the animal world. This was consistent with the cultural emphasis on hunting, in terms of importance to subsistence and as a highly valued
[773] masculine activity.[7] The mythology is concerned with the origins of species of animals, which significantly were
771 either human or had human form in mythological times,
776 and an important class of supernaturals is believed to exert protection over game. The latter spirits are of two kinds: there is a generic spirit "mother" of all game animals, and several of the more important species have their own particular spirit "mothers." If offense is given to these supernaturals through such means as killing an animal for its hide and leaving the carcass to rot, they take swift vengeance against the guilty party. This is usually done by supernaturally bringing injury upon the culprit. But the spirit "mothers" can also be benevolent and helpful to the community and can make game abundant, if humans observe proper relations with them.

[6] A full description of Mundurucú religion may be found in my monograph *Mundurucú Religion* (1958).

[7] It will be remembered that the Mundurucú believe that the males wrested the sacred trumpets from the control of the women because only men could supply the meat that must be offered to the instruments.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

for more than a day or two. Almost everybody also makes one trip to the Tapajós River annually. These journeys have two purposes. First, they are pleasure jaunts, and secondly, they provide a chance to search for manufactured articles in the trader's store. On his trips, the trader need only bring as much material as he wishes to distribute; but he takes all the rubber that has been prepared. Some of the more wily Indians withhold some of their production for sale to regatões, but most merely protest to their compá that they have worked hard and expected more. This does little good, of course, for the patron's entire stock in sale is clearly visible in the bottom of his canoe. But, on the other hand, the Indians know that if they go directly to the store, where a large stock of goods is kept, and there make frequent and insistent requests, the patron will ultimately give in. He sometimes accedes because he knows that he cannot indefinitely and unlimitedly withhold from his clients their due, but often the Indian is actually in debt and the trader gives him more merchandise simply to get rid of him.

The constant demands of their Mundurucú clients are a source of continual aggravation to the traders, although they certainly do not lose in their dealings with the Indians. Actually, the technique of insistent requests for obtaining something is established practice in Mundurucú society. Even mythology tells of secrets that were divulged simply through the insistence of the questioner. Since few Mundurucú have the faintest notion of how accounts are computed and only a crude idea of the relative values of quantities of rubber and manufactured goods, this technique has become their standard means of negotiation. The traders keep accounts for their Indian clients, but the amount of merchandise they give to individuals is usually arrived at by compromise.

panion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534 776

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure. 778 174 614

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *ibiumbik;* the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *ibiumbik;* one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *aiik* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *ibiumbik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 774

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karikó*, go to Karikikai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upitcharú, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

M: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

totally different structures, and the Mundurucú have changed the form and meaning of religious elements in such a way that they function within the structure of Mundurucú culture. 775 775

Although the Christian concept of the soul has main reference to the hereafter, the Mundurucú beliefs in the soul are more closely concerned with the here and now. The souls of people afflicted with a certain illness can wander abroad and constitute a threat to society. Also, the soul is highly vulnerable to theft by the game animals. And finally, the soul can be used as a means of obtaining omens and knowledge. 774 787

The souls of the dead remain permanently in the afterworld and are not thought to intervene thereafter in the affairs of the living except in one highly limited way. They are not believed to return to the world as ghosts nor are they regarded as a source of danger. But the soul of a living person may turn into an *wawakuakat*, or wandering soul, during the course of a malady characterized by weakness, fever, and yellow skin. The person so afflicted is generally unaware of the journeys of his soul, but some are said to become *wawakuakat* willingly and to remember the deeds of their wandering souls. The soul always travels at night and at these times attacks sleeping people. On occasion, it travels with other wandering souls and, thus strengthened and emboldened, may strike at persons who are awake and walking about. 775 774

The wandering soul is believed to be especially dangerous, for defense against it consists of purely temporary measures and there is no cure for sick people whose souls wander. The *wawakuakat* can be driven away by the shaman, who spears it with a five-inch-long lance, but it always returns to the attack. It attacks children and robs their souls, and visits adults as a vampire that sucks the blood from its victims. Only the shaman can see wandering souls, although anybody can hear their footsteps at night. However, the soul travels about on a cord that stretches like a piece of rubber, and its footprints are never visible the next day.

After the sick person dies, the soul goes to an afterworld, and its nocturnal travels cease. People so afflicted are not killed, in spite of the danger to the community. The soul of a young woman of the village of Cabruá was known to wander at night, but no action was taken against her. The residents of the village were extremely nervous during the nights of her illness, and most hesitated even to speak of it. 775

The vampire aspect of the wandering soul is reminiscent of European folklore, and there exists here also the possibility that the Mundurucú borrowed the belief from their Brazilian neighbors. One Brazilian informant specifically stated that the people of the Tapajós River believed that the souls of some sick people journey at night as vampires, although they do not travel on magical elastic cords. Borrowing in this instance appears obvious, although it is not certain just who borrowed from whom. It is possible in all these examples that the transmission of the themes is extremely complex. The Mundurucú may well have received this concept from the whites but through the intermediary of another Indian tribe 774 777

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

774 rather than directly from their immediate Brazilian neighbors. In our present
177 state of knowledge of the ethnology of the Amazon region, reliable reconstructions of such diffusion are most difficult.

774 In the preceding discussion of spirit mothers of game animals, it was mentioned that the *putcha ši* avenges itself upon humans by stealing their souls. This is one
755 of the gravest afflictions that may befall a Mundurucú, and only the performance
784 of a ceremony is sufficient to regain the soul of a stricken person; ordinary shamanistic curing techniques are inadequate. Men can lose their souls to the game through a variety of offenses. The insults to the game already described are the most common means of occasioning the anger of the spirit mothers. One can also lose his soul if he sits too close to a fire over which the head of a game animal is roasting, and he is struck by the optic fluid from an exploding eye. Another means of losing one's soul is to have adulterous relations with the wife of a member of the *Biu ši* (Mothers of the Tapir) society, which is responsible for impersonating the tapir during certain ceremonies. In these cases, the tapir robs the soul of the offending male. The members of the *Biu ši* society, themselves, are in danger of losing their souls during those ceremonies in which they perform. They must
[515] be especially careful not to bathe in the streams during rituals, as the *tawe ši*, or mother of the prego monkey, will surely steal their souls. To prevent this they bathe in the house from gourds.

Women may also lose their souls through offenses against the game, but since women do not hunt, this rarely occurs. However, a woman who bathes during her first menses or shortly after the birth of a child may have her soul taken by the jararaca snake. Either the large or small species of this reptile family robs the soul, depending on whether the woman is on land or in the water at that time. The jararaca turns the soul over to the tapir, and it begins the long journey described below.

774 The journey of the stolen soul is believed by the Mundurucú to be a terrifying and danger-fraught experience. Although the *putcha ši* is often spoken of as stealing the soul, the actual theft appears to be the work of the tapir and, less commonly, of other animals and spirit mothers of species. After the tapir steals the soul, it runs with it through thick underbrush and swims across rivers. The beast then gives the soul to the peccary, which travels for some time with it and then passes it on to a lesser game animal. The soul is finally transferred to the smallest species of monkey which, in turn, gives it to the largest variety of fish. It passes on to smaller fish until it finally reaches the smallest species. At this point the journey ends, and the afflicted person dies.

The person whose soul has been robbed lies in a semicoma and dreams of the trials to which his soul is exposed. The rigors of the trip are such that the person grows steadily weaker, and death may occur at almost any time during the travels of the stolen soul. If the animal with which it is traveling dies, the sick person dies also. Two parts of the journey are especially dangerous. At one point the soul passes within a stone's throw of the house of a prego monkey, which throws semen at it. If the soul is struck by only a drop of the semen, its owner dies. In another

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

part of its trip, the soul travels with the coatá monkey. This animal traverses one section of its passage by bending an assaí palm over, grabbing its branches, and then letting it fling him into the foliage of another tree as it springs back. If the soul is not careful, it falls to the ground, killing its sick owner. The only dangerous part of the journeys with various species of fish, except for the invariably fatal end of the trip, is with the black piranha, which tries to eat the soul. 774

The concept of soul loss, like the belief in spirit mothers of game animals with which it is associated, is widespread among both Indian and rural Brazilian inhabitants of the Amazon region. Especially interesting because of its similarity to the Mundurucú belief is Wagley's report that the Brazilian population of the community of Ita believes that the mãe de bicho punishes humans by stealing their "shadows."[10]

Although the departure of the soul from a living body is generally an occasion of great danger, there are some circumstances under which it is considered desirable and beneficial. The souls of shamans frequently travel abroad and are able to visit the underworlds of the *kokeriwat* and the afterworlds of the Mundurucú. Shamans visit the afterworld of the game, (where they serve as shamans to the animals), and that of the trumpets, but they do not visit the Land of the *Yurupari*. The wounded warrior was believed to acquire temporary shamanistic powers during the period of his incapacity, and his soul wandered abroad while he lay in his hammock and dreamed of its experiences. These travels were considered desirable, and care was taken to remove the penis sheath of the warrior to allow him to dream. The Mundurucú were unable to explain why the penis sheath inhibited dreams and the wandering of the soul. 774 756 774 727

The souls of sleeping people sometimes travel harmlessly abroad, and dreams are believed to be the experiences of the soul while away from the body. Dreams are not considered visions or prognostications of future events, but they are thought to be good or bad omens. Thus, if a man dreams of some frightening experience, he will not leave the village for a few days for fear of some unknown danger. 787 174

Certain people are able to derive knowledge from their dreams. These people, known as *chesereteibitchanyen* (those who know how to explain dreams), derive their power through medication administered to them as children. The souls of Mundurucú of times long past appear to them in dreams and teach them certain songs that are sung during ceremonies. Significantly, the songs taught to dreamers are not new or forgotten ones, but songs that are quite actively present in Mundurucú culture and known by other dreamers. 787

All animals have souls, which return to the afterworld of the game and become transformed into people upon the death of the animal. Fish are also thought to have souls, but they are accorded little importance in Mundurucú thought. Although individual fish and animals have souls, only species of domesticated plants have souls. Dogs, too, are thought to have souls, but the canine soul returns to the Land of the Dogs upon the death of its body. Also, dogs are not considered to be 774 925

[10] Wagley, 1953, p. 235.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

774 825 under the protection of a spirit mother nor do they possess the *chewoi*, or malignant power of the game. Finally, all other human beings are considered endowed with souls much like those of the Mundurucú. However, informants had no idea 775 where the souls of the white people and Indians of other tribes went after death, beyond referring to the missionary's heaven. Upon being asked the destination of the souls of white people, one Mundurucú chuckled and replied, "You, and not I, should know the answer to that question."

[805] 821 They say that summer begins when the swallows appear.

They call the moon caxiate.

The full moon, caxi-tupambon-pimau.

The first quarter of the moon, caxi-quite.

The last quarter of the moon, caxi-hian.

Day, cabiá; night, ximan.

[805] To signify morning, noon, or afternoon, they point out with their index finger the location of the sun at that particular hour.

They call the stars cacutá.

The seven-star constellation (Hesperides) they call tauadirá.

The morning star, cabiará.

The Southern Cross, chenchentá (ch as in Spanish muchacha).

823 They say that the earth is flat, but they know not where it begins or where it ends.

775 When a Mundurucu dies -- man or woman, elder, youth, or child -- his spirit, biumbê, passes on to another world, a sort of paradise which they call cabi.

The cabi consists of a boundless plain, in the midst of which stands an ekçá large enough to hold them all.

[821] Sometimes these spirits wander through the air and cause storms. Sometimes the Mundurucu spirit comes down to earth and turns into a matin tapirera to hunt at night. It so happens that throughout the valley of the Amazon the repeated cries of a bird may be heard during the night, echoing over and again the same syllables -- "matin tapirera."

Beyond this life, beyond the grave, there is no more pain, and no realm set aside for the torture of spirits. Life beyond the grave is much sweeter than earthly existence. [117]

Once in the cabi they can never die, and if they need something they come down to earth in the form of thunder. There are no evil spirits intent on bringing ruin on the Mundurucu. [776]

764 When one of these savages dies, his relatives dig a grave beneath [his?] own hammock, in the shape of a vertical cylinder. They lower the body into it, head uppermost, folded in the posture of the foetus in the maternal womb.

846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the
child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened
to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is
changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the
bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the
same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already de-
termined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband
dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take
her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage,
for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons
888

*The hopelessly degenerate Camês, Voturôes, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do
this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a
service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[101] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tame-
puyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to
this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old peo-
ple" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
[302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside
the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
[175] Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

771 to a degree that varied slightly with their ceremonial knowledge.

775 Spirits

[776] The Mundurucú spirits consisted of three rough classes. These were souls of the dead, spirit "mothers" of animals, fish, and plant species, and a variety of malignant beings. The soul was known as the ibiõnbõk, which also means shadow and image, and lived after death in the land of the sky, which was a hemispherical dome placed over a flat earth. The afterworld was a pleasant place where there were Mundurucú villages and the old Mundurucú culture was active. The souls of the dead were not dangerous and remained aloof from human society with the exception of that of the sorcerer which had to be destroyed after he was killed. Otherwise, the only time that the soul was malignant was when a very sick person lost his soul during sleep or a coma. The soul wandered abroad and tried to rob the souls of sleeping people. The Mundurucú distinguished the "real" soul (ibiõnbõk), which was located in the center of the back, from the ibiõnbõk which was the reflection or the shadow of the person. The latter persisted after death also and, under circumstances to be discussed later, could roam the world as a certain type of evil spirit.

Souls could also be lost through offending the spirit "mother" of a game animal. The spirit "mother" robbed the soul and passed it from one game animal to another and finally through all the species of fish. This journey of

775 the soul was very serious for there were a number of dangers along the path that could destroy the soul and consequently kill the sick person who had lost it. A special ceremony was immediately performed to get the soul back, for the person became sicker as his soul traveled farther, and when the end of the journey was reached the person died. It was necessary to recover the soul before it reached the final and fatal point when it was taken away by the smallest fishes. Game animals also had souls and when an animal died its soul returned to the "land of the game" where it lived on in human form.

776 825 The most important class of spirits was that of the "mothers" of the species. Of these, the <u>putchashi</u> (mother of game) was the spirit owner of all game animals, collectively, and the most important of all these spirits. The "mother of game" existed in two forms: a wandering type that traveled within the bodies of certain game animals, especially the land tortoise, and the "real" "mother of game" which had the form of a stone and could only be seen by the shaman. This type was usually found in the springs and deep, cool pools at the headwaters of streams. These are places where game is usually to be found due to the constant supply of water and the Mundurucú recognize this fact. However, they also say that the game is here because it is attracted by the "mother of the game."

The "mothers" of the different species of game were of less importance, but could be equally dangerous when

796 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house,
778
534 the man who carried out the food had to bring a portion into the trumpet chamber and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "Here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

796
775 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the species "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulae that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

796
562 All Mundurucú religious ceremonies were male dominated. Women served only as observers and were able to participate at times in a play capacity only, except for one or two occasions in which female shamans took part. Parts
796
562 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was
535 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a

panion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534 776

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure. 778 174 614

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *ibiwabik*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *ibiwabik*; one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *abik* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *ibiwabik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 774

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karibi*, go to Karibikai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upitchari, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

775 rich in game animals, and they and the Mundurucú souls pass their time in dancing. Both Karikikai and Upitcharú lie in a subterranean land called Karubiowe. The Mundurucú believe Karubiowe has three locations: below the headwaters of the Jurucua River, under the Great Falls of the Cururú River, and west of the Tapajós River beyond where the sun sets.

Life in the underworld is far better than in the terrestrial realm. The souls reassume their old bodies, but they are groomed and decorated in the manner followed by the Mundurucú before the coming of the white men. Similarly, the souls do not have to gather rubber, for there are no traders or trade goods; in short, the aboriginal culture is completely reestablished in the underworld. Food is good and abundant, and the Mundurucú souls make war and take trophy heads. But Mundurucú warriors are never killed in the hereafter—only the enemy dies.

It has already been mentioned that the souls of those people killed by attacks of the Furupori go to the land of the Furupori and are there transformed into these demons. The Mundurucú look upon this as an undesirable fate, although it is not regarded with particular dread and foreboding. The same lack of deep concern for the fate of the soul is found in Mundurucú attitudes toward the underworlds of the trumpets and the game. Although all acknowledge that life in these realms must indeed be idyllic, no one actively anticipates this existence. The Mundurucú do not learn ceremonial dances or play the trumpets in order to gain a favored residence after death. There were no indications that concepts of the afterlife acted as motivating factors or goals of behavior. Correspondingly, since one's fate after death is not considered as a reward for socially valued behavior, there is no post-mortem punishment or retribution for undesirable behavior. One goes to the land of the Furupori only because one has been attacked and killed by them, and these attacks are the result of misfortune and not of sin. To the Mundurucú life after death is not a subject for worry. When I asked one informant where she expected to go after death, she laughingly replied, "To a termite hill." Another decided to go to Pará (Belém), which all Mundurucú know to be the great city of the white men.

775 797 Missionary teachings have affected the beliefs of the more intensively proselytized Mundurucú to some extent. Those Indians who had spent some time at the mission school knew that people who did things contrary to the teachings of the priests went to "the fire of the Furupori," but those who acted according to these precepts "joined Tupan in the sky." However, it is doubtful if Christian belief in the hereafter influenced the behavior of more than a few of the most rigorously indoctrinated Indians. Although missionary teachings were generally accepted as true (at least as applicable to the white men) owing to the high prestige of the priests among the Mundurucú, the Indians commonly accepted the form of the ideas only and not their meaning. In those cases where the form of a Catholic belief became integrated into the culture, it invariably was made meaningful in Mundurucú terms, and the actual form underwent some transmutation in the process. Usually the same cultural trait will not have the same function in two

totally different structures, and the Mundurucú have changed the form and 775
meaning of religious elements in such a way that they function within the struc- 775
ture of Mundurucú culture.

Although the Christian concept of the soul has main reference to the hereafter, 774
the Mundurucú beliefs in the soul are more closely concerned with the here and 787
now. The souls of people afflicted with a certain illness can wander abroad and constitute a threat to society. Also, the soul is highly vulnerable to theft by the game animals. And finally, the soul can be used as a means of obtaining omens and knowledge.

The souls of the dead remain permanently in the afterworld and are not thought 775
to intervene thereafter in the affairs of the living except in one highly limited way. They are not believed to return to the world as ghosts nor are they regarded as a source of danger. But the soul of a living person may turn into an *wontoakaakat*, or wandering soul, during the course of a malady characterized by weak- 774
ness, fever, and yellow skin. The person so afflicted is generally unaware of the journeys of his soul, but some are said to become *wontoakaakat* willingly and to remember the deeds of their wandering souls. The soul always travels at night and at these times attacks sleeping people. On occasion, it travels with other wandering souls and, thus strengthened and emboldened, may strike at persons who are awake and walking about.

The wandering soul is believed to be especially dangerous, for defense against it consists of purely temporary measures and there is no cure for sick people whose souls wander. The *wontoakaakat* can be driven away by the shaman, who spears it with a five-inch-long lance, but it always returns to the attack. It attacks children and robs their souls, and visits adults as a vampire that sucks the blood from its victims. Only the shaman can see wandering souls, although anybody can hear their footsteps at night. However, the soul travels about on a cord that stretches like a piece of rubber, and its footprints are never visible the next day.

After the sick person dies, the soul goes to an afterworld, and its nocturnal 775
travels cease. People so afflicted are not killed, in spite of the danger to the community. The soul of a young woman of the village of Cabruá was known to wander at night, but no action was taken against her. The residents of the village were extremely nervous during the nights of her illness, and most hesitated even to speak of it.

The vampire aspect of the wandering soul is reminiscent of European folklore, 774
and there exists here also the possibility that the Mundurucú borrowed the belief 177
from their Brazilian neighbors. One Brazilian informant specifically stated that the people of the Tapajós River believed that the souls of some sick people journey at night as vampires, although they do not travel on magical elastic cords. Borrowing in this instance appears obvious, although it is not certain just who borrowed from whom. It is possible in all these examples that the transmission of the themes is extremely complex. The Mundurucú may well have received this concept from the whites but through the intermediary of another Indian tribe

774 825 under the protection of a spirit master nor do they possess the *ckwoi*, or malignant power of the game. Finally, all other human beings are considered endowed with souls much like those of the Mundurucú. However, informants had no idea where the souls of the white people and Indians of other tribes went after death, beyond referring to the missionary's heaven. Upon being asked the destination of the souls of white people, one Mundurucú chuckled and replied, "You, and not I, should know the answer to that question."

775

[805] 824 They say that summer begins when the swallows appear.

They call the moon caxiate.

The full moon, caxi-tupamboa-pimau.

The first quarter of the moon, caxi-quite.

The last quarter of the moon, caxi-hian.

Day, cabiá; night, ximan.

[805] To signify morning, noon, or afternoon, they point out with their index finger the location of the sun at that particular hour.

They call the stars cacuiá.

The seven-star constellation (Hesperides) they call tauadirá.

The morning star, cabiará.

The Southern Cross, chenchemá (ch as in Spanish muchacha).

823 They say that the earth is flat, but they know not where it begins or where it ends.

775 When a Mundurucu dies -- man or woman, elder, youth, or child -- his spirit, biumbé, passes on to another world, a sort of paradise which they call cabi.

The cabi consists of a boundless plain, in the midst of which stands an ekcá large enough to hold them all.

[820] Sometimes these spirits wander through the air and cause storms. Sometimes the Mundurucu spirit comes down to earth and turns into a matin tapirera to hunt at night. It so happens that throughout the valley of the Amazon the repeated cries of a bird may be heard during the night, echoing over and again the same syllables -- "matin tapirera."

Beyond this life, beyond the grave, there is no more pain and no realm set aside for the torture of spirits. Life beyond the grave is much sweeter than earthly existence. [117]

[776] Once in the cabi they can never die, and if they need something they come down to earth in the form of thunder. There are no evil spirits intent on bringing ruin on the Mundurucu.

764 When one of these savages dies, his relatives dig a grave beneath [his?] own hammock, in the shape of a vertical cylinder. They lower the body into it, head uppermost, folded in the posture of the foetus in the maternal womb.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *parentes* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *kawi pajé*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracerera. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat, the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudocaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceará ?], the Carawat, known as "Messerhelden," have a bad reputation. The *judewyr*, the Jews, are hated, as having [718] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826, starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaiká fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [242] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single [243] pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, [244] but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The [245] wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can 261 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

242 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

●776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. 355 On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

[See errata sheet, category III, p. 57—A.—Analysis]

776 The only trace of higher belief
I could find is in the language, [394] which has a word (gettut) for God and another (cikuchi) for devil. The pajé is also considered by them to be a powerful and fearful person. He is thought of as a relative of the devil or as a person possessed [Inspirirter]. For his medical help he is rewarded with cotton thread or weapons as he is among the Apiacas with whom, in fact, the Mundrucus have a number of customs and usages in common.

175 Before 1770 the Mundrucus were hardly known in Brazil by name.
648 But then they burst forth in numerous hordes all along the Rio Tapajôz, destroyed the settlements and made themselves so dreaded that troops had to be despatched against them, troops they resisted fearlessly. In the 1790's a troop more than two thousand men strong came out of their malocas, crossed the Xingund Tocantins rivers and marched to the western border of Maranhão province spreading war and despoliation as they went. But there they suffered a severe defeat at the hands of the warlike Apinayes and only remnants from the murderous battle were left to move north to the Mojú rivers where they devastated the Portuguese farms. * Forced back by the united planters, they finally

* The so-called "Guajajaras" are supposed to be a splinter group dating from that time. In 1818 they were put into villages near Cerandello on the Rio Gurupi Corografia paraênse p. 117. Perhaps Guaia-jaz? p. 383.

retreated to the rest of the tribe on the Tapajôz. The government sent after them a detachment of 300 men which came upon a heavily populated maloca ten days after leaving the river. Encircled by enemies they fought their way through with great difficulty and finally reached the banks of the river. The Mundrucus are reputed to have lost nearly 1,000 men. The statement comes from a chieftain who made the first treaty and who used his notched stick as reference. Their inclination for war allowed them only a short rest. They went to war against the Muras, who for a long time had rendered the waterways of the Amazon uncertain and had plundered many a settlement. They waged against them so horrible a war of extinction that the Muras in 1785 yielded in Maripi to the Portuguese and promised permanent friendship. Then they

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
535 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
224 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

796 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants.
786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred
796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[976] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibö, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vorabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and
[578] goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kaibö (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Karusakaibu (Farabee, 1917 a). His wife, Sikrida (Strömer, 1932); 776
Chicridha (Tocantins, 1877), is a *Mundurucú* woman. Korumtau 773
(Carutau (ibid.)) is his eldest son and his second born is Anukaite (Hanu-Acuate (ibid.)). Karusakaibõ's companion and helper is Daiiru (Rayru (ibid.)), an armadillo.

Conflict between Karusakaibõ and his sons and companion is a recur- 773
rent theme in several myths reported by Strömer and Tocantins. In one story, Anukaite is seduced by his mother. Karusakaibõ learns of the incest and in anger pursues his son. Anukaite delays his flight to have sexual intercourse with several importunate women whom he meets on the way; his father overtakes him and transforms him into a tapir. The insatiable women are transformed into fish.

On another occasion the offenders are Daiiru and Korumtau. Their offense is not explained clearly in the account (Strömer, 1932) but appears to involve an improper relationship between Korumtau and some peccaries, for which Daiiru is partly responsible. Again the guilty are pursued by Karusakaibõ; to evade his father, Korumtau transforms himself successively into a peccary, a cricket, a bird, and a monkey. Once he is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing father, but the armadillo draws the arrow from the wound. The animals of the forest give aid by warning of the father's approach. Finally, the two fugitives throw themselves into a body of water and escape.

The *Mundurucú* origin myth tells of the emergence of mankind from under the ground. According to one version (Farabee, 1917 a), Karusakaibõ had made the world but had not created men. One day Daiiru, the armadillo, offended the creator and was forced to take refuge in a hole in the ground. Karusakaibõ blew into the hole and stamped his foot on the earth. Daiiru was blown out of the hole by the rush of air. He reported that people were living in the earth. He and Karusakaibõ made a cotton rope and lowered it into the hole. The people began to climb out. When half of them had emerged, the rope broke and half remained underground, where they still live. The sun passes through their country from west to [821]
east when it is night on the earth; the moon shines there when the earth has moonless nights. According to another version of the tale (Tocantins, 1877), the creator stamped his foot at the site of the village of Necodemos; White people, Indians, and Negroes emerged from a fissure in the ground. The creator tattooed the *Mundurucú* like himself; the Whites and Negroes scattered. Karusakaibõ then showed the *Mundurucú* how to raise manioc, maize, cotton, and other plants and how to utilize them. It was he who [531]
traced the petroglyphs now found on certain cliffs in the region of Necodemos. Another origin-of-agriculture myth is given in a text gathered by Strömer (1937).

Kruse (1934) reports a myth in which the women are said to have 773
once been in possession of the men's house, while the men lived in the 562

771 to a degree that varied slightly with their ceremonial knowledge.

775 Spirits

[774] The Mundurucú spirits consisted of three rough classes. These were souls of the dead, spirit "mothers" of animals, fish, and plant species, and a variety of malignant beings. The soul was known as the Ibiñbok, which also means shadow and image, and lived after death in the land of the sky, which was a hemispherical dome placed over a flat earth. The afterworld was a pleasant place where there were Mundurucú villages and the old Mundurucú culture was active. The souls of the dead were not dangerous and remained aloof from human society with the exception of that of the sorcerer which had to be destroyed after he was killed. Otherwise, the only time that the soul was malignant was when a very sick person lost his soul during sleep or a coma. The soul wandered abroad and tried to rob the souls of sleeping people. The Mundurucú distinguished the "real" soul (Ibiñbok), which was located in the center of the back, from the Ibiñbok which was the reflection or the shadow of the person. The latter persisted after death also and, under circumstances to be discussed later, could roam the world as a certain type of evil spirit.

Souls could also be lost through offending the spirit "mother" of a game animal. The spirit "mother" robbed the soul and passed it from one game animal to another and finally through all the species of fish. This journey of

775 the soul was very serious for there were a number of dangers along the path that could destroy the soul and consequently kill the sick person who had lost it. A special ceremony was immediately performed to get the soul back, for the person became sicker as his soul traveled further, and when the end of the journey was reached the person died. It was necessary to recover the soul before it reached the final and fatal point when it was taken away by the smallest fishes. Game animals also had souls and when an animal died its soul returned to the "land of the game" where it lived on in human form.

776 825 The most important class of spirits was that of the "mothers" of the species. Of these, the <u>pakichaki</u> (mother of game) was the spirit owner of all game animals, collectively, and the most important of all these spirits. The "mother of game" existed in two forms: a wandering type that traveled within the bodies of certain game animals, especially the land tortoise, and the "real" "mother of game" which had the form of a stone and could only be seen by the shaman. This type was usually found in the springs and deep, cool pools at the headwaters of streams. These are places where game is usually to be found due to the constant supply of water and the Mundurucú recognize this fact. However, they also say that the game is here because it is attracted by the "mother of the game."

The "mothers" of the different species of game were of less importance, but could be equally dangerous when

77% 825 offended. These spirit owners were angered when a hunter killed an animal just for its hide and left the meat to rot, when someone ridiculed the game, when the spirit "mothers" were not "fed" by the shaman both privately and at ceremonies, and for a variety of lesser reasons. They took revenge by robbing the soul of the malefactor or causing him to have some accident.

Species of fish also had spirit "mothers," but these were of minor importance. There was also a "mother of fishes" which could be found in occasional alligators. As with all of the spirit "mothers" that resided in animals, only a shaman could detect in which particular animal it was located. In ancient times there used to be a "mother of birds," say the Mundurucú, but a sorcerer buried her deep in the ground and she is still alive but can never get out. Wild trees of importance to subsistence had "mothers" too but these were rarely referred to by the Mundurucú. The general "mother of the game" and the species "mothers" of the larger game animals were those that figured most heavily in the ceremonial life.

77% The malignant spirits were an important factor in the Mundurucú belief system for they persist in Mundurucú culture despite the decline of the rest of the native religion. In common with the Tupian tribes and the <u>gaboclos</u>, the Mundurucú believed in the evil spirit known as

776 Yurupari.[25] It was a spirit that only attacked at night and appeared to people in the guise of a human. If one came within range, it threw a malignant object "like a stone" at the unwary person and this stone caused illness and possible death. The Yurupari could walk on land, but it often flew through the air making a thin whistling sound in its progress. There were two types of Yurupari. One consisted of fresh water dolphins that traveled at night as Yurupari and the other were the real Yurupari that dwelled in the land of the Yurupari from where they made sorties against humans. Of all the evil spirits that preyed on the Mundurucú, this one was most dangerous.

It was mentioned previously that a person's shadow, as distinguished from his true soul, could take evil form after the death of its owner. This "shadow" turned into the ashik, a very tiny person that could only be seen vaguely and fleetingly by living humans. Only the ashik that were the shadows of girls who died when still small were dangerous, for they stole the souls of infants. Just as the little girl used to reach for the babies pleading, "Come here," so did her ashik take the souls of the children. The mother resorted to magical charms to guard her children against it.

777 25. Métraux points out that the Yurupari was originally a Tupinamba supernatural which was adopted by the Jesuits to signify the Christian Satan, and which has been ascribed various qualities in its diffusion throughout the Amazon. (Métraux, 1928, pp. 58-60.) It is possible that its origin, or, at least some of its qualities, among the Mundurucú may be attributed to ashiele influence.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ferred indirectly, for an Aru clan member is really a descendant of the dwellers of the river of the parrot. In short, the word for clan is suggestive of the origin of the clan as a local group.

Each Mundurucú village harbored a sacred trumpet which was kept in the men's house, guarded from the eyes of the women. These trumpets were the functional equivalent of the more widely distributed bullroarer. The trumpets were owned by clans, and within them resided the *tabá* (old person) of the clan and another class of spirits called the *che karábá ejewöt*, or "companions of the trumpet." The latter also served as clan spirits, secondary to the *tabá* proper of the clan. The "companions of the trumpets" were similarly named after plants, birds, and animals but, unlike the *tabá*, never bore the same name as the clan. Nearly all of the clans had more than one spirit "companion" and in many cases the same "companion" was shared by two or more clans. Where such overlapping existed, the clans owning the trumpets having common "companions" were considered to have a very close relationship, and they either shared a trumpet or their respective trumpets were considered to be one and the same. In anthropological terms, they were of the same phratry. However, not all clans in the same phratry were equally close. For example, let us suppose that there is a phratry of three clans called A, B, and C. Clan A has spirit "companion" x, B has "companions" x and y, and clan C has "companion" y. Clans A and C have no common "companion" but are linked through clan B with which they share "companions." The closeness of both clans A and C to clan B is such that members of clan A or C can bestow the name B upon their young, and vice-versa. However, clans A and C cannot exchange clan names, although they recognize a common bond.

It might be hypothesized that clans A and C have the same spirit "companion of the trumpet" as clan B because they are offspring of the latter. This hypothesis is reinforced by the existence of four clans having subclans. The subclans have the same name as the main clan but the latter is spoken of as the "real" one, while the members of the subclan are referred to as *kobuawat*, which can be freely translated as "dwellers of the same place." An interesting facet of this clan and subclan relationship is that the name of the subclan and its trumpet spirits are, in three of the four cases, diminutives of those of the clan. For example, the Kirishi clan (large *itowba* tree) has a subclan named Kirishianan (a small species of *itowba* tree). The "companion of the trumpets" of both clan and subclan is the fox, but that of the clan is the large fox and that of the subclan is the small fox. The above factors and the especially close feeling between members of the two groups point to the subclan as an offshoot of the clan. In time, the subclan could probably achieve complete independence merely by assuming a new name, but a phratric relationship would continue through the common trumpet "companion."

The clan had no residential basis in the nineteenth century, and little manifest function aside from a limited number of ceremonial duties. The only external symbols of clanship were geometric designs, which were painted on the posts of the men's house by the clan members in residence, and the clan name,

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Contemporary students of social organization tend to acept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and therewill perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among tie Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an openquestion. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in th foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One d these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressur. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief wa able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were n longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but suo controls were not essential to this simple, collectivised society. 591 [21]

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure vas the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioed to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village partiipation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpe complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants wervabig to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans ad trumpeta. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesze that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilinea lineage," following Titiev's (1943:524–25) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and thei spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amnon (Whiffen 1915), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentallyconsidered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid be village in which they were located. 614 [22] [774]

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs. 174 [621]

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

II. HEROES AND SPIRITS

771 Mundurucú religion is animistic in its broadest outlines, although vague and
776 unpersonalized concepts of power pervade belief. Spirits and powers are active agents in Mundurucú life, and the constant manipulation and propitiation of them are essential to the well-being of the tribe.

Culture Heroes

773 Culture heroes were people of great supernatural power who lived in mythological times and who were responsible for creating people and much of the animal world. They are also believed to have endowed the Mundurucú with certain items of their culture, although the origin of most of it is not rationalized by mythology. Culture heroes are considered by the Mundurucú to be people of a remote past who accomplished wonderful deeds and then passed out of contact with the world of people and nature. They are in no way worshipped or manipulated nor are they objects of fear and veneration or, outside of their existence in the myth cycle, the subjects of much thought or interest.

One culture hero, Karusakaibö, stands above all the rest to such a degree that C. Strömer has referred to him as a "Hochgott."[1] Although the "Gott" stem of the appelation, as applied to Karusakaibö, does violence to most definitions of deity, Karusakaibö's dominant position in Mundurucú mythology is undeniable. Like many culture heroes, his origin is unexplained. He exists in a cycle of six myths in the course of which people, the peccary, and the tapir are created, and the hills and sky are formed. Karusakaibö, although an extraordinary person of great power, was believed to be a Mundurucú who lived in a village named Uacupari, situated near, but not identical with, a recent Mundurucú village of the same name. His son Korumtau, his wife Shikiridjá, and his sisters also enter into his adventures.

773 Karusakaibö has been syncretized by the Mundurucú with the Christian God
797 preached to them by missionaries from the nineteenth century to the present day. The missionaries followed the example of the Jesuits of the early colonial period and have translated "God" as Tupan, the Tupian thunder deity; the Mundurucú have partly integrated the Christian and native myth cycles by incorporating pleasing tales from the Old and New Testament into their own mythology and substituting their own Karusakaibö for the missionary's Tupan. However, the subtleties of the concept of the Trinity have resulted in some ambiguity, and Karusakaibö is equated alternately with the Father and the Son.

773 Identification of the Christian deity and the principal Mundurucú culture
797 hero has altered the position of the latter somewhat. Many Indians, especially
842 those in closest contact with the mission, offer the influence of Karusakaibö as explanation for many phenomena not specifically accounted for in the cycle of Karusakaibö myths. As an example, various women stated that a couple must copulate several times to have children. After sufficient semen is accumulated within the woman, Karusakaibö (or Tupan, according to some informants) enters

[1] Strömer, 1932, pp. 5-6.

the woman and blows upon the semen, giving it life. Such atypical intervention 797
in everyday affairs by the culture hero remained puzzling until it was learned 773
that the nuns explain pregnancy to the girls at the mission school by telling 842
them that Tupan places babies inside their bodies.

In all his activities, Karusakaibõ is accompanied by his constant companion, 773
Dailru, a trickster armadillo whose plots and interference are essential to nearly all of the culture hero's acts. In spite of the hero's great power, he finds it difficult to eliminate the wily armadillo and succeeds only at the end of the myth cycle, when he turns him into a tree that now holds up the sky.

The other Mundurucú culture heroes are of decidedly less importance and do not appear in the body of Karusakaibõ myths. There is a three-part saga in which two men named Karuetaouibõ and Wakurumpõ ascend to the sky and become the visible sun. The latter was an especially powerful shaman whose powers were so great that he once caused the sun to grow dark. He ended the eclipse by magically scraping off the face of the sun.

Moraichõkõ is the subject of a brief tale in which he is credited with making the rock paintings that are frequently encountered in the country adjacent to the Tapajós River. Since most of these paintings are on inaccessible cliffs, Moraichõkõ is acknowledged by the Mundurucú to have been a person of considerable supernatural power.

A series of four other stories surrounds Nung-nung, who is now in the Milky Way. In other stories, a man named Karukchewe was transformed into the tree from whose wood bows are made, and an old woman named Kapiru was responsible for the origin of horticulture. Thus, although Karusakaibõ is viewed as the most important and powerful of the culture heroes, he was not responsible for the creation of all Mundurucú culture.

Another class of culture heroes had no part in the creation of the natural or human environment, but are figures in sagas. A long legend is told about the wanderings of Perimut, and the wars of Turichungpõ and Karudaibi are related in a two-part cycle. There are several such personages and, though many have some supernatural gifts, none is as powerful as Karusakaibõ and Wakurumpõ. Nonetheless, the stories of these mythical characters are important in the education of the young and in the expression of themes central to Mundurucú values and world view.

Spirit Mothers

The most important single class of supernaturals believed to be active in the 776
world are the spirit mothers of the game animals.[8] The generic spirit mother 224
of all game animals and the various mothers of certain species must be continually

[8] Belief in spirit mothers, owners, or protectors of animals and plants is widespread in the Amazon basin. For example, Oberg (1953, pp. 53–54) reports the concept of spirit mothers of plants and animals from the upper Xingú River, and Wagley and Galvão (1949, p. 102) describe two Tenetehara spirits, the Owner of the Forest and the Owner of the Water, which are clearly related to the Mundurucú spirits. Belief in these bush supernaturals is evidently extremely tenacious, for Wagley (1953, p. 235) reports the concept of the "mãe do bicho" among the Brazilian residents of the town of "Ita." Most groups in eastern Brazil visualize these protector spirits as mothers; in contrast, the Tsalipang refer to them as fathers (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, pp. 176–177).

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 224 propitiated to maintain the well-being of the community. Moreover, great care must be taken to avoid giving offense to these spirits lest they strike back at the offender. The major Mundurucú ceremonies functioned mainly to secure the [756] benevolence of the spirit mothers, and one of the chief duties of the shaman was to make periodic offerings to them and thus insure their cooperation.

562 224 This preoccupation with animal spirits reflects certain basic facts about Mundurucú culture. The society is male-oriented; women are by no means passive actors in the social structure, but the major foci of the culture were male values and activities. And to the Mundurucú men, at least those of the remaining savannah villages, few activities are more important than the hunt. The male self-image is that of the warrior and hunter, the wayfarer of the forests,[2] and the Mundurucú are intensely concerned with all things arboreal. Hunting was as important as horticulture in the traditional subsistence economy and may well have been more basic to the diet in earlier times. There is some speculation about [174] a more southerly origin of the Mundurucú,[3] which suggests the corollary hypothesis that horticulture was less important in their former habitat. If this were true, it would help to explain why hunting is so heavily emphasized in Mundurucú religion, and horticulture is almost completely secularized.

776 224 756 The mother of the game, or *putcha ñi*,[4] protects the animal kingdom as a whole from human offense. The relation between the *putcha ñi* and animals is conceived by the Mundurucú to be a mother-child relationship. It is believed to be a single, unitary spirit, but it can be found in several places and under several guises at one and the same time. Expressed differently, the *putcha ñi* is a single power having several manifestations.

The mother of the game is not an anthropomorphic personage; it has no form nor does it exist as a mobile and independent entity. Characteristically, the *putcha ñi* is found in two forms; in one it is a very special stone called a *wirukwá*, and in the other it travels in the bodies of the land tortoise and the coatá monkey. The Mundurucú *wirukwá* concept, as many of their beliefs, is not highly conceptualized or rigidly formalized. It is vaguely conceived as a power and is described as a stonelike object visible only to shamans. Thus, the mother of the game and the *wirukwá* are not identical, but the spirit does manifest itself in the latter object. In its *wirukwá* guise, the *putcha ñi* is usually found in the deep perennial springs at the headwaters of the streams that issue from the hills of the Mundurucú country. Hunting is invariably good in these locales because of the desire of the game to congregate about their mother, and Mundurucú shamans have techniques whereby they can place the *putcha ñi* in springs near their villages. So placed, the *putcha ñi* will remain indefinitely unless stolen by a shaman of another village. When the *putcha ñi* is moved by a shaman, it emits

[2] See the myth of Perimat on pp. 197–201 for the expression of this theme in legendary form.
[3] Cf. Martius, 1867, p. 386 and Steinen, 1892, p. 1.
[4] Mundurucú words are italicized throughout the text. The system of phonetic transcription [128] and a complete glossary of all Mundurucú terms used may be found in Appendix A. Portuguese words are not italicized, but Appendix B contains the translations of all terms mentioned and the taxonomic classifications of most flora and fauna for which Portuguese designations have been given.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home. 756 776 224

The manifestation of the mother of the game in coatá monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *putcha ñi*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *putcha ñi*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *putcha ñi* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which cuvira cheirosa has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *putcha ñi*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area.

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *putcha ñi* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *putcha ñi*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *putcha ñi* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *putcha ñi* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the [739] meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part [825] of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of these ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *putcha ñi* on ceremonial [782] occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *putcha ñi* would become [784] extremely angry.

The *putcha ñi* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are [752] looked upon as the vengeance of the *putcha ñi*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *putcha ñi* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *putcha ñi* sends another.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 224 825

The *patcha ñ* sends two types of malignant object, called the *pakip* and the *wirakud*. The latter has already been explained as a supernaturally powerful, stonelike object in which the *patcha ñ* is sometimes found. The *pakip*, on the other hand, is thought to be an evil force that is found in the form of lotus. Both the *wirakud* and the *pakip* are parts of a general, dangerous power called *chewei*, that exists in all animals. The Mundurucú believe that every animal possesses a *wirakud* and a *pakip* as part of its power (*chewei*); these malignant forces apparently can be controlled by the *patcha ñ* and used by it to avenge the grievances visited upon the animal world by humans. The *pakip* or the *wirakud* can also be sent by the animal souls as well as by the *patcha ñ*. One human stated that the *pakip* often enters the victim to weaken him, and the *wirakud* then arrives to kill him.

Finally, every species of game animal has a mother spirit that exerts protection over the species. These mothers are decidedly secondary in importance to the *patcha ñ*, or mother of all game, and the only ones that figure importantly in Mundurucú thought are the *bú ñ*, the *daje ñ*, the *repoem ñ*, and *te tend ñ*, or the mothers of the tapir, the peccary, the deer, and the proge monkey, respectively. The species mothers are given offerings at ceremonies and shamanistic performances, as is the *patcha ñ*, and they are capable of avenging any offense given to their respective children. However, the Mundurucú commonly speak of "feeding the *patcha ñ*" and of the "vengeance of the *patcha ñ*" though scant reference is given to the species mothers in these connections. Also, the species mothers are never found in the land tortoise or the coatá monkey, nor are they believed to be manifest in the form of *wirakud*. On the contrary, the species mothers are found only in certain of their children, and their presence in the animal can be detected only by a shaman.

776 925 224

Another class of mothers is associated with aquatic life and is of less importance than the animal mothers. The *aimo ñ* is the mother of the fish, a position equivalent to that of the *patcha ñ* in the animal world. The *aimo ñ* travels in small alligators and can be found by the shaman in many places where fish are known to abound. In addition to its association with all species of fish, the *aimo ñ* is also believed to be the mother of all aquatic reptilian, amphibian, and mammalian life.

Individual species of fish do not have mothers, but the tartaruga *ewiwaja*, species of river tortoise, have mother spirits that are found within some of their children. The only other aquatic species having a mother is the peixe-ui, or menatee. The mother of the peixe-boi can be found only within certain tapirs. There are no special ceremonies for these spirits, but they, too, are propitiated in the general ceremonies for spirit mothers.

776 184 925

This account of supernatural beliefs associated with game animals represents the norm of informant responses on the subject. Mundurucú beliefs are not, however, absolutely uniform and rigid, and there was a certain variation in individual views on the subject. There was, for example, some disagreement on the nature of the *wirakud*, although all informants agreed that it was like a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

stone and alive and strong. The *wirabad* is evidently a rather abstract notion of a mystic force that is an attribute of many classes of beings. But beyond this minimal explanation there is a degree of permissible deviation in interpretation. Some informants said that the *patcka ñ* was a *wirabad*, but others said that it was merely found in a *wirabad*. Another body of conflicting information pertained to the belief that there was only one *patcka ñ* but that it could simultaneously be found in many places. Again, a minimal explanation was given that there is but one *patcka ñ*, but it is divided into many. Deeper questioning drew rather different answers from different informants. In this, and elsewhere, I have given the most common explanation. It is to be understood, of course, that a range of variant belief and practice is to be found in all aspects of culture.

Evil Spirits

In spite of the great power to do harm possessed by the spirits associated with the animal world, the Mundurucú do not look upon these supernaturals as inherently evil or malignant. They attack people only when unjustly provoked and are beneficial when properly propitiated. Since man knows the rules that must be followed to maintain the benevolence of the spirits of the animal world, their vengeance is due to human frailty and not to supernatural caprice or malevolence. The proper attitude toward this class of supernaturals is one of respect and caution, and not of intrinsic fear.

However, the Mundurucú believe in other spirits, some of which are dangerous at all times and which attack humans without provocation. The most powerful of these is the class of spirits called *Tawapari*, belief in which is extremely widespread among the Tupian-speaking peoples of South America. The Mundurucú recognize three types of *Tawapari*. The first is said to be composed of the real *Tawapari* and includes the souls of people who have been killed by attacks of the *Tawapari*. Another type of *Tawapari* is that created by sorcerers to accompany their souls on predatory journeys. These *Tawapari* are neither as prevalent nor as powerful as the first type, but they are, nonetheless, greatly dreaded. The last category of *Tawapari* includes the fresh-water porpoises that inhabit the Amazonian rivers. The porpoises are believed to swim in the rivers only by day; at night they are transformed into handsome men or beautiful women who dress in white clothes and travel on land. These are believed to be the least dangerous of all the *Tawapari*, although they are still considered malevolent and capable of attacking humans.

Mundurucú informants report that the porpoise class of *Tawapari* frequently complains to them that the other *Tawapari* are the real demons and that they themselves suffer from their assaults. This third class of *Tawapari* is distinguished from the first two types by other characteristics, also. Only the porpoise-spirit travels on land; the others travel through the air. The porpoises are visible to all people in their nocturnal human form, and their beauty frequently leads the unwary to approach too closely. The sorcerer-created *Tawapari* and those whose lives and souls were taken by the *Tawapari*, however, are invisible to all but the shaman.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 925 These Tawapari make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air. Though the porpoise Tawapari are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other Tawapari is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 753 All types of Tawapari travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peripheries of villages, and, consequently, few Mundurucú venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the Tawapari is a magical stone that it throws at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the Tawapari is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 755 There are no means by which attacks of the Tawapari can be prevented, but Mundurucú shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 791 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the Tawapari while in the field because the Mundurucú informants hesitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Mundurucú. The priests translated the Devil as Tawapari, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the Tawapari." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of Tawapari beliefs shared by the Mundurucú and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 925 One of the commonest beliefs of Tawapari in the Amazon Basin is that of the fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian caboclos, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to ensnare victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Itá the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Mundurucú Tawapari, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Mundurucú also believe in the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept of the porpoise type Tawapari was borrowed from the civilized population. If this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

776 171 177

* Wagley, 1953, p. 141.

phenomenon is not at all unusual in South America; Wagley and Galvão report the Tenetehara belief in the demon, Zurupari, to have been borrowed by the Indians from the local Brazilian population.[1] Similarly, the Tupinambá culture hero, Tupan, became a mythological figure in many Brazilian tribes through the active agency of the Jesuits.

Another instance of this type of diffusion and syncretism may exist in the Mundurucú belief that the Turupari take the souls of their victims in order to recruit their own ranks. This may well be an aboriginal idea, but it corresponds suspiciously to the classical missionary teaching that the souls of sinners are taken by the Turupari, or Devil.[2] The absence of any concept of sin in the Mundurucú belief is not surprising, for missionaries have labored for generations without noticeable results, to inculcate the idea of sin and punishment among them.

The Turupari attack all people regardless of age or sex, but a class of spirits known as aibi is dangerous only to infants. There are hordes of aibi wandering over the earth, for the shadows of all people turn into this spirit upon death. Only the transformed shadows of little girls are dangerous to infants, however. The Mundurucú believe that these aibi, like all little girls, want to take the children for themselves, and they rob the child of its life to do so.

Like the Turupari, the aibi kills its victims by throwing a magical stone into them. The aibi is clearly visible to the shaman as a little person no more than a foot high; its skin is either black or white, and it is always very beautiful. To ordinary people unendowed with shamanistic powers, the aibi is visible only as a fleeting shadow. It is not at all remarkable, therefore, that anxious Mundurucú mothers often see aibi on the paths between the villages and the bathing places. These paths are considered to be especially dangerous, but the aibi also attacks in the village on days when most of the people are abroad, and only one or two women or girls remain in the village to tend the infants.

As a rule, the Mundurucú believe that safety from all supernaturals can be gained by numbers; the various malevolent beings are always especially dangerous outside the village and to the lone person. This idea functions to provide supernatural support for sociability and cooperation, and few Mundurucú hunt, fish, or garden alone, nor does any woman willingly go to bathe or draw water by herself. To be sure, there are other, more concrete and persuasive reasons for Mundurucú gregariousness, but supernatural concepts rationalize and support this aspect of the social structure.

The shaman must be called to cure an attack by the aibi, but there are also means by which such attacks can be prevented. Children are made immune by frequent baths in a solution of water and the crushed leaves of an unidentified shrub, and a piece of ginger root is almost always hung on the child's *tipoia*, or carrying sling, as protection against the aibi. Also, mothers bite off and spit out pieces of the ginger root as they walk along the paths between the villages and the bathing places in the belief that this will avert molestation by the spirit.

[1] Wagley and Galvão, 1948, p. 102.

[2] It is equally possible that this represents a modification of an aboriginal concept of the Turupari. Métraux (1928, p. 39) notes the antiquity of this belief among Tupian groups, and the Mundurucú might well have shared this element.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SPIRITS OF THE UNDERWORLD

776 The *kokeriwat* are a class of spirits that are believed to inhabit the underworld. Although they are extremely mischievous, the *kokeriwat* are not specifically malevolent toward humans nor are they especially feared by the Mundurucú. During the old Mundurucú wars, *kokeriwat* warriors used to issue from the underworld and, unseen by all but the shamans, fought side by side with the Mundurucú as allies. One informant stated that the *kokeriwat* were really the souls of Mundurucú warriors of ancient times, but this is not a universally held belief and must be classed with our previously discussed minor variations on major themes. Despite the help given them by their invisible allies, the Mundurucú warriors had to take certain precautions against the *kokeriwat*, for the latter always attempted to steal the teeth from the trophy heads taken by the war party. The Mundurucú guarded against this by extracting the teeth, which were later strung on a cotton belt, and hiding them in the mouth of the head. When all the teeth were extracted, they were placed in a small box which the warriors suspended from their necks.

[342] The *kokeriwat* were also able to make women pregnant without their knowledge by assuming the form of a small bird and flying between their legs. They later returned to claim the issue. Several cases were reported in which the *kokeriwat* robbed the mothers of these surreptitiously begotten children. One child of the village of Paruwartiktihá was sent by her mother to fetch water. After a considerable period of time passed by, the mother asked some women who were bound for the stream to tell the daughter to return immediately. The women went to the stream and found two sets of tracks leading away from the beach. They called the men of the village, who followed the tracks to a hill within which was situated one of the underworld homes of the *kokeriwat*. A shaman called out to the girl and asked her to return, but the *kokeriwat* replied in a voice heard only by the shaman, "She cannot return. I am keeping her for she is my daughter." The shaman was afraid to make any further attempt to regain the child, and she was left with the *kokeriwat*.

776 Informants were able to name three separate underworlds of the *kokeriwat*. The
772 one to which that child was taken was known as Paradná. Another was called Wikutchongpi and was on the banks of the Iririri River, a tributary of the Cururú River. The third home of the *kokeriwat* was Kokeriwatka (literally, the place of the *kokeriwat*), which was near the Morro do Carona on the Cururú River. All these places were abandoned by the *kokeriwat* after they became increasingly subjected to attacks by the *Tuwapori*. They now live in an underworld to the east and no longer have relations with the Mundurucú.

776 The Mundurucú know of the lands of the *kokeriwat* because many shamans are
756 said to have traveled there. Some shamans, as Pöönbaboi, a former chief of Capikpí, even had wives there. The *kokeriwat* have human forms when in their own land, but everything else is the reverse of the terrestrial world. Pöönbaboi, for example, related that the first time he had intercourse with his *kokeriwat* wife he told her to lie on her back on the ground in the usual Mundurucú position. But the *kokeri-*

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

wat do not have sexual relations in the same position as do the Mundurucú, and his wife replied, "If I lie on the ground I will get worms. We will do it standing up, instead." Furthermore, although the sun also rises in the east and sets in the west in the underworld, it is night there when it is day in the terrestrial world. The *kokeriwat* engage in fish-drugging expeditions, as do the Mundurucú, but they poison the water with the sipó snake and not with timbó. Also, they fish for anaconda rather than real fish. Fish-drugging expeditions are always noisy affairs, but those of the *kokeriwat* are so tempestuous that they create a huge wind which is felt in the terrestrial world as the two- or three-day cold spell which strikes the Mundurucú country in June of every year. Conversely, Mundurucú timbó-fishing causes a cold spell in the underworld.

776 756 [821]

Mothers of the Rain

The *mambat ši*, or mothers of the rain, are a number of spirits, each of which is believed responsible for a certain type of rain or storm.[a] The Mundurucú believe that the rains are their children and that atmospheric disturbances are the results of their activities. Informants were not certain exactly how many mothers of the rain exist, but they were able to give the names of seven and to describe some of their attributes. The *mambat ši* are colored in varying degrees of black or white, and all their possessions, such as carrying baskets and penis sheaths, are correspondingly black or white. All the *mambat ši* described by informants are male, but these male spirits have wives who are also considered mothers of the rain. Three of the *mambat ši* are mentioned by name in the legend of Perisuat.[20] They are Tiptaibitum (storm of wind and rain), Ianporungrung (strong thunder and lightning), and Kurobirarinyun (steady, slow rain). Kurobirarinyun was also mentioned by informants as the bringer of a fine, all-day rain and as being of whitish color. Of somewhat darker hue is Churarimunpö, who appears on those days when clouds gather and thunder rumbles. The storm never breaks, however, and the sun always reappears. Daibiturebö causes rain and high winds, but, although black, he is not as black as Daibituwatpö, who brings storms with black clouds. Finally, Karuparabö, also a black *mambat ši*, carries strong electrical storms with violent thunder and lightning. The thunder is believed to be the sound of his flattus, and the rays of lightning are thought by the Mundurucú to shoot from his anus. Karuparabö's violent behavior is attributed to his anger because of the intimacies of his wife and Churarimunpö.

776 821

The *mambat ši* live in houses below the ground; these houses are scattered throughout the world and their occupants determine the weather in their environs. One house of the *mambat ši* is inside a hill near the Cabitutú River, and its residents make the weather in the surrounding Mundurucú country. During the summer dry season, the *mambat ši* wander afar, as do the Mundurucú, and do not return until the beginning of the rains. The people are able to detect the return of the spirits to their homes by the first rumbles of thunder in September.

[a] Tocantins' (1877, p. 116) statement that the souls of Mundurucú dead are believed to produce storms was unsubstantiated by informants.

[20] See page 95.

776 821 The *mambat ši* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Mundurucú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop [789] rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurucu informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *mambat ši*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Karõkõ Spirits

534 778 776 614 The *karõkõ* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurucú village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karõkõ* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*tbiwabõk*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *tabõ*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karõkõ ejawot*). All three categories of spirit, when properly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

534 778 776 174 614 The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,[11] but a brief recapitulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals in contemporary Mundurucú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurucú at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karõkõ* of certain villages were also the *karõkõ* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

[11] Murphy, 1956.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

panion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratrie affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534 776 778 174 604

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *dwabik*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *dwabik*; one in the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *akú* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *dwabik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 774

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karihi*, go to Karihikai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests teem with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upitchori, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

are still believed to be in great danger. The stone cannot be touched; small ones 755
can be plucked from the patient's body or from the ground with a piece of charred cotton, but large stones are allowed to enter the ground and are then safely driven into a fire with the tip of a bow.

The *pakip* and *wirakai* sent by the souls of the game animals or by their spirit mothers cannot be touched either, but they are not considered as dangerous as the stones of the *Tawapari*. To extract these malignant objects, the shaman, working alone, blows smoke upon the patient and massages his body. He then flicks the object out of the body with a *watáw* feather upon which he has blown tobacco smoke. No attempt is made to catch and destroy the object, for this would further anger the spirits of the game. These cures are usually only temporarily efficacious, and other *pakip* or *wirakai* frequently strike the victim anew after his cure.

In addition to their supernatural curing techniques, most shamans are quite 752
skilled in the secular treatment of broken bones, dislocated muscles, and similar ills. On one occasion, my wife was in acute discomfort from a strained muscle in her back. The shaman instructed her to lie face downward across a hammock, and our interpreter was told to hold her legs while I maintained a firm grip on her shoulders. He then probed the musculature in the small of her back with his fingertips. Although she complained only of a generalized backache, he apparently believed that the source of the trouble was to be found in this area. When the shaman found the difficulty, he ordered the interpreter to pull on her left leg at his command. He then pressed gently but firmly into the musculature with his two thumbs and issued the order. The treatment was quite effective, for his patient's pain was relieved immediately.

The preceding account represents a fairly comprehensive description of 777
Mundurucú maladies and their treatment. But a final affliction recognized by the Mundurucú can be classified neither as illness nor wound. The concept of *ibikawa* is best translated as bad luck and is found widely distributed throughout the Amazon under the designation of *pawwa*. *Ibikawa* affects only men and becomes evident when a man hunts for several days without killing any game or prowls continually about the underbrush near the village without encountering a woman. So far as could be ascertained, bad luck is not caused by supernatural. It strikes only men who do not rub their bodies daily after bathing with the ground root of a species of forest vine. The fragrance of this root lingers about the person and is thought to attract game animals and women. To insure good luck fully in one's pursuits, it is also believed necessary occasionally to drink sufficient quantities of this root mixed in water to induce vomiting. Most men undergo this purification process once or twice a year.

Shamans and Souls

Although Mundurucú shamans are not thought to control and use particular 756
spirits, they are believed to be in intimate contact with the supernatural world. 776
The shamans' souls are said to have the ability to travel in the afterworlds and 782
to the underworld of the *Kikaviwat*, and they alone among the Mundurucú can

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 776 782 see and speak to certain supernatural beings. This power is of great importance to Mundurucú society, for the economic well-being of the community is believed to depend upon the proper propitiation of the spirit mothers of the game. Annual ceremonies were formerly held for this purpose, and the shaman had an important role in these rites. But the shaman was also responsible for pleasing the mothers of the game by 'feeding' them throughout the year. The latter required only the cooperation of other shamans and was of short duration and limited participation. Today, say informants, the spirit mothers are no longer fed because of the lack of sufficiently strong shamans. The Mundurucú believe that hunting is correspondingly poorer than in the old days and life less abundant.

The occasions when he fed the *patoka ñ*, or mother of the game, constitute the only instances when the shaman went into a trance. A number of shamans were necessary for this performance. The strongest of them was usually selected to feed the *patoka ñ*, and he prepared himself by magically inserting the three instruments known as *sawch* into his body. One was placed in the back of the neck and two others in the back of either knee. The shaman then lay in his hammock in the men's house and was covered with a blanket of buriti palm leaves. The other shamans lit large cigarettes rolled in tauari bark and, inserting the lighted ends in their mouths, blew dense clouds of tobacco smoke into the hammock. Fortified by the *sawch* in his body and intoxicated by the smoke, the shaman fell into an extraordinary state in which he was able to see the supernaturals clearly. He then leaped out of the hammock, seized a bowl of *wiri* (sweet manioc gruel), and, led by his *borombi*, another instrument, dashed off to feed the *patoka ñ*. He ran a short distance outside the village and there plunged into a hole in the ground which only he could see. He then traveled underground, shouting loudly in his passage, and emerged from another hole some distance beyond, from which point he continued his journey on the surface. The shaman visited the various manifestations of the *patoka ñ* and fed *wiri* to all of them. He then selected the one that pleased him most and brought it back to one of the deep springs near his village, where its influence would attract game animals. The shaman returned to his village by the same route used on his outward journey. When he arrived back in the men's house, his waiting fellow shamans seized him and immediately extracted the three *sawch*, lest their power turn him into an animal. They then blew tobacco smoke on his body and washed and dried him, thus bringing him out of his dangerous state.

Only the strongest of shamans could feed the *patoka ñ* personally. Weaker men sent their *sawch* out alone to call the *patoka ñ* together in the Land of the Game, and the shaman's soul went there to feed them. A shaman whose wife was pregnant could not travel under the ground, for the earth would close over him and trap him. One shaman related that this had once happened to a man, and the other shamans dug him out just in time.

756 776 The shaman also has the power to 'manufacture' the mother of the peccary (*daje ñ*) and the mother of the tapir (*ñoa ñ*). The mother of the tapir is made by killing a pregnant tapir and extracting the fetus, which is brought back

to the men's house rolled in leaves and then slowly toasted and dried out over a fire. Tobacco smoke is blown upon it, and sweet manioc broth is occasionally poured upon it to please and feed it. The dried fetus is believed to become transformed in time into a baby tapir containing the mother of the tapir, and the shaman places it near one of the pools at the headwaters of the stream. Even weaker shamans can make the *bu ši*, and any pregnant tapir serves this purpose.

Although the manufacture of a *bu ši* was never witnessed during our residence among the Mundurucú, I was able to observe the preparation of a mother of the peccary in the savannah village of Cabruá. On this day, the hunters had chased a band of peccary that had passed close to the village. The band, however, had a fair head start on the hunters and escaped, leaving a half-grown member behind. The dogs cornered the animal in a bush, and the hunters were about to capture it as a pet when the shaman arrived on the scene. He ordered the men and their dogs to stand back while he smoked intently and concentrated his gaze upon the animal. He then announced that the young peccary was carrying the mother of the peccary, or *daje ši*, within its body. As the news spread, all the villagers came out to gaze upon the animal and to admire its "beauty," evidently seeking thereby to gratify the spirit. The shaman then grabbed the squealing peccary and sat upon it, while another shaman secured it by its snout. A third shaman pulled out the animal's eyebrows and some hair from its back and released it unharmed. The first shaman then brought the hairs back to the trumpet chamber adjoining the men's house and placed them inside the hollow limb of a buriti palm. Every day thereafter he blew smoke upon his creation and poured a sweet manioc drink over it. After a period of this treatment it was believed that the hairs would turn into a young peccary with the mother of the peccary inside it. The animal would similarly be carried to one of the deep pools in the neighborhood and would attract herds of peccary. Strong shamans, it was believed, could make the *daje ši* from the hairs of any peccary, but weaker practitioners, as in this instance, had to select an animal that already had a *daje ši* within it.

Other Functions of the Shaman

In addition to his curing activities and his role in the propitiation of the spirit mothers, the shaman performs a variety of lesser duties. When the village is moved to a new locale every ten years or so, the shaman must inspect the site selected. He ascertains if there are many fever-producing *ewab* in the neighborhood, and he looks also for signs of the *Ferapori* and other malignant beings. These malevolent forces can also exist below the surface of the ground, and the shaman must send his *ganah* to inspect the earth below the proposed village site. After the instrument has completed its investigation, it returns to the shaman and tells him of its discoveries.

The shaman, through another of his instruments, the *dibdit*, can also discover lost persons and lost or stolen objects. He blows smoke upon the *dibdit*—a small piece of cane—and sends it upon its mission. In the case of a stolen object,* the

* Theft is extremely rare among the Mundurucú and probably even the occasional occurrence to the contemporary acquisition of trade goods.

that many new *karikó* will be made. In the past, however, the installation of newly manufactured instruments called for a ceremony quite similar to that held when they were shifted to a new man's house. The trumpets are made in a temporary shelter situated deep in the forest, secure from the chance gaze of passing women. One man is responsible for their manufacture, and the *karikó* are considered to belong to his clan and to harbor its spirits.[1] 534 796 779

Until they are properly installed in the men's house, the trumpets are referred to as *wera onon*, or "jaguar with a beak." The Mundurucú explain this difference in nomenclature as being due to their reluctance to mention the proper names of new instruments in front of the women. The ceremony of installation is called *wera onon kow*, or "going to get the jaguar with a beak." Invitations are sent to the residents of several other villages, and all are expected to bring their own *karikó*. The male invitees leave their own communities with the trumpets well before dawn and proceed directly to the shelter where the new instruments are being made. Their women leave after daybreak and go to the host village. The assembled men feast throughout the day and at dusk form a procession to the village. This is almost identical to the one formed when old trumpets are being installed in a new village, except that the trumpets of several villages are played. After the new instruments are installed, the old ones are brought to the place where the former were made and are burned.

This description of Mundurucú ceremonialism shows that ritual emphasis was placed upon the propitiation of the spirit owners of game animals, warfare and the quest for trophy heads, and the placation of the clan and trumpet spirits. A unifying thread can be discerned in the fact that the proper care of the trophy head was regarded as a means of pleasing the animal spirits, and also that the trumpet spirits were vaguely conceived as being associated with those of the game. Furthermore, the curing ceremony was specifically devoted to retrieving souls stolen by the animal supernaturals. 796 [782]

Mythology and folklore reveal a continuation of the basic masculine theme of hunting and warfare in Mundurucú culture. The Mundurucú recognize spirit mothers of fish and aquatic animals, but these were propitiated only incidentally during the major ceremonies for the animal spirits; informants mentioned fish spirits in this connection as an afterthought. There is a striking absence of attention to horticulture both in the belief system and in the ceremonial cycle. Each species of domestic plant is believed to have a soul, but not a mother spirit. Songs were formerly sung to the species souls, when the particular plant was being sown, to insure a good harvest, and another song was sung to the garden at the time of burning the clearing. All these songs were better known by the men than by the women, although the latter did most of the horticultural work. No substantiation could be found for Tocantins' statement that the Mundurucú perform annual ceremonies for maize and manioc.[2] [776]

[1] During the patrilineal phase of Mundurucú social structure, the maker of the trumpets probably belonged to the dominant, and perhaps only, clan of the village, and there was undoubtedly a closer functional relationship between clan and trumpet than under present matrilineal circumstances.

[2] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 132-134.

177 ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the
462 copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one
476 toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because
[415] they are large enough to meet the needs of the population,
but because they are expensive and beyond the means of
most extended families. These pans are generally consid-
[422] ered to be the property of the community in the savannah
villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating fac-
tor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the
462 women always seek company when they go to the stream
476 to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the
gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these oc-
casions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone
[778] person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly
subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is
especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young
[834] woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seek-
ing an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the econ-
477 omy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open
competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely
nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued
[555] person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accom-
plishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and,
formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly
to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with
[526] the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the
young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] Caboclo families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $80 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the caboclo is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in 616
his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. 727
A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during cere- 616
monies. The members of the *Biuli ayen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack 614
most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any 778
special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö*; this term [776]
is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief 614
in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in 773
no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karõkõ*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tubõ) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karõkõ ejeuõt*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tubõ resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Waruá* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Ihi* and *Rapsem* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nucleus of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Waruá*, *Ihi*, or *Rapsem* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Mundurucú who might happen to be in

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 534 778 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to be placated by playing the instruments and presenting them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karökö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 [591] Clan ownership of the karökö and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Witum*, *Wakú*, and *Karú* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *warémop*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *ucheím*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karú* subclan, *Kabú*, *Arú*, *Yuri*, and *Iki* clans of the Red moiety. *Yuri* and *Iki* are linked by common recognition of *apat*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karú* subclan and *Arú* are affiliated through common recognition of the yarökpökpökpöka, a bird; *Kabú* and *Arú* are affiliated through

614 615 776

komtí, a tree; and *Arú* and *Yurí* find a bond in *ikõnip*, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the *Sew* clan may bestow the name *Marí* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kirtíi* clan of the White moiety and the *Warú*, *Sew*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kukusust*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan half is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

structure.[8] The religious life of the contemporary savannah dwellers has been largely reduced to the practices of shamanism and sorcery, and group ceremonial activities have for the most part disappeared with little prospect of revival. One or two half-hearted attempts have been made by older men to resurrect parts of the ritual cycle, but they have met with lack of enthusiasm on the part of the young and have failed largely through inability to organize properly. Today, the Mundurucú regard the decadence of their religion as part of their transition to the status of foreigner (pariwat), and have resigned themselves to this situation.

The focus of Mundurucú religion in the past was the relationship between society and the animal world. This was consistent with the cultural emphasis on hunting, in terms of importance to subsistence and as a highly valued masculine activity.[9] The mythology is concerned with the origins of species of animals, which significantly were either human or had human form in mythological times, and an important class of supernaturals is believed to exert protection over game. The latter spirits are of two kinds: there is a generic spirit "mother" of all game animals, and several of the more important species have their own particular spirit "mothers." If offense is given to these supernaturals through such means as killing an animal for its hide and leaving the carcass to rot, they take swift vengeance against the guilty party. This is usually done by supernaturally bringing injury upon the culprit. But the spirit "mothers" can also be benevolent and helpful to the community and can make game abundant, if humans observe proper relations with them.

[8] A full description of Mundurucú religion may be found in my monograph *Mundurucú Religion* (1958).

[9] It will be remembered that the Mundurucú believe that the males wrested the sacred trumpets from the control of the women because only men could supply the meat that must be offered to the instruments.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

are still believed to be in great danger. The stone cannot be touched; small ones can be plucked from the patient's body or from the ground with a piece of charred cotton, but large stones are allowed to enter the ground and are then safely driven into a fire with the tip of a bow. 755

The *pakip* and *uwakai* sent by the souls of the game animals or by their spirit mothers cannot be touched either, but they are not considered as dangerous as the stones of the *Tawapori*. To extract these malignant objects, the shaman, working alone, blows smoke upon the patient and massages his body. He then flicks the object out of the body with a *matéw* feather upon which he has blown tobacco smoke. No attempt is made to catch and destroy the object, for this would further anger the spirits of the game. These cures are usually only temporarily efficacious, and other *pakip* or *uwakai* frequently strike the victim anew after his cure.

In addition to their supernatural curing techniques, most shamans are quite skilled in the secular treatment of broken bones, dislocated muscles, and similar ills. On one occasion, my wife was in acute discomfort from a strained muscle in her back. The shaman instructed her to lie face downward across a hammock, and our interpreter was told to hold her legs while I maintained a firm grip on her shoulders. He then probed the musculature in the small of her back with his fingertips. Although she complained only of a generalized backache, he apparently believed that the source of the trouble was to be found in this area. When the shaman found the difficulty, he ordered the interpreter to pull on her left leg at his command. He then pressed gently but firmly into the musculature with his two thumbs and issued the order. The treatment was quite effective, for his patient's pain was relieved immediately. 752

The preceding account represents a fairly comprehensive description of Mundurucú maladies and their treatment. But a final affliction recognized by the Mundurucú can be classified neither as illness nor wound. The concept of *ekkiawa* is best translated as bad luck and is found widely distributed throughout the Amazon under the designation of *pawma*. *Ekkiawa* affects only men and becomes evident when a man hunts for several days without killing any game or prowls continually about the underbrush near the village without encountering a woman. So far as could be ascertained, bad luck is not caused by supernatural. It strikes only men who do not rub their bodies daily after bathing with the ground root of a species of forest vine. The fragrance of this root lingers about the person and is thought to attract game animals and women. To insure good luck fully in one's pursuits, it is also believed necessary occasionally to drink sufficient quantities of this root mixed in water to induce vomiting. Most men undergo this purification process once or twice a year. 777

Shamans and Souls

Although Mundurucú shamans are not thought to control and use particular spirits, they are believed to be in intimate contact with the supernatural world. The shamans' souls are said to have the ability to travel to the afterworlds and to the underworld of the *Kihiriwat*, and they alone among the Mundurucú can 756 776 782

361 of 250 to 300 for the old Mundurucú villages.

The aboriginal Mundurucú village consisted of three to five dwelling places and the men's house, or *ekxa*.* The average population was about 250 people. Commonly, these villages were located on stretches of high savannah. Such a site was easily defensible as its open location protected it from the surprise attacks always used by Amazonian Indians. Also, these locations were relatively free of insects. The [317] Mundurucú say too that "It is beautiful here for you can see far."

362 The houses were oblong with rounded ends and had steeply pitched thatched roofs. Some houses were 80 to 100 feet in length. The eaves of the roofs terminated at about five feet from the ground and the house was closed by vertical bark walls. Doors made of the center stalks of palm fronds were used.

364 The men's house was a large lean-to type building, the open end of which always faced east. It was up to 100 feet long and had a roof that gently sloped from the east end, at which point it was about fifteen to twenty feet high, until it met the ground at the west end. The front and both sides were open. Adjoining the south side of the west end [318] of the men's house was the small room in which the sacred trumpets, forbidden to female eyes, were kept. Three horizontal beams, one in the middle and one on either side of the house, ran from east to west at about five feet above

164 * The phonetic system used above and throughout this work is, with a few exceptions, that of English. The exceptions are: *g* is pronounced like the German *ich*; *i* and *u* are pronounced as in Portuguese *lana* and *nasr*, respectively.

796 Mundurucuania used to attend, and hunting parties scoured the nearby forests to maintain the enlarged village population during the ceremonies. A feature of both rites was ceremonial initiations of the various beasts by the male participants. The initiation of the tapir could only be done by a society known as the bisahi (mothers of the tapir). Members of this society were recruited by ceremonial capture by bisahi of the opposite society. The ceremonies were held at the initiative of one of the older men of the village, often, but not necessarily, the chief. This man acted as leader and organizer of the ceremony, but he was aided in the necessary preparations by all the village.

796 778 534 The above ceremonies were centered in the men's house. The men's house was also central to those rites involving the sacred trumpets. When a new men's house was built, the trumpets were shifted under cover of darkness from the old house to the new in a procession accompanied by the sacred flutes of other villages and the male visitors. The women remained confined to their houses and cried in memory of the fact that, according to legend, the trumpets and the men's house once belonged to them. Much the same procedure was followed when new trumpets were installed. The trumpets were made in secrecy in a secluded part of the forest and brought to the village in a sledge after dark procession. One ritual so frequent in occurrence as not to warrant classification as a ceremony was the feeding and playing of the

796 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house,
778 the man who carried out the food had to bring a portion into
534 the trumpet chamber and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

796 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need
775 to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the species "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulas that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

796 All Mundurucú religious ceremonies were male dom-
542 inated. Women served only as observers and were able to participate at times in a play capacity only, except for one or two occasions in which female shamans took part. Parts
796 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was
542 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a
535

The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[4]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the clan, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruú belonged to the *Waru* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

values were supernaturally reinforced by their possession of the sacred trumpets, or *karōkō*. Each village maintained a set of three of these instruments, and they were absolutely taboo to the eyes of the women, who were thought to have once owned them.

Political controls were not elaborate. Each village had a chief, whose position was bolstered by the fact that his sons were generally exempt from the matrilocal residence rule. Although there were no patterns of continuous supravillage leadership, relations between communities were very close and involved intermarriage and joint participation in ceremonies and warfare. Tribal feeling was highly developed and conflict between villages was totally absent.

THE CONDUCT OF WARFARE

Mundurucú warfare was distinguished by a complete lack of any defensive psychology, and the Mundurucú looked upon themselves as aggressors and victors. They have been described as ". . . one of the most valorous and feared [tribes] of all the hinterland of Amazons" (Almeida Serra 1869:4), while, on the other hand, the French explorer Henri Coudreau (1897:142) wrote in righteous indignation that, "The Mundurucú practice neither justice, nor duel, nor warfare, but only assassination." This harsh judgment seems not to fit the people who extended my wife and me kindness and hospitality, and who were invariably soft-spoken, humorous, and gentle. But these same gentle people spoke at length and with great animation of their former prowess as warriors and of expeditions against other tribes in which the enemy men and women were killed and decapitated and their children stolen. Nothing about their own culture interested the Mundurucú as much as the extinct but still remembered patterns of warfare, and the older men were zealous informants on that subject.

The human world was seen by the Mundurucú to consist of two distinct spheres; there were "people" or Mundurucú, and *pariwat*, a term referring to any non-Mundurucú human. With the exception of the neighboring Apiacá Indians and the white men, all pariwat were enemies. An enemy was not merely a person to be guarded against but was a proper object of attack, and the Mundurucú pursued this end with extraordinary vigor and stamina. Before 1795 they attacked Santarém and ranged near the mouth of the Amazon to strike the fort of Gurupá. Hartt (1885:116) stated that Mundurucú war parties had penetrated into the eastern part of the province of Maranhão, where they were beaten back by "Apinagés."[2] Tocantins (1877:98) claimed that the Mundurucú knew the city of Cuyabá in Mato Grosso, and informants told of raids as far as the upper waters of the Juruena, São Manoel, and Madeira Rivers. These expeditions apparently carried the warriors over 500 miles from home and must have involved trips of well over 1,000 miles. And the Mundurucú traveled solely by foot; bark canoes were made and used only for the purpose of crossing large streams. These were exceptional journeys, but

776 The *mambat ii* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then
821 arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Mundurucú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop
[789] rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurucú informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *mambat ii*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Karōkō Sempu

534 The *karōkō* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which
● 778 are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurucú
776 village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed
614 bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karōkō* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*ibiwabōk*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *twbō*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karōkō ejcwot*). All three categories of spirit, when propertly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

534 The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure
778 of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,[11] but a brief recapit-
776 ulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals
174 in contemporary Mundurucú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurucú
614 at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karōkō* of certain villages were also the *karōkō* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

[11] Murphy, 1956.

panion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratric affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *ibiaabik*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *ibiaabik*; one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *aik* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *ibiaabik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 774

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karóké*, go to Karúkókai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upótcharó, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

sick woman was then dried with a piece of cloth, and the shaman placed the lighted end of a cigarette in his mouth and blew smoke over her entire body. He then rubbed her legs from toes to thighs, blew more smoke upon her stomach and rubbed both front and back of her torso. Another shaman took his place and twice passed a palm leaf down her body and both arms. Each time, he cleaned the leaf of the malignant objects that it supposedly picked up from the patient's skin. 796 755

These ministrations were intended to rid the body of the sick woman of some of the accumulation of evil or extraneous objects that had entered her during her illness. An especially dangerous article was discovered in her chest, and the least powerful of the shamans applied his mouth to her body and sucked it out. He was immediately racked by a fit of violent coughing, and a shaman having somewhat more power sucked at his throat, whereupon the object lodged in his own throat. It was finally removed by the most powerful of the four shamans present. He, too, appeared to be choked by the malignant object but succeeded in spitting it out into his hand. All present were invited to look at it, and, evidently no longer dangerous, it was given to a small boy to throw into a fire.

The last part of the curing ceremony was the special duty of the only member of the *Bisiõ* society present in the village. He approached the sick woman, chanting a song and stamping each foot upon the ground. In this manner he circled about her and then grasped her under the armpits and lifted her while stamping his feet. This process was believed to shake the last of the supernatural objects from her body, and she was then ready to have her soul restored. The shaman again plucked the soul from the tapir's skull and placed his clenched hand over the patient's head, making motions suggesting that he was placing the soul within. The sick woman, who was thought to be fully cured, returned to normal activity and enjoyed the appearance of restored health. Unfortunately, her condition, which was possibly tubercular, soon worsened, and again she began to cough steadily.

The Karikõ

Certain supernatural beliefs and practices are connected with the *karikõ*, or sacred musical instruments of the Mundurucú. The instruments themselves have been somewhat inaccurately termed trumpets for lack of a better word, although in design and operation they more nearly approximate the oboe. Each Mundurucú village of the savannahs has a set of three such instruments. Each set belongs to a different clan, but their essential design and construction are the same, though with some variation in size. This has no ritual significance but is regarded by the Mundurucú as a sign of degeneration, for the *karikõ* of different villages were said to be formerly of the same size and much larger than those of today. However, the three instruments composing any single set are purposely and traditionally graded in size. 534 778

The *karikõ* are actually extremely simple instruments. Each is merely a long, hollow cylinder made of a very light wood, into the end of which is inserted a reed. Those of the village of Cabruá were 43, 46, and 52 inches long and the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534
778

internal diameters of their resonant chambers were 3⅝, 3⅝, and 3¼ inches, respectively. The reed is made by splitting a 27 to 28-inch length of wet and pliant pazinha palm root, hollowing out both halves and rejoining them by binding at either end. A stick slightly larger than the diameter of the cylinder is bound at right angles to the reed and prevents it from falling within the chamber when inserted. When one blows into the end of the reed it gives a flatulent sound similar to the American Bronx cheer, but when the reed is inserted into the resonant chamber of the *kawikó* and blown, it emits a deep reverberating tone. The sound emitted by these instruments is not said to be of supernatural origin, nor is it considered an imitation of the voice of spirits.

The actual playing usually takes place within the chamber where the instruments are stored. This chamber is a small extension at the southwest end of the men's house. The roof adjoins that of the main sleeping quarters and slopes to the ground at the west end at the same pitch. But unlike the open-sided dormitory, the *kawikó* chamber is completely walled with thatch in order to insure the secrecy of its contents. The trumpet chamber of the village of Cabruá measured 20 feet in length and 11½ feet in width. Owing to the pitch of the roof, however, one could walk erect for less than half the length of the room. The back of the chamber was generally used as a rubbish heap for the disposal of the old pazinha root reeds. Suspended horizontally from the ceiling were two parallel poles, upon which the three trumpets were laid when not in use. Also hanging from the roof was a horn made of a hollow bamboo tube, to the end of which was attached an empty gourd; a design resembling an hourglass was cut in the side of the gourd. The over-all length of the instrument was 22 inches, and the length of the bamboo tube was 16½ inches. This particular horn was used to emulate the roar of the jaguar, or the red-eyed ipichot, which is the eponymous name of one of the spirit companions of the trumpets of Cabruá.

The spirits residing within the *kawikó* become displeased, say the Mundurucú, [782] if not properly fed and played. Accordingly, every night when the men gather in front of the men's house for their meal, one of them brings a half-gourd of food into the chamber, lays the trumpets on the ground, and offers food to the mouth of each. The playing of the trumpets is somewhat more irregular and infrequent, although the older men claim that they were played daily in times past.

The trumpets are usually played during the late afternoon and shortly after nightfall. Although they are nominally considered to be the property of a particular clan, any man is allowed to play them. These are not especially sacred occasions. Although other men are free to watch the three players performing, they generally amuse themselves in other ways, as guitar playing, talking, or making artifacts. The women, who go about their work nonchalantly at these times, always seem to know who the performers are, despite the fact that sight of the instruments is absolutely forbidden to them and the trumpet chamber is carefully shielded from their view.

The actual music produced by the three *kawikó* players was not recorded and can be described only as a deep and rather monotonous dirge. The music is always

the same, but there are a number of songs or words to the same basic melody. 594
These songs are not sung by the players but are thought by them during the 778
performance. In keeping with exclusive male access to the instruments, the songs are known and taught only to the men. Of any group of three players the man who knows the songs best acts as the leader and plays the medium-sized instrument, and the others act as his accompaniment. The leader plays the basic *karikó* melody, and the man with the largest trumpet emits long and steady blasts interspersed with occasional short ones. The player of the smallest of the three instruments, usually the youngest man, blows a few short sounds whenever the leader signals him by lifting his elbow. The players pause at indefinite intervals, and the leader then sounds a blast on the guard horn.

As they play, the three walk side by side across the width of the trumpet chamber. The room is large enough to allow three long steps with a pivot motion at the end. The instrument is clutched across the chest by the left forearm as the player walks, and the reed is held with the right hand.

The frequent playing of the *karikó* is accepted as a necessary part of the 594
ordinary round of village life and does not merit designation as a ceremony. 778
There are other, however, special occasions when the instruments become the 796
focus of much wider social participation. It is believed necessary to offer a special feast to the various spirits of the trumpets at least once a year. On the designated day, the women amass large quantities of sweet manioc and grate it into water to make a rich beverage; sufficient game is usually killed on the previous day to last through the feast. The finished drink is brought to the men's house in large clay pots, and the men gather about with half-gourds and drink. Large quantities are consumed, the the women are kept busy throughout the day. The feasting generally begins at noon and lasts until nightfall. As every round of beverage arrives, a bowl must be offered to the trumpets. The spirits are further gratified by the trumpets being played from the beginning of the feast until dawn of the following day. Most of the village population sleeps throughout the night, and the players are occasionally relieved by other groups of three men. Invitations to this feast are not extended to other villages. [272]

Other ceremonies are held when the trumpets are being moved from an old village to a newly constructed one and when new trumpets are made and installed. Both of these occasions involve the participation of people from other villages. The ceremony of the reinstallation of the *karikó* in a new men's house took place in Cabitutó during our field work. The village invited the two nearest villages, Cabruá and Dewdydm. Dewdydm declined as the inhabitants were busy preparing manioc flour, but those of Cabrgá accepted. The guests arrived during the afternoon and on the following day the men went to the forest to gather thatch for the wall of the trumpet chamber. The new village was built a few hundred yards from the old one, and although the dwellings had been finished and were already occupied by the women and children, only the frame of the men's house had been completed. The men continued to sleep in the old men's house. On the second day after the arrival of the guests, the men went hunting while the women harvested the sweet manioc.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534
778
796

The women made the manioc drink on the next, or third, day of the ceremony, and the men then commenced thatching the walls of the trumpet chamber. The men's house, say the Mundurucú, is the home of the karikó, and the trumpets must be moved into a completely roofed and walled dwelling at the same time that the men move. For this reason it is necessary to complete the walls and roof in one day and to move into the new men's house, with the trumpets, that very [342] night. Since it takes several days to thatch a roof properly, the roof of the old house is customarily dismantled and placed upon the frame of the new one. A new roof would be built during the next rainy season.

During the busy preparations for the installation of the instruments in their new home, considerable feasting and gaiety took place also. From the arrival of the guests until the completion of the thatching, everybody took part in intermoiety and intersexual joking. Mixtures of urucú or palm fruit and water were prepared and were thrown by the women upon men of the opposite moiety. The latter seized the women's supply occasionally and took revenge.

After thatching the roof of the new men's house and walling the trumpet enclosure, the men assembled in the old men's house. They unstrung their hammocks and assembled all their belongings and then took the trumpets from their old chamber. Three men of the same moiety as the clan to which the trumpets belonged then began playing the instruments and slowly marched toward the new village. The other men crowded about the players, wearing and waving palm leaves, to shield the sacred instruments from the eyes of the women. Within the protecting ring were four other men. One carried a hunting horn with which he occasionally sounded a signal consisting of two long, four short, and two more long blasts; another man followed this signal with the characteristic yell of the hunter who raises game. A third man sounded the gourd horn associated with the trumpets of Cabituti, and a fourth walked along shaking a rattle. The last man belonged to the opposite moiety of the trumpets and was referred to as their [illegible]. [302] His head was covered with a paste made of urucú and ground maize.

The slow procession started from the old men's house at dusk, and night had fallen by the time the group of marchers reached the new village. The women shut themselves in the dwelling houses in anticipation of the men's arrival, and, as the men entered the village, the women began to wail in sorrow for the loss of the instruments that are believed to have once been theirs.* The procession of men circled each house of the village three times and then stopped in front of the new men's house. There the trumpets were played while the rest of the men drank the sweet manioc beverage and rested. The instruments were played outside the men's house until dawn and were then brought inside their new chamber and playyed until the sun rose. At that time they were retired to the rack suspended from the ceiling, and the guests departed for their own village. The old men's house was later burned to hide all evidence of the activities that once went on in it.

In view of the rapid disintegration of Mundurucú village life, it is doubtful

* See pp. 99-01.

that many new *karikó* will be made. In the past, however, the installation of 534
newly manufactured instruments called for a ceremony quite similar to that 796
held when they were shifted to a new man's house. The trumpets are made in 779
a temporary shelter situated deep in the forest, secure from the chance gaze of passing women. One man is responsible for their manufacture, and the *karikó* are considered to belong to his clan and to harbor its spirits.[1]

Until they are properly installed in the man's house, the trumpets are referred to as *uwé ewen*, or "jaguar with a beak." The Mundurucú explain this difference in nomenclature as being due to their reluctance to mention the proper names of new instruments in front of the women. The ceremony of installation is called *uwa ewen hoe*, or "going to get the jaguar with a beak." Invitations are sent to the residents of several other villages, and all are expected to bring their own *karikó*. The male invitees leave their own communities with the trumpets well before dawn and proceed directly to the shelter where the new instruments are being made. Their women leave after daybreak and go to the host village. The ensembled men feast throughout the day and at dusk form a procession to the village. This is almost identical to the one formed when old trumpets are being installed in a new village, except that the trumpets of several villages are played. After the new instruments are installed, the old ones are brought to the place where the former were made and are burned.

This description of Mundurucú ceremonialism shows that ritual emphasis was 796
placed upon the propitiation of the spirit owners of game animals, warfare and
the quest for trophy heads, and the placation of the clan and trumpet spirits. [782]
A unifying thread can be discerned in the fact that the proper care of the trophy head was regarded as a means of pleasing the animal spirits, and also that the trumpet spirits were vaguely conceived as being associated with those of the game. Furthermore, the curing ceremony was specifically devoted to retrieving souls stolen by the animal supernaturals.

Mythology and folklore reveal a continuation of the *basic* masculine theme of hunting and warfare in Mundurucú culture. The Mundurucú recognize spirit
mothers of fish and aquatic animals, but these were propitiated only incidentally [776]
during the major ceremonies for the animal spirits; informants mentioned fish spirits in this connection as an afterthought. There is a striking absence of attention to horticulture both in the belief system and in the ceremonial cycle. Each species of domestic plant is believed to have a soul, but not a mother spirit. Songs were formerly sung to the species souls, when the particular plant was being sown, to insure a good harvest, and another song was sung to the garden at the time of burning the clearing. All these songs were better known by the men than by the women, although the latter did most of the horticultural work. No substantiation could be found for Tocantins' statement that the Mundurucú perform annual ceremonies for maize and manioc.[2]

[1] During the patrilineal phase of Mundurucú social structure, the maker of the trumpets probably belonged to the dominant, and perhaps only, clan of the village, and there was undoubtedly a closer functional relationship between clan and trumpet than under present matrilineal circumstances.

[2] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 133–134.

VI. RELIGION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

In the first chapter of this study it was suggested that changes in Mundurucú religion could better be understood through an analysis of changes in other aspects of the culture than through knowledge of the activities of the missionaries. This is not to deny that the priests are and have been powerful and influential figures among the Indians. But their proselytizing efforts have consistently been realized only after certain social and economic changes have taken place. Also, changes in religion have consisted principally in the disappearance of activities and beliefs. The acquisition of Christianity has been an extremely slow process, although it might be hypothesized that it will become accelerated with further disintegration of Mundurucú society.

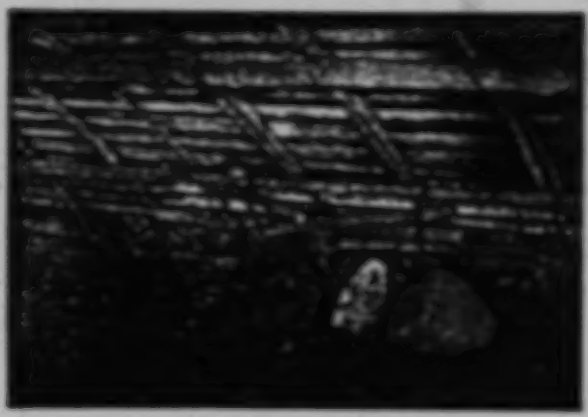
Until very recent years, the core of Mundurucú religious beliefs was the relationship between the world of humans and that of the game animals; the sharp decline of this aspect of Mundurucú religion is one of the most striking changes. The bond between animals and humans was clearly expressed in the complex of beliefs and rites connected with the spirit mothers of the game, and the *Awaiwa* and *Dujawapatip* ceremonies were the most important of all Mundurucú rituals. Their enactment protected humans from the vengeance of the spirits and promoted the fertility and availability of game. Even the sacred trumpets, originally the abodes of ancestral spirits of localized clans, acquired a vague and undefined relationship with the animal spirits. Warfare, also, was rationalized by the beneficent influence of the trophy head upon these supernaturals. Furthermore, the shaman was not only responsible for feeding the spirits, but he was believed to be able to cure the animals that dwell in human form in the Land of the Game, much as he cures the tame game animals found in every Mundurucú village.

The closeness of the human-animal bond can be seen in other aspects of belief. Mythology abounds with accounts of animals that at one time had human forms, and the origin of certain species from the metamorphosis of humans is common. That the reverse can also take place is seen in the conversion of people into animals during the *Dapatip* ceremony. The best example of the merging and interpenetration of the two realms is the saga of Periniit, who became almost animal through an extended and solitary stay in the forest.

The relationship between Mundurucú society and the animal kingdom was one of symbiosis. The Mundurucú depended upon the animals for subsistence, and the animals, through their spirit mothers, depended upon the Mundurucú for the performance of rituals essential to their well-being and increase. The disappearance of these rituals is explained quite simply by the Mundurucú as owing to the lack of shamans sufficiently powerful to protect the animal spirits and human participants from attacks by the *Tawapari*. This view is true to the extent that there are fewer shamans among the contemporary Mundurucú, but it also reflects a characteristic fatalism and apathy toward the aboriginal culture. Not only are modern shamans said to be weaker, but men, in general, are not believed to be as strong, brave, and wise as were their forebears. And game is not as plentiful as it was in times past, nor are women considered as beautiful and desirable.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13



594
778
415
796
392

5. Instruments used in the ceremonies of the Dance. The cylinders are horns played in three rites, and the earthenware pots are used as containers of the beverage offered to the "spirit mothers" of the game animals. Note the tapir skull between the vessels.

6. Mundurucú man playing one of the sacred trumpets, or karihó. Another of the set of three instruments is leaned against the wall at the right.

[end plate 5]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

warrior be buried by members of the opposite moiety in 616
his homeland, no matter how far from home he had fallen. 727
A member of his iboiwatitit was therefore responsible for bringing his humerus back to the village for proper interment, in lieu of the body. Since a seriously wounded warrior had to be left behind, and would obviously die of hunger or at the hands of the enemy, the iboiwatitit member cut off the arm bone while he was still alive. It was realized that the man would then die, but informants say that the iboiwatitit would not be denied its pleasure.

Other moiety-linked roles were exercised during cere- 616
monies. The members of the *Biuli angen* (Mothers of the Tapir) society recruited their unwilling neophytes from the opposite moiety during the Ceremony of the Game, and children were ritually "captured" for instruction in warrior songs by members of the other moiety during the war ceremonies. The disappearance of the ceremonies has eliminated these moiety prerogatives, but the joking and burial functions remain. Other extant manifestations of membership may be found in the practice of dyeing a child's carrying sling with his moiety color and in the sleeping arrangements of the men's house.

Although the clans bear eponymous names, they lack 614
most totemic features. Clan members do not observe any 778
special relationship with the animal, plant, fish, or bird for which their descent group is named, nor do they recognize any personal affiliation with these objects. Each clan has an ancestral spirit, referred to as a *tubö*; this term [776]
is also used to denote the culture heros and can be loosely translated as "great ancestor." The tubö of a clan bears the same name as the clan. Thus, the tubö of the macaw clan is the macaw. Suggestive though this may be of belief 614
in descent from the eponymous object, the mythology in 773
no way supports such a conclusion. In fact, no formal

Attached to this structure is a small, fully enclosed chamber in which are kept a set of three sacred trumpets, known as the *karókó*. It is believed that within each set dwell (1) the ancestral spirit (tubó) of a certain clan and (2) another, lesser, category of supernaturals known as the *karókó ejewóit*, or "companions of the instruments." The clan whose tubó resides in a particular set of trumpets is said to be the owner of the instruments. Few clans can own trumpets under present conditions, because only six villages now have men's houses.

An anomalous situation derives from the fact that the instruments are today considered to belong to the clan of the man who made them. Thus, the trumpets of the village of Cabruá were made by a man of the *Wará* clan and so belonged to it and its phratric affiliates, the *Ihi* and *Rapsem* clans. The craftsman died, and at the time of our stay no members of these clans resided in the village. This is not an unusual situation, because the general rule of matrilocality, combined with patrilineal inheritance of clan and moiety membership, tends to prevent any residential nuclei of fellow clansmen from developing. The sons of the man who made the trumpets of Cabruá moved to the villages of their wives upon marriage, and the demise of the father simply terminated the line in this particular village. Of course, it is possible that a *Wará*, *Ihi*, or *Rapsem* man might similarly take up residence in Cabruá, but such an event would be accidental. We are thus confronted with a situation in which the ancestral spirits of clans are housed in sacred musical instruments that are presumably the property of the clan, but with which the clan members may possibly have no contact or ritual relationship. Actually, the trumpets are played by any man of any clan or either moiety who lives in the village, or by any Mundurucú who might happen to be in

614 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to
534 be placated by playing the instruments and presenting
778 them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karókó, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 Clan ownership of the karókó and the localization im-
[591] plicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent
614 that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions
615 of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several
776 "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Witum*, *Wakú*, and *Karú* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *wereimop*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *ucheim*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karú* subclan, *Kabá*, *Arú*, *Yurí*, and *Ilí* clans of the Red moiety. *Yurí* and *Ilí* are linked by common recognition of *apat*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karú* subclan and *Arú* are affiliated through common recognition of the yarökpökpökpöka, a bird; *Kabá* and *Arú* are affiliated through

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Iomaí, a tree; and *Arú* and *Yuri* find a bond in *ikowip*, another tree. The five member phratries do not all have the same "companion of the trumpets" as in the first case presented, but rather are tied together in a chain of pairs of common spirits. The fact that some clans within a phratry may be directly linked to another through a mutually recognized spirit and to others only by intervening clans results in some difference of feelings of kinship. Thus, only clans that maintain an especially close bond through possession of identical spirits can interchange members. For example, a man of the *Sou* clan may bestow the name *Mari* on one or more of his children. This does not alter the father-child relationship in any way, but the children of sons who have received the name of a close clan of the father's phratry, in turn transfer this membership to their children. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, this practice is frequently and deliberately followed in order to bolster the ranks of depopulated clans.

The *Kirili* clan of the White moiety and the *Waru*, *Sou*, and *Karú* clans of the Red are divided into two sections. The clan proper is referred to by the Mundurucú as the "real" clan, while the subclan is known as *kokuturet*, or "dwellers of the same place." The members of each section feel even more closely related than do members of the same phratry, and the naming system does not reveal to which section an individual belongs. Membership in each section is kept separate only through general knowledge of each person's genealogy. Three of these four clans have an interesting characteristic. They share spirit "companions of the trumpets" except for a minor difference: the clan proper recognizes the larger species of a plant or animal family, the subclan the smaller species.

This detail and the identity of clan names suggest that the subclan half is an offshoot of the clan. If this is so,

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

from his co-residents and arouse their antagonism and suspicion. For a shaman, such asocial and deviant behavior may court the risk of accusation of sorcery. Coöperation is an aspect of the general solidarity and cohesion that is manifest, at least in surface relationships, among the men. Open arguments are rare among Mundurucú males; during our residence we never heard one raise his voice against another. And physical violence, except in the execution of sorcerers, is almost unheard of. The Mundurucú look on such behavior as a white man's trait and consider it to be repulsive among "people."

This emphasis on harmony and coöperation among the Mundurucú men is significant for the social structure. The men are an eclectic group from the standpoint of patrilineal kinship and local origins, but the organization of men's house activities welds them into a unified social entity that coöperates in economic matters and, in former times, in warfare. The uniformity of the men's organization from one village to another, and its diverse membership, do much to ease the strains imposed on the male by matrilocal residence, for a change in village is primarily a change from one men's house to another.

The solidarity of the village men has no doubt done much to maintain the striking male dominance manifest in Mundurucú society, despite the fact that the consanguineal continuity of the village is maintained primarily through household nuclei of related women. But these are also ritual techniques for the maintenance of male social superiority. Women enter the dormitory part of the eksá only when it is absolutely necessary. The chamber in which the sacred trumpets (karökö), are kept is absolutely forbidden to them. The trumpets are stored in a chamber adjoining the southwest side of the men's house. That of the village of Cabruá measures 11 by 20 feet, and palm

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attentuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534 complied under the condition that they could occupy the
562 men's house and play the trumpets there. The men so-
773 ceded, and the women, their position supernaturally re-
778 inforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made beijú (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the ekid and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

534 Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to
562 the karöko is one of the social charters of male superordi-
778 nation. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the
834 classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karöko, although nobody can remember
[498] this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karikó is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

562 mixed social gatherings. The females resent the male posi-
578 tion, and the modern savannah woman commonly objects to
571 the fact that the sexual division of labor is maintained here,
[184] unlike among the Cururú River Mundurucú where men join their wives even in such prosaic tasks as farinha making. When the men laughingly recount a gang-rape, or some similar event, the women become markedly nervous and draw closer together. Hostility manifests itself in inconsequential happenings also. When the interpreter introduced the Mundurucú to the mystery of the slingshot, the men immediately peppered the women with palm seeds.

The trumpets have lost most of their relations to clans
182 but remain functional in protecting the village from super-
534 natural harm and in the maintenance of traditional sexual
● 778 roles. They also symbolize the unity of the men as a soli-
562 dary body. That the women also cohere under threat of the men is clear from the account given above. But such unification and cohesion of females is usually temporary, for the social structure places the woman in a different context of interpersonal relations from that of the men.

THE WOMEN AND THE FAMILY

562 Whereas the center of male activity is the men's house, that of the females of the village is the dwelling and the open walled hut in which farinha is made by all village women. The internal physical arrangement of the dwelling
342 house reflects its organization. It is uncompartmented, and the roof is suspended from a ridge pole supported by two vertical posts. Horizontal poles are trussed against these verticals and across to the front and back walls, and the women and children hang their hammocks between these beams and the end walls of the house. The house is thus divided into three unwalled sections; each end contains

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in 562
the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The 778
three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's 534
house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[4]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trum- 782
pets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the 778
chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the 534
trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual 614
which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor 422
from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Waru* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundur- 591
ucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" 174
to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the individual who demonstrates proficiency in the attainment of a socially desirable goal will himself be valued and that this will motivate him to appropriate action, but this still does not answer the question of why the goal and the accompanying activity is valued. Newcomb (1950:329) has stated the same case with cogency in regard to Plains warfare.

The trophy head was prized as a symbol of Mundurucú prowess and of its owner's status, but it was also sought because it was the center of a number of magico-religious observances. The trophy was thought to be pleasing to the spirit protectors of the game animals because it had inherent power, contingent upon the proper observance of connected ritual acts. The possession of a trophy head thus resulted in greater economic abundance, and in this sense it served the same general purpose as does the Jivaro *tsantsa*. However, this aspect of the trophy quest does not cast much light upon Mundurucú headhunting, for alternate ways of pleasing the spirits were known and practiced. The ceremonial and shamanistic techniques of propitiating the spirit protectors of game animals were complex both in practice and in ideational content. In contrast, the linkage of the trophy head and the spirits was vague and ephemeral; it is probable that headhunting developed subsequent to the rites connected with the animal spirits and had become only loosely integrated with them. It is to be expected that any important social activity will become value and belief cathected in this manner, but it would be erroneous to proceed to explain the activity by its supporting ideology.

Finally, it should be considered that the Mundurucú looked upon fighting as a source of sport and excitement. The enemy was looked upon as game to be hunted, and the Mundurucú still speak of the pariwat in the same terms that they reserve for peccary and tapir. War was a relief from boredom, but it is not surprising that peace would be boring to people who consider themselves warriors. One might ask why they did not relieve boredom in log racing as do some groups, or in drinking bouts as did many of their neighbors. In short, can we not look upon activity and play drives as being inherent within the species and proceed from that vantage to explain the particular way they are manifested in particular cultures?

FUNCTIONS OF MUNDURUCÚ WARFARE

The manifest goals of warfare provide us with an understanding of the incentives that motivated the Mundurucú warrior. The religious and sportive aspects of warfare were found to be considerably more ephemeral than were the economic and prestige goals involved, but even the latter two depended upon the existence of a social organization that allowed and encouraged intensive military activity by its very nature. Moreover, the most important single motivation to hostility was a generalized aggressiveness that recognized no specific aims, and this factor yields the most important single clue to an understanding of Mundurucú warfare. If specific goals do not fully explain the extent and intensity of the pattern, and if the pressure of external circumstances did not force battle, then the main dynamics of warfare must be sought

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home. 756 776

The manifestation of the mother of the game in coatá monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *putcha ši*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *putcha ši*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *putcha ši* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which envira cherosa has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *putcha ši*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area. 224

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *putcha ši* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *putcha ši*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *putcha ši* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *putcha ši* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the [439] meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part [825] of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of those ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *putcha ši* on ceremonial [782] occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *putcha ši* would become [784] extremely angry.

The *putcha ši* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by [752] robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are looked upon as the vengeance of the *putcha ši*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *putcha ši* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *putcha ši* sends another.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

are still believed to be in great danger. The stone cannot be touched; small ones 755
can be plucked from the patient's body or from the ground with a piece of charred cotton, but large stones are allowed to enter the ground and are then safely driven into a fire with the tip of a bow.

The *yakíp* and *wirakuá* sent by the souls of the game animals or by their spirit mothers cannot be touched either, but they are not considered as dangerous as the stones of the *Yurupari*. To extract these malignant objects, the shaman, working alone, blows smoke upon the patient and massages his body. He then flicks the object out of the body with a *mutúm* feather upon which he has blown tobacco smoke. No attempt is made to catch and destroy the object, for this would further anger the spirits of the game. These cures are usually only temporarily efficacious, and other *yakíp* or *wirakuá* frequently strike the victim anew after his cure.

In addition to their supernatural curing techniques, most shamans are quite 752
skilled in the secular treatment of broken bones, dislocated muscles, and similar ills. On one occasion, my wife was in acute discomfort from a strained muscle in her back. The shaman instructed her to lie face downward across a hammock, and our interpreter was told to hold her legs while I maintained a firm grip on her shoulders. He then probed the musculature in the small of her back with his fingertips. Although she complained only of a generalized backache, he apparently believed that the source of the trouble was to be found in this area. When the shaman found the difficulty, he ordered the interpreter to pull on her left leg at his command. He then pressed gently but firmly into the musculature with his two thumbs and issued the order. The treatment was quite effective, for his patient's pain was relieved immediately.

The preceding account represents a fairly comprehensive description of 777
Mundurucú maladies and their treatment. But a final affliction recognized by the Mundurucú can be classified neither as illness nor wound. The concept of *ibikoium* is best translated as bad luck and is found widely distributed throughout the Amazon under the designation of *panema*. *Ibikoium* affects only men and becomes evident when a man hunts for several days without killing any game or prowls continually about the underbrush near the village without encountering a woman. So far as could be ascertained, bad luck is not caused by supernaturals. It strikes only men who do not rub their bodies daily after bathing with the ground root of a species of forest vine. The fragrance of this root lingers about the person and is thought to attract game animals and women. To insure good luck fully in one's pursuits, it is also believed necessary occasionally to drink sufficient quantities of this root mixed in water to induce vomiting. Most men undergo this purification process once or twice a year.

Shamanism and Spirits

Although Mundurucú shamans are not thought to control and use particular 756
spirits, they are believed to be in intimate contact with the supernatural world. 776
The shamans' souls are said to have the ability to travel to the afterworlds and 782
to the underworld of the *Kökeriwat*, and they alone among the Mundurucú can

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 776 782 see and speak to certain supernatural beings. This power is of great importance to Mundurucú society, for the economic well-being of the community is believed to depend upon the proper propitiation of the spirit mothers of the game. Annual ceremonies were formerly held for this purpose, and the shaman had an important role in these rites. But the shaman was also responsible for pleasing the mothers of the game by 'feeding' them throughout the year. The latter required only the coöperation of other shamans and was of short duration and limited participation. Today, say informants, the spirit mothers are no longer fed because of the lack of sufficiently strong shamans. The Mundurucú believe that hunting is correspondingly poorer than in the old days and life less abundant.

The occasions when he fed the *putcha ši*, or mother of the game, constitute the only instances when the shaman went into a trance. A number of shamans were necessary for this performance. The strongest of them was usually selected to feed the *putcha ši*, and he prepared himself by magically inserting the three instruments known as *naneh* into his body. One was placed in the back of the neck and two others in the back of either knee. The shaman then lay in his hammock in the men's house and was covered with a blanket of buritĭ palm leaves. The other shamans lit large cigarettes rolled in tauarĭ bark and, inserting the lighted ends in their mouths, blew dense clouds of tobacco smoke into the hammock. Fortified by the *naneh* in his body and intoxicated by the smoke, the shaman fell into an extraordinary state in which he was able to see the supernaturals clearly. He then leaped out of the hammock, seized a bowl of *mõrĭ* (sweet manioc gruel), and, led by his *borombõ*, another instrument, dashed off to feed the *putcha ši*. He ran a short distance outside the village and there plunged into a hole in the ground which only he could see. He then traveled underground, shouting loudly in his passage, and emerged from another hole some distance beyond, from which point he continued his journey on the surface. The shaman visited the various manifestations of the *putcha ši* and fed *mõrĭ* to all of them. He then selected the one that pleased him most and brought it back to one of the deep springs near his village, where its influence would attract game animals. The shaman returned to his village by the same route used on his outward journey. When he arrived back in the men's house, his waiting fellow shamans seized him and immediately extracted the three *naneks*, lest their power turn him into an animal. They then blew tobacco smoke on his body and washed and dried him, thus bringing him out of his dangerous state.

Only the strongest of shamans could feed the *putcha ši* personally. Weaker ones sent their *naneh* out alone to call the *putcha ši* together in the Land of the Game, and the shaman's soul went there to feed them. A shaman whose wife was pregnant could not travel under the ground, for the earth would close over him and trap him. One shaman related that this had once happened to a man, and the other shamans dug him out just in time.

756 776 The shaman also has the power to 'manufacture' the mother of the peccary (*daje ši*) and the mother of the tapir (*biu ši*). The mother of the tapir is made by killing a pregnant tapir and extracting the fetus, which is brought back

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534
778

internal diameters of their resonant chambers were 2¾, 2¾, and 3¼ inches, respectively. The reed is made by splitting a 27 to 28-inch length of wet and pliant paxiuba palm root, hollowing out both halves and rejoining them by binding at either end. A stick slightly larger than the diameter of the cylinder is bound at right angles to the reed and prevents it from falling within the chamber when inserted. When one blows into the end of the reed it gives a flatulent sound similar to the American Bronx cheer, but when the reed is inserted into the resonant chamber of the *karōkō* and blown, it emits a deep reverberating tone. The sound emitted by these instruments is not said to be of supernatural origin, nor is it considered an imitation of the voice of spirits.

The actual playing usually takes place within the chamber where the instruments are stored. This chamber is a small extension at the southwest end of the men's house. The roof adjoins that of the main sleeping quarters and slopes to the ground at the west end at the same pitch. But unlike the open-sided dormitory, the *karōkō* chamber is completely walled with thatch in order to insure the secrecy of its contents. The trumpet chamber of the village of Cabruá measured 20 feet in length and 11½ feet in width. Owing to the pitch of the roof, however, one could walk erect for less than half the length of the room. The back of the chamber was generally used as a rubbish heap for the disposal of the old paxiuba root reeds. Suspended horizontally from the ceiling were two parallel poles, upon which the three trumpets were laid when not in use. Also hanging from the roof was a horn made of a hollow bamboo tube, to the end of which was attached an empty gourd; a design resembling an hourglass was cut in the side of the gourd. The over-all length of the instrument was 22 inches, and the length of the bamboo tube was 16½ inches. This particular horn was used to emulate the roar of the jaguar, or *iši rap nyun ipichat*, which is the eponymous name of one of the spirit companions of the trumpets of Cabruá.

[782] The spirits residing within the *karōkō* become displeased, say the Mundurucú, if not properly fed and played. Accordingly, every night when the men gather in front of the men's house for their meal, one of them brings a half-gourd of food into the chamber, lays the trumpets on the ground, and offers food to the mouth of each. The playing of the trumpets is somewhat more irregular and infrequent, although the older men claim that they were played daily in times past.

The trumpets are usually played during the late afternoon and shortly after nightfall. Although they are nominally considered to be the property of a particular clan, any man is allowed to play them. These are not especially sacred occasions. Although other men are free to watch the three players performing, they generally amuse themselves in other ways, as guitar playing, talking, or making artifacts. The women, who go about their work nonchalantly at these times, always seem to know who the performers are, despite the fact that sight of the instruments is absolutely forbidden to them and the trumpet chamber is carefully shielded from their view.

The actual music produced by the three *karōkō* players was not recorded and can be described only as a deep and rather monotonous dirge. The music is always

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

that many new *karōkō* will be made. In the past, however, the installation of newly manufactured instruments called for a ceremony quite similar to that held when they were shifted to a new men's house. The trumpets are made in a temporary shelter situated deep in the forest, secure from the chance gaze of passing women. One man is responsible for their manufacture, and the *karōkō* are considered to belong to his clan and to harbor its spirits.[7] 534 796 778

Until they are properly installed in the men's house, the trumpets are referred to as *wira anan*, or "jaguar with a beak." The Mundurucú explain this difference in nomenclature as being due to their reluctance to mention the proper names of new instruments in front of the women. The ceremony of installation is called *wira anan bon*, or "going to get the jaguar with a beak." Invitations are sent to the residents of several other villages, and all are expected to bring their own *karōkō*. The male invitees leave their own communities with the trumpets well before dawn and proceed directly to the shelter where the new instruments are being made. Their women leave after daybreak and go to the host village. The assembled men feast throughout the day and at dusk form a procession to the village. This is almost identical to the one formed when old trumpets are being installed in a new village, except that the trumpets of several villages are played. After the new instruments are installed, the old ones are brought to the place where the former were made and are burned.

This description of Mundurucú ceremonialism shows that ritual emphasis was placed upon the propitiation of the spirit owners of game animals, warfare and the quest for trophy heads, and the placation of the clan and trumpet spirits. A unifying thread can be discerned in the fact that the proper care of the trophy head was regarded as a means of pleasing the animal spirits, and also that the trumpet spirits were vaguely conceived as being associated with those of the game. Furthermore, the curing ceremony was specifically devoted to retrieving souls stolen by the animal supernaturals. 796 [782]

Mythology and folklore reveal a continuation of the basic masculine theme of hunting and warfare in Mundurucú culture. The Mundurucú recognize spirit mothers of fish and aquatic animals, but these were propitiated only incidentally during the major ceremonies for the animal spirits; informants mentioned fish spirits in this connection as an afterthought. There is a striking absence of attention to horticulture both in the belief system and in the ceremonial cycle. Each species of domestic plant is believed to have a soul, but not a mother spirit. Songs were formerly sung to the species souls, when the particular plant was being sown, to insure a good harvest, and another song was sung to the garden at the time of burning the clearing. All these songs were better known by the men than by the women, although the latter did most of the horticultural work. No substantiation could be found for Tocantins' statement that the Mundurucú perform annual ceremonies for maize and manioc.[8] [776]

[7] During the patrilocal phase of Mundurucú social structure, the maker of the trumpets probably belonged to the dominant, and perhaps only, clan of the village, and there was undoubtedly a closer functional relationship between clan and trumpet than under present matrilocal circumstances.

[8] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 133–134.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attentuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

Few techniques for pleasing these animal spirits are now practiced, but in former times there were many. Powerful shamans, of whom there are now said to be but few, used to travel magically to the "Land of the Game" to "feed" the animal spirits, and the two most important ceremonies also had this purpose. These two rites, called the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip* were held, as all Mundurucú ceremonials, during the rainy season, and were almost identical but for duration; the former was said to have occupied almost the whole rainy season, while the latter lasted ten days. In both, the game animals were honored and their spirit protectors summoned and offered a food particularly pleasing to them. Annual observance was not mandatory, but either the long or the short festival was usually held every year. Villages usually rotated the duty of staging the rite, and the residents of several communities were invited. A number of powerful shamans were a prerequisite to the ceremony and had to be recruited from many villages, for only they could ward off the attacks of evil spirits that were attracted by the ritual food offerings.

Other ceremonies were also held to celebrate the trophy heads taken during war. These rites lapsed, of course, with the end of headhunting in 1912. The game-animal ceremonies persisted into relatively recent times, however. The last Araiarai was held in the early 1930's, and the shorter Dajearuparip lasted until about 1945. The Mundurucú explain the lapse of the ceremonial cycle as caused by the contemporary lack of powerful shamans. There is some merit in this view, for sorcery executions, the migration to the Cururú River, and general loss of population have greatly lowered the number of shamans available in the savannah villages. Also, the Mundurucú look upon themselves as being in a degenerated state; they feel that their

765 They are held once a year for the first four years following the warrior's death.

On the fourth year, the celebration ends with the burial of the head; on this occasion, the women as well as the men address it with the following words:

765 "My brother (or my son), we have come here to bury thee.
539 Thou hast died; to this end wert thou born. Thou hast died in war, because thou wert brave; to this end did our mothers and fathers nurture us. We must not fear our foe. Whosoever dies in war dies with honor; it is not as death from illness. We have come from all the malocas to weep and dance to the end of thy burial."

The Mundurucu version runs as follows:

"Uanhum inhaçan uté sõte écũ tcháme. Iménhame ari utiẽ bai utiẽ mai pãnme. Etéã nanhum utẽ rupanhum bẽ anhocate ediẽ. Imenhame utiẽ xi utiẽ me pito utiẽ bai ari ué utiẽ ũebé anhocate epecupeidie ipi bé utiẽ parará ama utiẽ rupanhum bẽ-xime. Rupãnhum-bẽ tié a ãen anhocate ediẽ tutu ué-ẽ utié rupanhum bẽ-ibé pame une pite idiotié ma utié pa-ãme pai bẽxime cauxi pibõne. Idiõtié utiésote anhuncaxiri bẽũi caracuie cuié ãẽ uadime uté cabé ute racui axirau umãe iueipe iné utiẽ uéné pam utié sote nhaçam achi-tutũne pre ibiman utié diepite diei." [132]

At the same time, around the funerary basket, the women speak as from the dead man's mouth:

"My mother (or my wife), thou wilt die in bed of illness. I died in war because I was brave."

534 In the course of these ceremonies the shamans blow on a
734 special instrument: it is a kind of horn which they call caruquẽ.

To this end the shaman hides in a small hut which is espe-
[349] cially built for the purpose, and where the women are strictly forbidden to enter.

On the other hand, these superstitious women avoid the sight of that sacred and mysterious instrument in every possible way. They are convinced that were they to glance at the caruquẽ but for an instant, they would commit a sacrilege that would cause them misfortune for the rest of their lives.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have 142
the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children.

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and 614
Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *tubê* or *ũ̃ũ̃* and are embodied [534]
(verkoerpert) in the large *kaduke*-wind-instruments, which are looked upon as having life. The *kaduke* are blown at the men's [796]
festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mêsêri*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the [272]
kaduke from above, is caught in a cúia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot [784]
and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the 614
"Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by- 616
Karusakaibê,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karurucet*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibê is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become mem- 614
bers of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i barip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly 342
had *ãbac waket*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last
[See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. -- Analyst]

411 They make
their weapons with great care: the war club (macana, cuidaruz), the lance (uba cacahi) with a tip of bamboo (tacoara), the javeline (casp), and the bow which is difficult to draw (tarõ) with which they shoot not only unpoisoned hunting arrows (pangnie, or uup, tupi viba) but poisoned war arrows (obram) as well. To protect against wounds from the bow string they wind a uitotap, a cotton bandage, around the wrist. The use of arrow [389] poison seems to have been learned only recently. They do not make it themselves but get it in trade from their northern neighbors.*

*Milliet Diccionario geograph. II. 136 and Cerqueira e Silva Corograf. paraense 118, attribute to them also the blowgun (esgravatana) used with poisoned arrows.

237 The Mundrucus are great artists in the manufacture of feather orna-
287 ments. Their creations belong to the most elegant and the most labori-
292 ous products of Indian industry: sceptors (buta) carried on festive occasions in the hand; stiff, cylindrical bunches of feathers; arm ornaments (bombim manja); hats (akeri) often outfitted with long braids of arara feathers (akeri kaha); cords and tassels with arara feathers (paro-oara) which they wear at dances over the shoulders like a mantilla. They use feathers also as articles of trade. The feathers are carefully sorted, tied together or fastened together with black wax and stored in baskets or in tubular palm leaf stems. They keep many live birds for
231 their trade. They compete with the Apiacas in fowl breeding. Besides the domestic chicken mutums or hoccos (Crax) their fowl yards have the Jacus (Penelope), the king and the white vulture (Cathartes papa and Falco urubutinga), the red and blue ara and many parrots. It is claimed that they regularly pluck the feathers of parrots and then dab the wounded areas with frog blood until the feathers growing back in change color: from green to yellow.

724 To maintain the great muscular strength which distinguishes them,
276 the Mundrucu avoid the use of tucupy, the concentrated sap of the poisonous manioc root seasoned with spanish pepper, to which other Indians are addicted. [390] Similarly they have not taken up the use of parica, a snuff made of the seed of the Mimosa acaiodes, which is in
000 vogue among the Muras and among their neighbors the Maues. But they

614 The existence of the sib system was first reported by Mme. Agassiz in 1865[16] and was more thoroughly described by Fr. Alberto Kruse, O.F.M. in 1934.[17] The latter reported only thirty four sibs, but this is understandable by the fact that no one Mundurucú can remember more than twenty five to thirty. In addition, these sibs were grouped by now obscure linkages into unnamed phratries. For the purposes of this paper, it will be unnecessary to give a list of the sibs and their affiliations. Sib and moiety membership was inherited in the patrilineal line. The exogamic moieties were the ultimate marriage regulators as they subsumed the sibs in this function. There were no other exogamous groupings.

Totemic features were generally lacking in the Mundurucú sibs. Each sib was named for an animal, plant, [784] or fish but there were no taboos on the killing or eating of the fish or animals. However, they were vaguely considered to be ancestors, or "the old people," a term that is also applied to the people of the mythological age. Kruse reports [775] the myth that the various sibs in ancient times were warring tribes that were united to form the Mundurucú tribe and were given names and ancestors by the culture hero, Karusakaibó.[18] My informants could not confirm this myth but said merely that the Mundurucú were already existent and that Karusakaibe divided them into sibs and assigned ancestors to each one. The Mundurucú term for these sibs is <u>diwat</u> (literally,

16. Agassiz, 1869, p. 320.

17. Kruse, 1934.

18. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 51-52.

727 and were so successfully incorporated that there were never any cases of defection, even in wars upon their native villages.

554 784 727 The greatest honor went to the man who had taken heads. They were referred to as daieboishi, or, literally translated, "mother of the game." Such was their distinction that they were usually addressed by the short form title a'eboi. Proscriptions were relatively rare in Wundurucú culture, but a very elaborate series of taboos was observed by the trophy head owner and his wife. For a period of three years after his return he was not allowed intercourse with his wife, and he was not even supposed to look at other women. He spoke to the men only when necessary and avoided familiar contact with them. He didn't hunt, but went into the forest at a distance from the hunting party and after the first kill retired to the village. His presence brought the [789] magical charm of the head into the forest and made the animals fall an easy prey to the arrows of the hunters. The Wundurucú still say that in the days when the men's house had enemy heads in it there was a lot more food in the village.

During this period, certain taboos were observed by the wife of the trophy head owner. She did no household work, and she could not bathe in the stream. In general, she held herself aloof from the other women. She was aided 554 727 at all times by a woman of the other moiety who acted as a servant to her. During three successive winters, the trophy

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 765 [616] Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the [578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 554 784 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 554 [609] [825] The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajebeiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the head-hunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 224 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajebeiši

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home. 756 776

The manifestation of the mother of the game in coatá monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *putcha ñi*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *putcha ñi*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *putcha ñi* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which envira cherosa has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *putcha ñi*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area. 224

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *putcha ñi* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *putcha ñi*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *putcha ñi* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *putcha ñi* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of these ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *putcha ñi* on ceremonial occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *putcha ñi* would become extremely angry. [739] [825] [782] [784]

The *putcha ñi* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are looked upon as the vengeance of the *putcha ñi*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *putcha ñi* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *putcha ñi* sends another. [52]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

774 rather than directly from their immediate Brazilian neighbors. In our present
177 state of knowledge of the ethnology of the Amazon region, reliable reconstructions of such diffusion are most difficult.

774 In the preceding discussion of spirit mothers of game animals, it was mentioned
755 that the *putcha ii* avenges itself upon humans by stealing their souls. This is one
184 of the gravest afflictions that may befall a Mundurucú, and only the performance of a ceremony is sufficient to regain the soul of a stricken person; ordinary shamanistic curing techniques are inadequate. Men can lose their souls to the game through a variety of offenses. The insults to the game already described are the most common means of occasioning the anger of the spirit mothers. One can also lose his soul if he sits too close to a fire over which the head of a game animal is roasting, and he is struck by the optic fluid from an exploding eye. Another means of losing one's soul is to have adulterous relations with the wife of a member of the *Biu ii* (Mothers of the Tapir) society, which is responsible for impersonating the tapir during certain ceremonies. In these cases, the tapir robs the soul of the offending male. The members of the *Biu ii* society, themselves, are in danger of losing their souls during those ceremonies in which they perform. They must
[515] be especially careful not to bathe in the streams during rituals, as the *tsae ii*, or mother of the prego monkey, will surely steal their souls. To prevent this they bathe in the house from gourds.

Women may also lose their souls through offenses against the game, but since women do not hunt, this rarely occurs. However, a woman who bathes during her first menses or shortly after the birth of a child may have her soul taken by the jararaca snake. Either the large or small species of this reptile family robs the soul, depending on whether the woman is on land or in the water at that time. The jararaca turns the soul over to the tapir, and it begins the long journey described below.

774 The journey of the stolen soul is believed by the Mundurucú to be a terrifying and danger-fraught experience. Although the *putcha ii* is often spoken of as stealing the soul, the actual theft appears to be the work of the tapir and, less commonly, of other animals and spirit mothers of species. After the tapir steals the soul, it runs with it through thick underbrush and swims across rivers. The beast then gives the soul to the peccary, which travels for some time with it and then passes it on to a lesser game animal. The soul is finally transferred to the smallest species of monkey which, in turn, gives it to the largest variety of fish. It passes on to smaller fish until it finally reaches the smallest species. At this point the journey ends, and the afflicted person dies.

The person whose soul has been robbed lies in a semicoma and dreams of the trials to which his soul is exposed. The rigors of the trip are such that the person grows steadily weaker, and death may occur at almost any time during the travels of the stolen soul. If the animal with which it is traveling dies, the sick person dies also. Two parts of the journey are especially dangerous. At one point the soul passes within a stone's throw of the house of a prego monkey, which throws semen at it. If the soul is struck by only a drop of the semen, its owner dies. In another

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

746 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
535 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
224 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

746 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants.
786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred
796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[776] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibō, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vorabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and
[578] goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kaibō (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

totally different structures, and the Mundurucú have changed the form and meaning of religious elements in such a way that they function within the structure of Mundurucú culture. 775 775

Although the Christian concept of the soul has main reference to the hereafter, the Mundurucú beliefs in the soul are more closely concerned with the here and now. The souls of people afflicted with a certain illness can wander abroad and constitute a threat to society. Also, the soul is highly vulnerable to theft by the game animals. And finally, the soul can be used as a means of obtaining omens and knowledge. 774 787

The souls of the dead remain permanently in the afterworld and are not thought to intervene thereafter in the affairs of the living except in one highly limited way. They are not believed to return to the world as ghosts nor are they regarded as a source of danger. But the soul of a living person may turn into an *uantaukuakat*, or wandering soul, during the course of a malady characterized by weakness, fever, and yellow skin. The person so afflicted is generally unaware of the journeys of his soul, but some are said to become *uantaukuakat* willingly and to remember the deeds of their wandering souls. The soul always travels at night and at these times attacks sleeping people. On occasion, it travels with other wandering souls and, thus strengthened and emboldened, may strike at persons who are awake and walking about. 775 774

The wandering soul is believed to be especially dangerous, for defense against it consists of purely temporary measures and there is no cure for sick people whose souls wander. The *uantaukuakat* can be driven away by the shaman, who spears it with a five-inch-long lance, but it always returns to the attack. It attacks children and robs their souls, and visits adults as a vampire that sucks the blood from its victims. Only the shaman can see wandering souls, although anybody can hear their footsteps at night. However, the soul travels about on a cord that stretches like a piece of rubber, and its footprints are never visible the next day.

After the sick person dies, the soul goes to an afterworld, and its nocturnal travels cease. People so afflicted are not killed, in spite of the danger to the community. The soul of a young woman of the village of Cabruá was known to wander at night, but no action was taken against her. The residents of the village were extremely nervous during the nights of her illness, and most hesitated even to speak of it. 775

The vampire aspect of the wandering soul is reminiscent of European folklore, and there exists here also the possibility that the Mundurucú borrowed the belief from their Brazilian neighbors. One Brazilian informant specifically stated that the people of the Tapajós River believed that the souls of some sick people journey at night as vampires, although they do not travel on magical elastic cords. Borrowing in this instance appears obvious, although it is not certain just who borrowed from whom. It is possible in all these examples that the transmission of the themes is extremely complex. The Mundurucú may well have received this concept from the whites but through the intermediary of another Indian tribe 774 177

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

part of its trip, the soul travels with the coatá monkey. This animal traverses one section of its passage by bending an assaí palm over, grabbing its branches, and then letting it fling him into the foliage of another tree as it springs back. If the soul is not careful, it falls to the ground, killing its sick owner. The only dangerous part of the journeys with various species of fish, except for the invariably fatal end of the trip, is with the black piranha, which tries to eat the soul. 774

The concept of soul loss, like the belief in spirit mothers of game animals with which it is associated, is widespread among both Indian and rural Brazilian inhabitants of the Amazon region. Especially interesting because of its similarity to the Mundurucú belief is Wagley's report that the Brazilian population of the community of Ita believes that the mãe de bicho punishes humans by stealing their "shadows."[12]

Although the departure of the soul from a living body is generally an occasion of great danger, there are some circumstances under which it is considered desirable and beneficial. The souls of shamans frequently travel abroad and are able to visit the underworlds of the *kokeriwat* and the afterworlds of the Mundurucú. Shamans visit the afterworld of the game, (where they serve as shamans to the animals), and that of the trumpets, but they do not visit the Land of the *Yurupari*. 774 756

The wounded warrior was believed to acquire temporary shamanistic powers during the period of his incapacity, and his soul wandered abroad while he lay in his hammock and dreamed of its experiences. These travels were considered desirable, and care was taken to remove the penis sheath of the warrior to allow him to dream. The Mundurucú were unable to explain why the penis sheath inhibited dreams and the wandering of the soul. 774 727

The souls of sleeping people sometimes travel harmlessly abroad, and dreams are believed to be the experiences of the soul while away from the body. Dreams are not considered visions or prognostications of future events, but they are thought to be good or bad omens. Thus, if a man dreams of some frightening experience, he will not leave the village for a few days for fear of some unknown danger. 787 174

Certain people are able to derive knowledge from their dreams. These people, known as *cheseretaibitchanyen* (those who know how to explain dreams), derive their power through medication administered to them as children. The souls of Mundurucú of times long past appear to them in dreams and teach them certain songs that are sung during ceremonies. Significantly, the songs taught to dreamers are not new or forgotten ones, but songs that are quite actively present in Mundurucú culture and known by other dreamers. 787

All animals have souls, which return to the afterworld of the game and become transformed into people upon the death of the animal. Fish are also thought to have souls, but they are accorded little importance in Mundurucú thought. Although individual fish and animals have souls, only species of domesticated plants have souls. Dogs, too, are thought to have souls, but the canine soul returns to the Land of the Dogs upon the death of its body. Also, dogs are not considered to be 774 825

[12] Wagley, 1953, p. 235.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

to the men's house rolled in leaves and then slowly toasted and dried out over a fire. Tobacco smoke is blown upon it, and sweet manioc broth is occasionally poured upon it to please and feed it. The dried fetus is believed to become transformed in time into a baby tapir containing the mother of the tapir, and the shaman places it near one of the pools at the headwaters of the streams. Even weaker shamans can make the *biu ši*, and any pregnant tapir serves this purpose. 756 716

Although the manufacture of a *biu ši* was never witnessed during our residence among the Mundurucú, I was able to observe the preparation of a mother of the peccary in the savannah village of Cabruá. On this day, the hunters had chased a band of peccary that had passed close to the village. The band, however, had a fair head start on the hunters and escaped, leaving a half-grown member behind. The dogs cornered the animal in a bush, and the hunters were about to capture it as a pet when the shaman arrived on the scene. He ordered the men and their dogs to stand back while he smoked intently and concentrated his gaze upon the animal. He then announced that the young peccary was carrying the mother of the peccary, or *daje ši*, within its body. As the news spread, all the villagers came out to gaze upon the animal and to admire its "beauty," evidently seeking thereby to gratify the spirit. The shaman then grabbed the squealing peccary and sat upon it, while another shaman secured it by its snout. A third shaman pulled out the animal's eyebrows and some hair from its back and released it unharmed. The first shaman then brought the hairs back to the trumpet chamber adjoining the men's house and placed them inside the hollow limb of a buritĩ palm. Every day thereafter he blew smoke upon his creation and poured a sweet manioc drink over it. After a period of this treatment it was believed that the hairs would turn into a young peccary with the mother of the peccary inside it. The animal would similarly be carried to one of the deep pools in the neighborhood and would attract herds of peccary. Strong shamans, it was believed, could make the *daje ši* from the hairs of any peccary, but weaker practitioners, as in this instance, had to select an animal that already had a *daje ši* within it.

Other Functions of the Shaman

In addition to his curing activities and his role in the propitiation of the spirit mothers, the shaman performs a variety of lesser duties. When the village is moved to a new locale every ten years or so, the shaman must inspect the site selected. He ascertains if there are many fever-producing *cauši* in the neighborhood, and he looks also for signs of the *Yurupari* and other malignant beings. These malevolent forces can also exist below the surface of the ground, and the shaman must send his *naneh* to inspect the earth below the proposed village site. After the instrument has completed its investigation, it returns to the shaman and tells him of its discoveries. 756 787 361

The shaman, through another of his instruments, the *ibõbõt*, can also discover lost persons and lost or stolen objects. He blows smoke upon the *ibõbõt*—a small piece of cane—and sends it upon its mission. In the case of a stolen object,* the 756 787

*Theft is extremely rare among the Mundurucú and probably owes its occasional occurrence to the contemporary acquisition of trade goods.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 instrument follows the thief's tracks and then comes back and reveals his identity
787 and location to the shaman. If the object is merely lost, the *ïböböt* searches for it and then informs the shaman where it is to be found.

Hunters occasionally lose their way in the forest, and their relatives immediately resort to the shaman to find them. The shaman's instrument locates the lost person and then returns to tell the shaman whether he is alive and homeward bound on the proper trail. If the person is still wandering aimlessly, the *ïböböt* frequently nudges him in the right direction or enters his body and leads him home. Only the shaman can hear the voice of the *ïböböt;* his dialogues with the instrument are inaudible to others.

756 One informant reported that in the old days the most powerful shamans of the tribe were able to turn people temporarily into animals. The Mundurucú in those times performed a ceremony called the *Duparíp,* which took place over a three-year period. As a part of this ceremony, the three most powerful shamans participating allowed their hair to grow to their shoulders and were believed able to turn the bizorro, an insect, into the tapir and men into the tapir or deer. Nobody was able to see them perform these acts; the transformed men simply disappeared. It was considered extremely dangerous to be thus selected by these powerful shamans, because the men, in the guise of tapirs and deer, were frequently chased by the dogs and could be killed. However, the shamans recognized the slain animals as their own creations and proceeded to change them back to men. They took out the heart and blood, placing them on the ground and covering the pile with leaves, and then blew tobacco smoke upon it and stamped upon the ground; the man emerged from under the leaves alive and intact. It is said that men who had undergone this experience were considered especially sacrosanct because of their former membership in the animal world, and their presence was especially valued at the ceremonies connected with the animal spirits.

Shamans possessing the power to assume this special ceremonial role were always married to equally strong female shamans. These women were able to transform other women into animals during the *Duparíp* ceremony and are said to have been capable of transforming a Brazil-nut husk with a length of vine inside it into a cutia.

Finally, some shamans engage in the practice of making a woman into a
756 *yapö,* or wanton. No respectable shaman would perform such an act, however,
832 and those who use their powers for such disreputable ends are called *mamú*
839 *keren,* or bad or foolish shamans. Reprehensible though this may be to the Mundurucú, the *mamú keren* is not to be classed with the *ïbökaipat,* or sorcerer, who is believed to be a dire threat to society. He causes disease and death, whereas the *mamú keren* merely converts women into nymphomaniacs, a practice that is rather ambivalently considered both disgraceful and highly amusing by the Mundurucú men.

The *yapö* indiscriminately copulates with all men who desire her. Characteristically, she does not smile modestly in the presence of the men, but grins and laughs

727 and were so successfully incorporated that there were never any cases of defection, even in wars upon their native villages.

554 784 727 The greatest honor went to the men who had taken heads. They were referred to as dajeboishi, or, literally translated, "mother of the game." Such was their distinction that they were usually addressed by the short form title a'eboi. Proscriptions were relatively rare in Mundurucú culture, but a very elaborate series of taboos was observed by the trophy head owner and his wife. For a period of three years after his return he was not allowed intercourse with his wife, and he was not even supposed to look at other women. He spoke to the men only when necessary and avoided familiar contact with them. He didn'ot hunt, but went into the forest at a distance from the hunting party and after the first kill retired to the village. His presence brought the [789] magical charm of the head into the forest and made the animals fall an easy prey to the arrows of the hunters. The Mundurucú still say that in the days when the men's house had enemy heads in it there was a lot more food in the village.

During this period, certain taboos were observed by the wife of the trophy head owner. She did no household work, and she could not bathe in the stream. In general, she held herself aloof from the other women. She was aided 554 727 at all times by a woman of the other moiety who acted as a servant to her. During three successive winters, the trophy

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 The *mambat ši* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then
821 arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Mundurucú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop
[789] rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurucú informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *mambat ši*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Karökö Spirits

534 The *karökö* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which
778 are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurucú
776 village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed
614 bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *karökö* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*ïbiunbök*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *tubö*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*karökö ejewot*). All three categories of spirit, when propertly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

534 The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure
778 of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,[11] but a brief recapit-
776 ulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals
174 in contemporary Mundurucú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurucú
614 at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilineal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *karökö* of certain villages were also the *karökö* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

[11] Murphy, 1956.

/15 cont./

*241 Also:

192 pepper—achi, achi a, four varieties
262 banana—aku, 11 varieties
cotton—buru, two varieties
urucú—tyuku, tyuku a
papaya—asãu a, two varieties

*241 There is, therefore, a small group of plants which are found in the gardens as well as out: pepper, bananas, cotton, urucú, and papayas.

[249] For certain plant species, such as for example tobacco and the curauá pineapple, a plot of ground is often set aside, or a small garden is prepared separately.

249 Aside from these plants, which are useful to subsistence, the Mundurukú also have a certain number of vegetables which back-
[302] woodsmen call "smell" and which they use when they are bathing, to give their body, and especially their hair, a more pleasant odor.
[757] A few herbs are also cultivated for medicinal purposes. Others yet
[789] are used in the practice of certain superstitions and charms. Although I am aware that these subjects are not directly related to agriculture, I mention them in passing since "cultivated plants" are involved.

*241 From this list, it becomes clear that the Mundurukú must have
177 had considerable contact with civilization and with other tribes to have acquired such a number of useful plants. As for the ancient stock of plants cultivated by the Indians in the Amazon forest, tubercles must be mentioned first and foremost. Moreover, /16/ it seems that the use of some of these typically native plants, such as for example curauá pineapple or sweet manioc, is not very old, for a series of tribes possessing a type of agriculture quite similar to that of the Mundurukú are not yet familiar with the cultivation of sweet manioc or curauá pineapple. (9)

[171] 9. Thus, for instance, the majority of the Carib tribes of the Brazilian Guianas are unfamiliar with the cultivation

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MEN

Village life is not understandable unless the organization of male and female social activity is separately treated. The Mundurucú exhibit the most complete development of the male-female dichotomy and accompanying men's house complex in South America. The Kamayurá men's house serves as a center for ritual,[1] and that of the Bororo is additionally a bachelor's sleeping quarter.[2] Among the Mundurucú, however, all the post-pubescent males, married and single, sleep and relax in its confines, and it is additionally the center of the cult of the sacred musical instruments.

This unusually complete division presents points of difference with the account of Martius, for the explorer stated the Mundurucú men's house eksá to be the residence of village bachelors and young men undergoing bride service.[3] Farabee, in 1915, also reported that the men's house was a bachelors' dormitory,[4] but this is denied by old informants who were young men at the time of his visit. Farabee's information is the most unreliable extant source on Mundurucú culture and I assume that he is in error on this point, also. This is borne out by Tocantins who noted in 1875 that "only prime men live in the eksá, the warriors and their sons above the age of eight years."[5] Tocantins continued: "Around the eksá are the houses of the women, where also live the children of both sexes, the old decrepit men and the sick."[6] It is possible that Martius's report, like Farabee's, is an inaccuracy expectable in such a source,

[1] Oberg, 1953, p. 54.
[2] Colbacchini and Albisetti, 1942, p. 35.
[3] Martius, 1867, p. 113.
[4] Farabee, 1917, p. 130.
[5] Tocantins, 1877, p. 102.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

leaf walls and a baffle doorway guarantee the privacy of the instruments. The Mundurucú believe that the karökö spirits protect the village and give it supernatural aid, but proper relations must be observed toward these supernaturals if their benevolence is to be maintained and their anger avoided. The trumpets and their spirits are pleased by being periodically played. This is now done about every other evening, but the older men claim that the ritual was formerly performed daily. The karökö consists of a set of three hollow cylinders with reeds set in the mouths; their sizes are slightly graded and the note produced by each is of a slightly different pitch, although all produce a low, vibrant sound. When they are played by the usual three-man group, the music sounds like a dirge.

In addition to playing the instruments, the men must "feed" them almost daily. This is done during the evening meal. The trumpets are laid on the floor, and one of the men holds a bowl of food momentarily before the end of each, saying: "Here, old people. Eat. And make me lucky in the hunt." The food is then brought outside and poured back into the community bowl and eaten.

It has been said that the functional connection between clan and trumpet has become extremely attentuated, and each karökö is now, in effect, part of a village cult. The karökö has a further function, however, in rationalizing and maintaining the social roles considered proper to either sex. Long ago, say the Mundurucú, there were no sacred musical instruments. Three women went to the forest one day and heard music issuing from a lagoon. They returned with nets and caught three fish, each of which turned into a trumpet. The women kept their discovery secret, but one day the men learned that they had musical instruments which they played in the forest, and demanded that they bring them to the village. The women

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence
591 may well have caused the Mundurucú to adapt to in-
611 creased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Mundurucú certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.[3] Mundurucú "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs; and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied coöperating, interact-
[614] ing groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior.

The impact of the change was felt throughout the social
182 structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors be-
794 came a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with these supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

[3] It has been suggested that I use the term *duolocality* to describe Mundurucú residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals. 182 794

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Mundurucú still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups. 182 591 602 [582]

One of the most interesting features of Mundurucú matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Mundurucú, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the non-equivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the 182 578 591

765 Finally, a vertical grave is dug inside the dwelling of the warrior's family, and the head in whose honor the ceremonies took place is buried there.

XXII

Hunting, fishing, and agricultural celebrations

796 224 Each Mundurucu village also carries out every year at the start of winter a public ceremony which celebrates hunting and fishing on alternate years.

To this end the village elects a ceremonial leader who is chosen among the most reputed warriors and who must also be a good singer. [133]

They accumulate beforehand ample quantities of game, beiju (a kind of manioc bread), sweet potatoes, and other foodstuffs.

The women paint themselves with genipap, urucu, and other highly effective colors.

Men and women, adorned with feather ornaments and necklaces of enemy teeth, assemble in groups wherever they please and begin to make music, to dance and to sing.

They gather the skulls of tapir, deer, and other species of game or fish, and offer them the best delicacies -- dau, taruba, maniqueira, and other foods.

At midnight the shaman retires to a special room, beyond the reach of unhallowed glances. There, in the midst of absolute darkness, he first calls in loud voices upon the tapir's "mother," if the ceremony is in celebration of hunting.

After a while, those who surround the mysterious hut hear within it the sharp scream of the tapir.

[325] It is the shaman imitating the cry of this animal to notify his audience that the spirit has answered his call and has come down to the hut.

There ensues a lively debate in loud voices between the tapir's "mother" and the shaman. He requests her to favor the

786 village hunters during the coming year by keeping her children
224 close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

796 In addition to those ceremonies consecrated to the tutelary
241 deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer. [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called ken; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers"
796 241 of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way:

539 "Oh, 'mother' of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we entreat thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu runs as follows:

"Mucẽipixi eirũ bere bereme u tiedié imenedié diei chipanme mucẽ dẽ aipanem itabungue diẽe taraibote ama epõtepõte diẽe imenedié tutu utiẽ-die araiarai utẽcõpe ixi abime pame euatu abime eirũ berereme bate que mẽaipanhate uere mon utie caroi diẽai panme tuman."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

648
797 The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the lap of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

It may be remarked incidentally that the Mundurucú children have 142
the Mongolian spot, as have also the Apiacá children.

Moieties and Sibs

The Tapajós Mundurucú,—and probably also the Madiera and 614
Xingú Mundurucú,—have a well-developed moiety and sib system. The members of the individual sibs, with few exceptions seemingly, consider themselves related to the eponymous animals and plants. In the lists which we give below the plant totems are marked with an "(m)". Several of the sibs have plural or multiple totems.

The ancestors of the sib are called *tubê* or *ñ̃ũ* and are embodied [534]
(verkoerpert) in the large *kaduke*-wind-instruments which are looked upon as having life. The *kaduke* are blown at the men's [796]
festival (Maennerfest). At the end of the festival or rite, *mêsiri*, a drink prepared for the festival out of manicuera is poured into the [272]
kaduke from above, is caught in a cúia (native cup), and is drunk. The meaning of the ceremony is this: The ancestor of the sib is not to get angry; he is always to remain benignant toward his children.

A member of the Red Arara sib is in no sense prohibited to shoot [784]
and to eat an arara. The same holds for the members of other sibs toward their respective eponymous animals and plants.

The sibs are arranged in two moieties or marriage groups, the 614
"Whites" and the "Reds". This arrangement was ordained by 616
Karusakaibê,—himself a "Red", since he belonged to the *Karurawat*, the Red Arara sib. The moieties are strictly exogamous. The members of each moiety are under obligation to marry, not within their own moiety, but into the other moiety. Disobedience to this precept of the culture-bringing god, Karusakaibê is considered as an unheard-of thing.

The sibs are rigidly patrilineal, that is, the children become mem- 614
bers of their father's sib. Only where sibs are *i barip*, "related" (verwandt), may a child become a member of one of these related sibs. The Macaco prego sib and the Spider sib are, for example, "related".

It has previously been mentioned that the Mundurucú formerly 342
had *ñhge waket*, huts with conical roofs. These huts are the dwelling places of totemistically organized tribes (Staemme). The last
4/A [See errata sheet, category 116, p. 57-A. -- Analyst]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents. 584

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the fatally ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Mundurucú* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes. 888 734

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars. 764

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (kaduké). The ceremony is repeated at yearly intervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finally buried in the house of the deceased. 766

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Mundurucú* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes success in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic dialogue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc. 796 756

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in holding off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes. 796 535 224

1 [Martius (Source #3) says this was done by the children -- Analyst]
2 [Martius says female rather than maternal - Analyst]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 In another dance the peccaries are pursued by hunters and their dogs.
535 The peccaries take refuge in a hole in the ground. The hunters then
224 simulate the construction of a trap by standing with legs astraddle to represent an alley of stakes; the peccaries try to escape between the lines of stakes and are killed by a hunter at the end of the alley.

796 An abbreviated description of a peccary festival is given by Strömer
224 (1932). This is a hunting ceremony in which the skulls of animals play a role. Sexual intercourse is performed ritually by the participants.
786 At one point in the ceremony, the performers dance on a heap of peccary hair while they sing an invocation of success in peccary hunting.

At a special men's festival in honor of the sib ancestors the sacred
796 trumpets are blown. At the conclusion of the ceremony, a special bev-
614 erage is poured through the trumpet into a cup and drunk by the participants. The ceremony, performed by men alone since women are not permitted to see the trumpets, is said to propitiate the sib ancestors and to obtain their good will toward their descendants.

At the tree festival a tree is set up in the center of the dwelling house;
[776] the participants stand around it while the shaman smokes tobacco and invokes on the house the protection of Karusakaibõ, the creator god.

SHAMANISM AND SORCERY

754 The shaman determines the most favorable time for war parties, exorcises evil spirits, takes a leading part in ceremonies, cures the sick, detects sorcerers, and intervenes to terminate eclipses of the sun. Illness is believed to be caused by the intrusion of a worm into the patient's body, or by sorcery. The shaman cures the intrusion by blowing smoke on the patient's body and sucking out the worm. When many deaths or much
[683] sickness occur the malevolence of a sorcerer is suspected; the shaman detects the sorcerer and informs the chief of his identity. The chief appoints two warriors to follow the sorcerer until they have a favorable opportunity to kill him. Some hints as to the technique of sorcery are given in Strömer's vocabulary. He records the word, yamain, meaning "to cut off the head and set it back again," and the word, yakut, "hole in the earth in which to bury the head"—both with reference to the practice of sorcery.

Sorcery is said to be virtually the sole cause of homicide among the
[684] *Mundurucú*. Adultery is punished by the expulsion of the guilty persons.
[578] When two men become antagonistic, one of them takes his hammock and goes to live in the men's house of another village.

MYTHOLOGY

776 The creator god and culture hero of *Mundurucú* mythology is Karusa-
773 kaibõ (Caru-Sacaibé (Tocantins, 1877)); Karusakaibe (Kruse, 1934);

619 [196] Tribal integration was also aided by the ceremonial cycle, which in nearly all cases brought people from a number of villages together in a host village. Despite the lack of central political controls the Wundurucú can be called a tribe in that they were united by interpersonal connections and were able to act as a political entity under temporary political controls.

The village

361 At present there are eighteen Wundurucú villages having an average population of fifty to sixty people. The [161] balance of the population of 1200 are living in isolated groups usually consisting of one small extended family or, at times, only one nuclear family. It is impossible to judge exactly how many villages there were in earlier times or what their populations were. The shifting settlement pattern makes a plotting of old villages indecisive and the climate and vegetation destroy all vestiges of abandoned villages after about twenty years. The sources are next to useless on this point. Tocantins, one of the few men who reported on a trip to a 19th century Wundurucú village, states that the village of "Necodemus" (Dekodyem is the correct transcription) consisted of five houses and a men's house.[12] He had previously cited the statistics of one Joaquim Correa, then Director of the Indians of the Tapajóz River, to show that this village had a population of 2100, a patent absurdity.[13] The best estimate based on informant data gives a maximum population

12. Tocantins, 1877, p. 103.

13. Ibid., p. 101.

476 siderable weight in deciding where to distribute the parti-
571 cipants along the stream. However, the usual small or medium sized party needed no central authority and the leader of the trip had very little to do except work along with the other men. His main function was to suggest the trip and to provide the tinbó.

[224] Hunting was a much more frequent pursuit and no initiative was needed. There was no hunt leader, but the sagacity and prestige of the man who was the best hunter was always recognized.

[796] Even ceremonies were held under the organization and leadership of the man who originated the plan. It was then his duty to send invitations to the other villages and to supervise certain preparations that had to be made in the village such as food accumulation and the collection of ceremonial paraphernalia.

Those men who initiated group activities were usually older men of some prestige. Frequently this would be the chief or a household head, but often it was any older man having good standing in the community. The Mundurucú
157 were modest and retiring in personality. They were extroverts and loved to talk, gossip, and tell bawdy stories, but they were in no way forward or arrogant. However, certain
554 qualities gave prestige to those men possessing them. Among the most important were age, war prowess, learning, especially of the various songs, and hunting ability.

156 Authority was an unimportant concept in Mundurucú life. It was seldom manifested within the political organi-

754 residents of the afflicted village who was the guilty party, but after the illness became serious he informed them and they took the decision as a group to kill the accused. His closer relatives were not informed of these plans, but they made no attempt to avenge his death in the face of the community imposed punishment. Most executions were carried out by the suspect's fellow villagers, but this was not invariably the case. Close relatives of persons supposedly bewitched could be suspected, but this was not generally the case, for the Mundurucú sorcerer is said to usually release his evil objects (caushi) or jaguars against anyone that they may encounter. The only explanation for such generalized malice is that "the sorcerer is angry at everything."

Ceremonies

796 In addition to the ceremonies that centered around the trophy head, two ceremonies, both of which can be referred to as "Festival of the Game," were devoted to the spirit "mothers" as a means of maintaining their good will and thus insuring better hunting. One of these, the Aralerai, was held only every three to five years and only in one village at a time, as nearly the whole rainy season was consumed by the festivities. This ceremony was celebrated in a short form that lasted only ten days and which was known as the Ba'earuperip. It occurred almost yearly between the Aralerais and shifted its location from village to village every year. Hundreds of visitors from villages all over

796 Wundurucania used to attend, and hunting parties scoured the nearby forests to maintain the enlarged village population during the ceremonies. A feature of both rites was ceremonial imitations of the various beasts by the male participants. The imitation of the tapir could only be done by a society known as the biushi (mothers of the tapir). Members of this society were recruited by ceremonial capture by biushi of the opposite moiety. The ceremonies were held at the initiative of one of the older men of the village, often, but not necessarily, the chief. This man acted as leader and organizer of the ceremony, but he was aided in the necessary preparations by all the village.

796
778
534 The above ceremonies were centered in the men's house. The men's house was also central to those rites involving the sacred trumpets. When a new men's house was built, the trumpets were shifted under cover of darkness from the old house to the new in a procession accompanied by the sacred flutes of other villages and the male visitors. The women remained confined to their houses and cried in memory of the fact that, according to legend, the trumpets and the men's house once belonged to them. Much the same procedure was followed when new trumpets were installed. The trumpets were made in secrecy in a secluded part of the forest and brought to the village in a similar after dark procession. One ritual so frequent in occurrence as not to warrant classification as a ceremony was the feeding and playing of the

796 flutes. Before every communal meal taken in the men's house,
778
534 the men who carried out the food had to bring a portion into the trumpet chamber and place the food vessel against the mouth of the trumpets saying, "Here is your food, old people. Eat and give us luck in the hunt." In order to further maintain the good will of the trumpets, they had to be played occasionally. Three players at a time performed this duty, but, since the playing lasted from afternoon until far into the night, they were relieved by other men. At least once a year, the flutes had to be served a feast of sweet manioc drink and played from afternoon until dawn of the next day. This ritual playing of the sacred trumpets was one of the few group religious activities that involved just the people of a single village.

796
775 The other ceremony to which outsiders did not need to be invited was the curing rite to recover a lost soul. This involved three shamans and two men who knew the proper songs and who sang to each of the species "mothers" to return the soul. This resembles prayer, but in reality the songs were magical formulae that compelled the spirit to return the wandering soul.

796
562 All Mundurucú religious ceremonies were male dominated. Women served only as observers and were able to participate at times in a play capacity only, except for one or two occasions in which female shamans took part. Parts
796
562 of some ceremonies were forbidden to female eyes. There was
535 one secular dance in which women participated, but to a

796 lesser degree, for the men led the dance and played the in-
562 struments. This was a circle dance in which animals, birds,
535 and fish were imitated and, although greatly enjoyed, had no
religious significance.

[pp 70- end, not processed]

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path. 726 476 182

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú. [591]

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole. 727 796

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society: 591 614

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason 614 428

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores. 727 224 [834]

The Dajeboiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house. 796 727 [301]

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[3] 796 575 533

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported. 727 597 [554]

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular 721

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

IV. CEREMONIALISM

Contemporary Ceremonialism

There exists a deep and nostalgic awareness among the older Mundurucú that they are witnessing the disappearance of their way of life. It is felt acutely that most of the wise and learned men of the tribe are dead and that the remaining few will die within the near future. Only six traditional savannah villages remain and their populations are diminishing steadily. Those Mundurucú who have migrated to the banks of rivers to escape the problems of village life or to have easier access to their rubber avenues are rapidly losing the native culture. The young men who remain in the interior villages tend to be more conservative than the latter but still fail to transmit effectively even the attenuated body of tradition that they have learned. Although this dilemma is known and deplored by the Mundurucú, they view the process with considerable fatalism. Little attempt is made to reinstate that which has lapsed for they view this deterioration as progressive and irreversible; they fully expect to lose the balance of their culture. 178

This realistic appraisal of the precarious position of Mundurucú culture and society is in part the result of the disappearance of some of those ritual aspects of culture that were the expression of its vitality and were important to its integration. These aspects were, in turn, undermined by those modifications in the structure of the culture that have been taking place since the nineteenth century.

One of the integrative bases of Mundurucú society—warfare—ended in the early part of this century as a result of the deep involvement of the Mundurucú in rubber production. The end of warfare and head-hunting concluded a series of ceremonies that centered about the trophy head and the persons of the successful warriors. The status of the warrior, the power of Mundurucú arms, and the supernatural significance of the trophy head were, accordingly, no longer celebrated. These were very real values in the nineteenth century and are still considered by the Mundurucú themselves to be the hallmark of traditional Mundurucú culture. 178 726 796

Another series of rites that were held for the spirit mothers of the game has also fallen into disuse. No clear and obvious reason, such as the end of warfare, can be offered for the cessation of these ceremonies. Informants claim that today they lack a sufficient number of powerful shamans to perform the rites effectively. In a sense, this is true. 178 224 796

Two different ceremonies, named *Araiarai* and *Dajearuparip*, were held for the mothers of the game. The former was a lengthy festival that lasted throughout the rainy season; the latter was much like the *Araiarai* in form and function but was compressed into a ten-day period. According to our closest possible calculations, the *Araiarai* could not have been celebrated since 1930 and must have lapsed during the period when a large part of the Mundurucú population moved to the Cururú River. Communication between the traditional villages

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 of the savannahs and the new ones of the river bank became attenuated, and
224 a lack of powerful shamans in the former communities may well have developed.
796 The shorter *Dajearuparip* ceremony was practiced as recently as 1945 or thereabouts but has since lapsed in spite of a few unsuccessful efforts to resurrect it. By that time the lack of shamans must have become acute, as it is today in many sections of the Mundurucú country. Also, the early 1940's were a period of intense rubber collection, owing to the stimulus provided by World War II. During these years the Mundurucú of the savannah villages grew more accustomed to clothing and other attractions of the outside world, and involvement with Brazilian society increased. The exact effect of these influences is uncertain, but interest in ritual undoubtedly was replaced increasingly by apathy and fatalism in the face of the decay of other aspects of Mundurucú culture. Ceremonialism not only heightens social cohesion, but it reflects it. So far as the structure of Mundurucú society was undermined by other factors, so also was the basis of the ceremonial reunions.

The form of the extinct ceremonies for head-hunting and the spirit mothers of the game was described by informants. Other rites were reported by them in very fragmentary form and were attributed to a more remote past. Only a curing ceremony and the complex of ceremonial activities surrounding the sacred trumpets are still extant and were observed by me.

The Duparip Ceremony

796 One elderly Mundurucú reported a ceremony called the *Duparip*, which he said
881 had ceased to be practiced long before his birth and which had been related to
852 him as a boy by the old men. The *Duparip* was said to have been held infrequently; it was initiated during the summer, and the associated ritual activities occurred intermittently over a two-year span.

It was not possible to obtain a full account of the purpose or form of the ceremony, for the informant remembered only disconnected items. It obviously had some significance as a rite of passage, for young boys[1] were taken into the men's house and allowed to return to their proper dwellings only at the end of the two-year ceremonial period. During this time they were referred to as pet jacamís by
[302] the men, and three stripes were cut through their hair, from front to back, in imitation of the feathering of that bird. When they were finally released from the men's house, they were given sharp wooden "beaks" with which they "pecked" at the women. During their confinement they could leave the men's house only to relieve themselves. The men periodically hastened the growth of the boys by standing upon their feet and lifting them up by the armpits. The "young jacamís"
[262] could eat only a certain type of deer, the meat of which was carefully examined for traces of skin, which was believed to make the boys ill.

Other passages of the *Duparip* included the previously mentioned rite in which three powerful shamans transformed people into animals.[2] Flutes were played by

[1] My informant reported that boys are recruited for this ceremony at the age of three; I think this most doubtful and believe that five years is a more reasonable age.

[2] See p. 42.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dancers clothed in cloaks of burití leaf, who danced from house to house, playing in each house. Another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat. 796 881 852 [304] [616]

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing signalized full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Duparip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of pecking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group. 304 796 884

Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundurucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and returned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad. 796 727

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.[3] No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundurucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain clans of the comple- 766 727 616

[3] Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 mentary moiety have the privilege (or pleasure, as some informants phrased it)
616 of burying the dead of the other moiety, if only symbolically. For this purpose,
766 the humerus of the dead Mundurucú was cut off and the flesh stripped from the bone after the arm was boiled and allowed to dry in the sun. Indicative of the symbolic importance attached to the moieties' prerogative of burying each other's dead was the practice of amputating the humerus of a wounded but still living warrior who was unable to continue the return journey. Furthermore, when the body was lost or a vengeance party was in hot pursuit and such Draconian measures were impossible, a symbolic arm bone was made out of a short piece of arrow cane and duly mourned, treasured, and buried.

The grisly operation of taking the humerus of the fallen warrior was per-
727 formed by a member of the latter's *iboiwatitit*, or those clans of the opposite moiety
766 that held the special burial right over the deceased's clan. This man brought the bone back to his village and guarded it carefully, sleeping with it in his arms "as if it were a baby." After an unspecified period, the man's mourners and many members of his *iboiwatitit* gathered to bury the bone in the floor of its custodian's house.

Both male and female kinsmen of the slain warrior were expected to weep
765 loudly upon hearing news of his death. The patterned wailing of the men was of short duration, but that of the women was expected to last for several months.
[302] Also, women, as in the event of the death of any relative, had their hair cropped close to the scalp and were prohibited from wearing any body ornamentation. The latter restriction applied also to men, but their hair was not cut. The cutting of the woman's hair was always done by a male member of her *iboiwatitit*.

The actual cycle of trophy-head ceremonies began shortly after the return of
727 the war party with an observance known as *Inyenborotaptam*, or Decorating the
● 796 Ears. This ceremony and those celebrated in the two succeeding rainy seasons were held under the leadership of the taker (or takers) of the trophy head, who was thereafter honored by the title of *Dajeboiši*, or Mother of the Peccary. Food was amassed by the host village under his direction, and invitations were issued to other villages. The purpose of this phase of the trophy-head ceremony was to decorate the head. Implicitly, its function was to inaugurate the head and its owner into the status that both would occupy until the conclusion of the cycle.

The preparation of the trophy head began during the return march from the enemy village. First the brains were extracted with the wide bamboo point of a war arrow, which was inserted into the head through the foramen magnum. The teeth were then knocked out and carefully stored away, and the head was lightly boiled and dried near the fire. This process made the skin dry and parchment-like and effectively preserved it. Finally a woven cord was inserted in the mouth and led out through the nostril by a hole pierced in the hard palate, leaving the tasseled ends of the cord dangling from the mouth and nostril. At a later time, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth affixed across either eye.

The Mundurucú considered the crowning glory of a trophy head to be the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

feather pendants that were suspended from either ear, the attachment of which was the central purpose of the *Inyenborotaptam*. Feathers from five species of birds were used in the ornamentation, and each type of feather could be attached only by the *Kiriší*, *Akai*, *Chunyún*, and *Parawá* clans, and those of the mutúm by the *Witúm* clan. The *Karú* clan and subclan, the *Sau* subclan, and the *Warú* clan and subclan used the feathers of the red macaw; the *Kabá* clan attached parrot feathers; and the *Borón* clan contributed those of the gavião tawató. Those clans sharing the same feathers were always linked within the same phratry, and the appropriate bird species was usually an eponymous clan spirit of at least one of the groups. 796 727 [615]

The feather pendants could be no longer than the hair on the trophy head. For this reason, long-haired victims were especially prized and a woman's head was highly valued, although it was thought more valorous to kill an enemy warrior.

The sponsorship of these ceremonies was not the only duty of the taker of the trophy head. The social and religious role of the *Dajeboiši* had certain nonceremonial aspects that were, nonetheless, part of the larger ritual complex of warfare and head-hunting. Upon his return to the home village, the successful warrior assumed an enhanced status that endowed his person with an almost sacred aura and isolated him from normal relations with his fellow Mundurucú. Sexuality was considered especially dangerous both to the *Dajeboiši* and to his wife. They were enjoined against indulging in sexual intercourse with each other or with anyone else throughout the ceremonial period. The *Dajeboiši* could lose his power and fall into the previously discussed state of bad luck merely by looking at a *yapõ*, or wanton woman, and for this reason he always bathed very early to avoid meeting one on the path to the stream. Moreover, he was expected to have minimal contact with or sight of women other than his wife. Even she posed a threat to his special status, and they ate sitting back to back. 796 727 834 554

The *Dajeboiši* was expected to maintain a decorous and restrained attitude at all times. He spent much of his time lying in his hammock and gazing upward to avoid the contaminating sight of men who had recently had coitus. He could talk to the other men, but only on serious topics; trivial conversation and joking were considered inappropriate to his sacrosanct position. Although he slept in the men's house, the *Dajeboiši* did not partake of the communal meals there and ate only with his wife. But he was expected to be generous toward the other men and to keep tobacco under his hammock at all times for their use.

In addition to his ceremonial role, the *Dajeboiši* had an important function in the religious aspect of the hunting economy. His person and the trophy were thought pleasing to the Mother of the Game, and he brought the head into the forest whenever a hunting party embarked. The *Dajeboiši* did not, however, hunt nor did he accompany the other men. His mere proximity was sufficient to insure a good kill, and after two animals were slain he returned to the village. It was believed that if he were to remain longer in the forest he might step in the blood of a game animal and thereby lose the charm of the head.

The wife of the *Dajeboiši* occupied a delicate status also. Like her husband, she

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 727 554 834 [515] had to exercise great care in her relations with others lest she look at a person who had recently had sexual relations. On days when hunting parties left for the forest she was supposed to remain in her hammock until late in the morning, for if she arose and moved about the game would run away. She was not allowed to bathe in the stream with the other women but washed her body from vessels of water brought to her house. Nor was the wife of the *Dajeboiši* supposed to work; a young woman from her *iboiwatitit* was chosen to draw water and wood for her and to perform household chores. Considerable authority over the other women was exercised by the *Dajeboiši*'s wife, and she felt free to send the women of the village to work in the garden or perform whatever services she desired.

The *Dajeboiši* and his wife were, according to some informants, obliged to maintain this regimen during the more than two years between the return of the war party and the final phase of the ceremonial cycle. Others thought that the prohibitions were not continually in force during this long period, but agreed that some restrictions were observed until the conclusion of the final ritual.

796 727 With the advent of the second rainy season after the taking of the trophy head, the *Dajeboiši* again issued invitations to the people of other villages, and all reunited for feasting. This phase of the ceremony is known as *Yašegon*, or Stripping the Skin from the Head. As the name indicates, the trophy head was skinned, its ornaments were removed, and the bare skull was then hung in a corner of the men's house.

Before the head was boiled and skinned, it was thrown on the ground and a group of men called "Vultures" batted it back and forth with sticks in imitation of the vulture's practice of tossing strips of carrion with its beak. The Vultures included all the bald men of the village and certain others who were thought to be really bald, although ordinary vision showed them to have hair on their heads. Previous to these proceedings, a number of old men, all of whom had at one time taken an enemy head, took the trophy head and tapped its top. If powder or any other matter fell from it, they announced that the *Dajeboiši* had broken an obligation. This was generally interpreted by all to mean that he had had sexual relations. In such a case his status terminated and no further observances were held, since the head had lost its power. If the test proved the owner of the head had kept his faith, the ceremony could continue.

The rites held during the first two rainy seasons were simple, and activities included only the decoration of the head during the first rainy season, its skinning during the second, and feasting on both occasions. The third winter, however, was the climax of the cycle, and festivities were lengthier and much more elaborate. The final phase of the ceremony was called *Taimetorõm*, or Hanging the Teeth, for on this occasion the teeth extracted from the trophy head were strung on a woven cotton belt. These belts were not worn, but were carefully guarded in a basket kept in the warrior's house.

But the most important ritual of the third rainy season was the all-night songfest of the *Darekši*, or Mothers of the Bow. The *Darekši* was a men's society; it was by no means exclusive in membership for all adult Mundurucú males belonged to

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajeboiši* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Mundurucú villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajeboiši*. Come, drink *werú* and *mörí*. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Mundurucú style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting.

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Muchacha*[a] society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajeboiši* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the *pem*, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other moiety. The captor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (i.e., during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Darekši* society returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Darekši* enter the village would be killed during the next war.

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajeboiši*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with beijú (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and beijú and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten.

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vultures had to eat apart from the other *Darekši*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he died. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the yellowing sickness, or *ujewaií*. To prevent this a shaman examined the

[a] The identity of this term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 contents of each bowl to ascertain whether a ritually impure person had defiled
727 the food.

After partaking of the ceremonial feast, the men went to the men's house, across the front of which they lined up in a single row with the boys behind. They sang songs celebrating warfare and their arms until dawn, at which time the ceremony ended and the guests returned to their villages. At the conclusion of the rite, the *Dajeboiši* resumed his normal life. His person and the trophy head no
[554] longer exercised their power, but he retained the title and distinction for life.

This account suggests some of the functions of the ritual complex in relation to the practice of warfare and to the social structure, in general. First, the high status accorded the *Dajeboiši* acted to give personal incentive to individual warriors and thus contributed to more effective military action. The taker of the trophy head was further motivated, for the power possessed by him and the head increased the yield of the hunt. The concept of this magical influence also provided an additional group motivation and rationale for warfare and served to root it more firmly in Mundurucú beliefs. The emphasis on warfare was further heightened through the celebration of Mundurucú prowess by the *Darekši;* and this phase of the ritual provided a means of indoctrinating the young into the militarism in which they would one day take part.

The ritual complex was also related to aspects of Mundurucú culture other than warfare. The burial of the humerus of the warrior slain in battle was the most important occasion for the expression of intermoiety ritual hostility. And the attachment of feather pendants to the ears of the trophy head was one of the few remaining corporate functions of the fragmented clans. Finally, and this is true of all the important intervillage ceremonies, the warfare rites served to integrate the populations of the several Mundurucú villages and to maintain bonds of association among scattered fellow clansmen.

Ceremonies of the Game

796 Two ceremonies, the *Araiarai* and the *Dajearuparip,* were held in honor of the
224 spirit mothers of the game. The several Mundurucú villages took turns as hosts in these intervillage rites, and one of the two ceremonies was held during most years. The purpose of the two rites was identical, and they differed only in length and in minor formal details. The following description of the *Dajearuparip* is also valid for the *Araiarai,* except where noted.

A ceremony was usually held at the instigation of one of the older and more respected men of the village—not necessarily the chief—who then became its *piwat,* or leader and organizer. But it was essential for the leader to have the consent of his fellow villagers, for they had to join him in amassing food and drink for the visitors.

796 As in all Mundurucú ceremonies, the arrival of the guests signaled the begin-
224 ning of feasting and preparation of ceremonial regalia. The actual ceremony began with the playing of flutes by a group of cloaked dancers who danced from
292 house to house, performing in each. The cloaks were made of the long fronds of the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

burití palm and were fashioned in an extremely simple manner. The ends of a large bunch of fronds were tied together and a ring of vine was attached some five inches below the top knot. The vine ring was then placed on the dancer's head, and the leaves were arranged to fall uniformly down all sides of his body to a point below his knees. The garment was fastened to his waist by a burití leaf belt. The dancer's arms protruded from the sides of the cloak, and the fronds were pushed aside to make openings for the eyes and mouth. Underneath these cloaks the dancers wore the same raiment used by all the other men during the ceremony. This consisted of a burití-leaf crown, to the front, back, and sides of which were attached vertical strips of burití leaf. Bands of this leaf were also tied around the biceps, wrists, ankles, and just below the knees, and were crisserossed across the chest and shoulders. The ends of each band were shredded and allowed to dangle. A belt of burití leaf was also worn, and long thin strips of this leaf hung from it to form a knee-length skirt. Thin fibers hung from the back of a burití-leaf neck choker to below the buttocks. The garment used in the *Araiarai* ceremony was identical, except that the burití leaves were first boiled in water and then hung in the sun to bleach white. 796 292 224 535 796

The instruments used by the dancers, called *kiú*, consisted of bamboo tubes some 18 inches long with a reed made of the root of the paxiuba palm inserted in the mouth. Identical instruments were used in a secular dance, the *Parasoi*, but those for the *Dajearuparip* and *Araiarai* could not be used for such profane purposes, for fear of insulting the Mother of the Game. 224 [824] [534]

After the ceremony began, five cloaked dancers made the house-to-house rounds day and night and were replaced after each round by fresh dancers from the men's house. There was an occasional intermission to allow the men and the inhabitants of the dwelling houses to sleep. Each round began when three cloaked men, dancing side by side, approached the first house in a clockwise direction from the men's house. Playing their instruments, they danced to the doorway of the house three times and backed off, entering the house on their fourth approach. After entering the house they circled twice around the interior and then left for the next house in the same direction, repeating the same movements. As they left the house, the other two cloaked dancers approached it, entered in the same manner, and followed the first three through the village. During the rounds of the five *kiú* players, the other men stayed in the men's house and sang songs appropriate to the ceremony. Most of these songs dealt with hunting and game animals, and some with fish and food-bearing plants.

The climax of the ceremony was the summoning of the spirit mothers of the game and their subsequent visitation. Some days after the beginning of the house-to-house dancing, temporary thatch walls were built about the open sides and front of the men's house. A great number of skulls of game animals were gathered and those of each species were placed in rows running east-west and parallel to each other. At the head of the line of tapir skulls was one that had been kept in the men's house and was considered to be the chief of all the skulls in the room. In front of the rows of animal skulls were those of two coatá monkeys. Their 796 224

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796
224

function was to guide the spirit mothers to the men's house, in the same manner that the coatá monkey, it is believed, leads game through the forest. Before the skulls were placed in order, they were washed with a fragrant solution made from the envira cherosa and then with *mōrí*, a sweet manioc gruel. *Mōrí* is thought to be especially pleasing to the spirit mothers, and a bowl was kept near the skulls so that the spirits could eat after answering the summons.

When all arrangements were in order, two men who knew the various songs dedicated to each type of animal sat in front of the array of skulls and sang for the spirit mothers. A number of shamans stood by, ready to shoot with magic arrows those *Yurupori* that inevitably came to steal the *mōrí*. A shaman also had to be present at all times to detect the arrival of the spirits. When the spirits arrived, the shamans blew smoke over all the heads and then inserted a bamboo tube into each head to suck the arrow points and buckshot from the spirits. These objects are believed to be lodged in the animal spirits because of the hunting activities of the Mundurucú, and it was necessary to extract them in order to completely placate the spirits. The spirits then ate the *mōrí* and departed.

Although the main purpose of the ceremony was the gratification of the animal spirits, the participants remained for three or four more days to take part in dances and ritual activities in imitation and honor of the game animals. On the day following the feeding of the spirits, all the men repaired to the banks of a stream and there sought out white clay. Two men were selected and "captured" by the others and white clay was smeared upon their foreheads, converting them for ceremonial purposes into coatá monkeys. The others adorned themselves as peccaries by applying white clay to their cheeks and jaws. They then paraded single file into the village, the two monkeys in front and the peccaries following in close order ranks, all making the noises characteristic of their species. Once in the village, the men invaded the houses; those who were simulating the peccaries grunted and poked at the ground with sticks to make peccary tracks, while those playing the parts of the monkeys upset articles in the house, robbed food, and created the general havoc characteristic of monkey behavior. The men then repaired to the men's house where they pretended to shoot the monkeys with bows and arrows. During this time the women sang songs about the peccary, and then, upon a signal from the leader of the ceremony, they rushed upon the men, who attempted to escape, and dragged those they captured to the fire "to singe the hair from their hides" as they would do with a slain peccary.

The next of the animal imitations was that of the tapir, which was the special function of a men's association known as the *Biaší*, or Mothers of the Tapir. The male participants painted each other elaborately with urucú and genipa paint, and the next day at dawn all the men retired to the forest where they built a temporary shelter. During the day the members of the *Biaší* pursued men of the opposite moiety, and those caught were then made members of the group. This practice served as a recruiting device, but it also reflected the Mundurucú pattern of intermoiety ritual antagonism, for membership was looked upon with some fear. The *Biaší* were especially subject to soul loss during the *Arsiarsi* and the

Dajoarupsrip ceremonies. Since bathing in the stream was considered particularly dangerous to them, the members had to bathe in the village from gourds. Also, their obligation to sing the songs of the tapir allowed the *Biaší* little sleep during ceremonies. 796 224

When night fell, all fires of the village were extinguished and the *Biaší*, their captives, and the men fortunate enough to have escaped them reëntered the village in total darkness. The women shut themselves in their houses and did not dare look at the procession lest their next children be born with the fleshy hump found between the shoulders of the tapir, that is, hunchbacked. The procession ended in one of the houses, where the *Biaší* partook of a sweet manioc drink; after they were thus refreshed the women could look upon them with impunity.

A number of creatures were imitated on the final night of the ceremony, and songs appropriate to each species were sung. Among the performances was that for the land tortoise, in which the men imitated the animal and acted in this role as the pets of the women. All lined up in close order and pretended to accept chewed food from the mouths of their owners. The Mundurucú recall with glee that on one such ceremonial occasion a local Brazilian trader, who had been visiting the village, participated in the land tortoise imitation and actually ate the proffered food. In other sequences the grasshopper was emulated by squatting with stomach close to the ground and chirping, and the cry and hopping movements of the toucan were also enacted.

The animal performances lasted throughout the night, and dawn saw the conclusion of the ceremony and the departure of the guests.

The Curing Ceremony

The above performances of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle are now defunct, and there is little likelihood that they will be revived. But some ritual activity is still extant. It will be noted that the following ceremonies, though quite important to Mundurucú society, involve little social participation beyond the confines of one or two villages. None calls for the large reunions characteristic of the ceremonies devoted to the animal spirits or to the trophy head. 796 755 [571]

The curing ceremony, referred to as *Piaabikwaikupanyen*, does not call for broad participation, although all the people of the village in which it is held usually attend as bystanders. Four shamans and two men with special knowledge of songs are needed, however, and must frequently be summoned from a distance. The curing ceremony is held only in cases of robbery of the soul by the animal spirits, a belief which has already been described. Soul loss is commonly held responsible for illnesses in which general, progressive debility is noted without the specific symptoms usually indicative of witchcraft. Given this diagnosis, the shaman attempts to identify the violation for which the animal spirits have taken vengeance and then prescribes a curing ceremony. At least four shamans are necessary to effect a cure and two men are called in to sing the required songs. The latter are persons who, as was described in a previous chapter,* received

* See page 27.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

7%
755

knowledge of these supernaturally powerful songs through dreams. The ceremony takes place in the household of the sick person; a man, when ill, is usually brought from the men's house to his wife's dwelling, whatever the cause of the malady. The tapir skull used during the ceremonies of the game is installed in the house, and long tauari bark-wrapped cigarettes are inserted into either eye and three are thrust into the ground on the left side of the skull. The "dreamers" then seat themselves before this ensemble and proceed to sing to the various game animals, requesting that they return the soul of the sick person. While singing they wave a mutum feather tied to the end of a stick before the skull.

It will be recalled that there is a definite sequence in the passage of the soul from one species to another, proceeding from large game animals to smaller ones and then from the largest fish to the smaller ones until the soul arrives at the smallest fish and the patient dies. The songs of the dreamers are believed to be completely efficacious in securing the return of the stolen soul, but the soul is returned only when the dreamers sing the song of the animal that possesses the soul at the moment the song is being sung. Since the shamans and dreamers have no idea which animal has the soul at the time, and since there are a large number of animals into whose hands the soul passes (and, correspondingly, a large number of songs), the dreamers must trust to chance and luck that they will sing the right song at the appropriate instant. The choice of song is up to the dreamers, and they frequently sing for a long time before hitting upon the animal that has custody of the soul. Obviously, a great deal of risk is involved in this process, for the passage of time brings the patient and his soul nearer to their fatal destination. And as the journey lengthens, the condition of the sick person steadily worsens.

However, the dreamers generally succeed eventually in retrieving the soul, which is believed to return to the tapir skull used in the ceremony. This account of the procedure following the return of the soul is based upon a curing ceremony that I witnessed in the savannah village of Cabruá. Both doors of the house in which the rite was held had been covered with palm leaves in the belief that the soul of the patient was ashamed to be seen and would return only in the dark. At the conclusion of the song to the peccary, the shaman looked inside the tapir skull and announced that the soul had been in the custody of the peccaries and had just been returned. Their intent accomplished, the singers ceased their activity and aided the shamans in the subsequent process of repairing the harm done to the patient and restoring the soul to her body.

One of the four shamans present extracted the soul from the tapir skull with his hand and held it for some time, examining it closely. In the meantime, the patient was lying in a hammock covered with mosquito netting, and two men, neither of whom was a shaman, blew smoke under the netting through long tauari bark-wrapped cigarettes. At the conclusion of the fumigation the shaman returned the sick woman's soul to the tapir skull, and she was taken from her hammock and seated upon a mat. One of the women of the house poured several gourds of water over her in the belief that this would reduce her fever. The

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

sick woman was then dried with a piece of cloth, and the shaman placed the lighted end of a cigarette in his mouth and blew smoke over her entire body. He then rubbed her legs from toes to thighs, blew more smoke upon her stomach and rubbed both front and back of her torso. Another shaman took his place and twice passed a palm leaf down her body and both arms. Each time, he cleaned the leaf of the malignant objects that it supposedly picked up from the patient's skin. 796 755

These ministrations were intended to rid the body of the sick woman of some of the accumulation of evil or extraneous objects that had entered her during her illness. An especially dangerous article was discovered in her chest, and the least powerful of the shamans applied his mouth to her body and sucked it out. He was immediately racked by a fit of violent coughing, and a shaman having somewhat more power sucked at his throat, whereupon the object lodged in his own throat. It was finally removed by the most powerful of the four shamans present. He, too, appeared to be choked by the malignant object but succeeded in spitting it out into his hand. All present were invited to look at it, and, evidently no longer dangerous, it was given to a small boy to throw into a fire.

The last part of the curing ceremony was the special duty of the only member of the *Bisiõ* society present in the village. He approached the sick woman, chanting a song and stamping each foot upon the ground. In this manner he circled about her and then grasped her under the armpits and lifted her while stamping his feet. This process was believed to shake the last of the supernatural objects from her body, and she was then ready to have her soul restored. The shaman again plucked the soul from the tapir's skull and placed his clenched hand over the patient's head, making motions suggesting that he was placing the soul within. The sick woman, who was thought to be fully cured, returned to normal activity and enjoyed the appearance of restored health. Unfortunately, her condition, which was possibly tubercular, soon worsened, and again she began to cough steadily.

The Karuká

Certain supernatural beliefs and practices are connected with the *karuká*, or sacred musical instruments of the Mundurucú. The instruments themselves have been somewhat inaccurately termed trumpets for lack of a better word, although in design and operation they more nearly approximate the oboe. Each Mundurucú village of the savannahs has a set of three such instruments. Each set belongs to a different clan, but their essential design and construction are the same, though with some variation in size. This has no ritual significance but is regarded by the Mundurucú as a sign of degeneration, for the *karuká* of different villages were said to be formerly of the same size and much larger than those of today. However, the three instruments composing any single set are purposely and traditionally graded in size. 534 778

The *karuká* are actually extremely simple instruments. Each is merely a long, hollow cylinder made of a very light wood, into the end of which is inserted a reed. Those of the village of Cabruá were 43, 46, and 52 inches long and the

the same, but there are a number of songs or words to the same basic melody. These songs are not sung by the players but are thought by them during the performance. In keeping with exclusive male access to the instruments, the songs are known and taught only to the men. Of any group of three players the man who knows the songs best acts as the leader and plays the medium-sized instrument, and the others act as his accompaniment. The leader plays the basic *karõkõ* melody, and the man with the largest trumpet emits long and steady blasts interspersed with occasional short ones. The player of the smallest of the three instruments, usually the youngest man, blows a few short sounds whenever the leader signals him by lifting his elbow. The players pause at indefinite intervals, and the leader then sounds a blast on the gourd horn. 534 778

As they play, the three walk side by side across the width of the trumpet chamber. The room is large enough to allow three long steps with a pivot motion at the end. The instrument is clutched across the chest by the left forearm as the player walks, and the reed is held with the right hand.

The frequent playing of the *karõkõ* is accepted as a necessary part of the ordinary round of village life and does not merit designation as a ceremony. There are other, however, special occasions when the instruments become the focus of much wider social participation. It is believed necessary to offer a special feast to the various spirits of the trumpets at least once a year. On the designated day, the women amass large quantities of sweet manioc and grate it into water to make a rich beverage; sufficient game is usually killed on the previous day to last through the feast. The finished drink is brought to the men's house in large clay pots, and the men gather about with half-gourds and drink. Large quantities are consumed, the the women are kept busy throughout the day. The feasting generally begins at noon and lasts until nightfall. As every round of beverage arrives, a bowl must be offered to the trumpets. The spirits are further gratified by the trumpets being played from the beginning of the feast until dawn of the following day. Most of the village population sleeps throughout the night, and the players are occasionally relieved by other groups of three men. Invitations to this feast are not extended to other villages. 534 778 796 [272]

Other ceremonies are held when the trumpets are being moved from an old village to a newly constructed one and when new trumpets are made and installed. Both of these occasions involve the participation of people from other villages. The ceremony of the reinstallation of the *karõkõ* in a new men's house took place in Cabitutú during our field work. The village invited the two nearest villages, Cabruá and Decodyém. Decodyém declined as the inhabitants were busy preparing manioc flour, but those of Cabruá accepted. The guests arrived during the afternoon and on the following day the men went to the forest to gather thatch for the wall of the trumpet chamber. The new village was built a few hundred yards from the old one, and although the dwellings had been finished and were already occupied by the women and children, only the frame of the men's house had been completed. The men continued to sleep in the old men's house. On the second day after the arrival of the guests, the men went hunting while the women harvested the sweet manioc.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534
778
796
[342]

The women made the manioc drink on the next, or third, day of the ceremony, and the men then commenced thatching the walls of the trumpet chamber. The men's house, say the Mundurucú, is the home of the karikó, and the trumpets must be moved into a completely roofed and walled dwelling at the same time that the men move. For this reason it is necessary to complete the walls and roof in one day and to move into the new men's house, with the trumpets, that very night. Since it takes several days to thatch a roof properly, the roof of the old house is customarily dismantled and placed upon the frame of the new one. A new roof would be built during the next rainy season.

During the busy preparations for the installation of the instruments in their new home, considerable feasting and gaiety took place also. From the arrival of the guests until the completion of the thatching, everybody took part in intermoiety and intersexual joking. Mixtures of urucú or palm fruit and water were prepared and were thrown by the women upon men of the opposite moiety. The latter seized the women's supply occasionally and took revenge.

After thatching the roof of the new men's house and walling the trumpet enclosure, the men assembled in the old men's house. They unstrung their hammocks and assembled all their belongings and then took the trumpets from their old chamber. Three men of the same moiety as the clan to which the trumpets belonged then began playing the instruments and slowly marched toward the new village. The other men crowded about the players, wearing and waving palm leaves, to shield the sacred instruments from the eyes of the women. Within the protecting ring were four other men. One carried a hunting horn with which he occasionally sounded a signal consisting of two long, four short, and two more long blasts; another man followed this signal with the characteristic yell of the hunter who raises game. A third man sounded the gourd horn associated with the trumpets of Cabituté, and a fourth walked along shaking a rattle. The last man belonged to the opposite moiety of the trumpets and was referred to as their *ibewutitit*. His head was covered with a paste made of urucú and ground maize.

[302]

The slow procession started from the old men's house at dusk, and night had fallen by the time the group of marchers reached the new village. The women shut themselves in the dwelling houses in anticipation of the men's arrival, and, as the men entered the village, the women began to wail in sorrow for the loss of the instruments that are believed to have once been theirs.* The procession of men circled each house of the village three times and then stopped in front of the new men's house. There the trumpets were played while the rest of the men drank the sweet manioc beverage and rested. The instruments were played outside the men's house until dawn and were then brought inside their new chamber and played until the sun rose. At that time they were retired to the rack suspended from the ceiling, and the guests departed for their own village. The old men's house was later burned to hide all evidence of the activities that once went on in it.

In view of the rapid disintegration of Mundurucú village life, it is doubtful

* See pp. 89-91.

that many new *karikó* will be made. In the past, however, the installation of newly manufactured instruments called for a ceremony quite similar to that held when they were shifted to a new men's house. The trumpets are made in a temporary shelter situated deep in the forest, secure from the chance gaze of passing women. One man is responsible for their manufacture, and the *karikó* are considered to belong to his clan and to harbor its spirits.[1] 534 796 778

Until they are properly installed in the men's house, the trumpets are referred to as *wiru ewa*, or "jaguar with a beak." The Mundurucú explain this difference in nomenclature as being due to their reluctance to mention the proper names of new instruments in front of the women. The ceremony of installation is called *wiru ewa ïya*, or "going to get the jaguar with a beak." Invitations are sent to the residents of several other villages, and all are expected to bring their own *karikó*. The male invitees leave their own communities with the trumpets well before dawn and proceed directly to the shelter where the new instruments are being made. Their women leave after daybreak and go to the host village. The assembled men feast throughout the day and at dusk form a procession to the village. This is almost identical to the one formed when old trumpets are being installed in a new village, except that the trumpets of several villages are played. After the new instruments are installed, the old ones are brought to the place where the former were made and are burned.

This description of Mundurucú ceremonialism shows that ritual emphasis was placed upon the propitiation of the spirit owners of game animals, warfare and the quest for trophy heads, and the placation of the clan and trumpet spirits. A unifying thread can be discerned in the fact that the proper care of the trophy head was regarded as a means of pleasing the animal spirits, and also that the trumpet spirits were vaguely conceived as being associated with those of the game. Furthermore, the curing ceremony was specifically devoted to retrieving souls stolen by the animal supernaturals. 796 [782]

Mythology and folklore reveal a continuation of the basic masculine theme of hunting and warfare in Mundurucú culture. The Mundurucú recognize spirit mothers of fish and aquatic animals, but these were propitiated only incidentally during the major ceremonies for the animal spirits; informants mentioned fish spirits in this connection as an afterthought. There is a striking absence of attention to horticulture both in the belief system and in the ceremonial cycle. Each species of domestic plant is believed to have a soul, but not a mother spirit. Songs were formerly sung to the species souls, when the particular plant was being sown, to insure a good harvest, and another song was sung to the garden at the time of burning the clearing. All these songs were better known by the men than by the women, although the latter did most of the horticultural work. No substantiation could be found for Tocantins' statement that the Mundurucú perform annual ceremonies for maize and manioc.[2] [776]

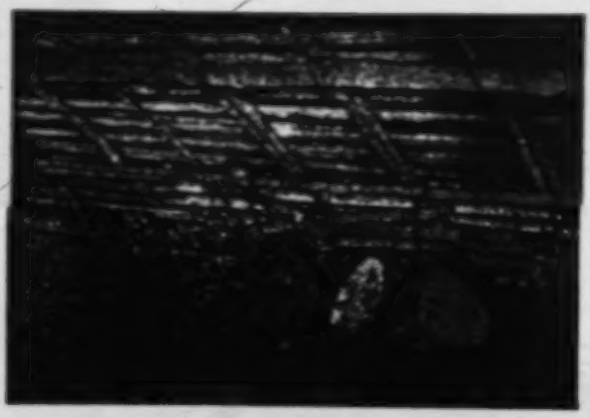
[1] During the patrilineal phase of Mundurucú social structure, the maker of the trumpets probably belonged to the dominant, and perhaps only, clan of the village, and there was undoubtedly a closer functional relationship between clan and trumpet than under present matrilineal circumstances.

[2] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 123–124.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534
778
415
796
342



a. Instruments used in the ceremonies of the Game. The cylinders are horns played in those rites, and the earthenware pots are used as containers of the beverage offered to the "spirit mothers" of the game animals. Note the tapir skull between the vessels.

b. Mundurucú man playing one of the sacred trumpets, or *karikó*. Another of the set of three instruments is leaned against the wall at the right.

[end plate 5]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SOLIDARITY AND FISSION

Few techniques for pleasing these animal spirits are now practiced, but in former times there were many. Powerful shamans, of whom there are now said to be but few, used to travel magically to the "Land of the Game" to "feed" the animal spirits, and the two most important ceremonies also had this purpose. These two rites, called the *Araiarai* and the *Dájearuparip* were held, as all Mundurucú ceremonials, during the rainy season, and were almost identical but for duration; the former was said to have occupied almost the whole rainy season, while the latter lasted ten days. In both, the game animals were honored and their spirit protectors summoned and offered a food particularly pleasing to them. Annual observance was not mandatory, but either the long or the short festival was usually held every year. Villages usually rotated the duty of staging the rite, and the residents of several communities were invited. A number of powerful shamans were a prerequisite to the ceremony and had to be recruited from many villages, for only they could ward off the attacks of evil spirits that were attracted by the ritual food offerings.

Other ceremonies were also held to celebrate the trophy heads taken during war. These rites lapsed, of course, with the end of headhunting in 1912. The game-animal ceremonies persisted into relatively recent times, however. The last Araiarai was held in the early 1930's, and the shorter Dajearuparip lasted until about 1945. The Mundurucú explain the lapse of the ceremonial cycle as caused by the contemporary lack of powerful shamans. There is some merit in this view, for sorcery executions, the migration to the Cururú River, and general loss of population have greatly lowered the number of shamans available in the savannah villages. Also, the Mundurucú look upon themselves as being in a degenerated state; they feel that their

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 women are no longer as desirable as in the good old days,
●796 nor are men as brave and strong. Correspondingly, the
[756] shamans are thought to have lost much of their power and knowledge. Besides, there are significant social and economic reasons for the lapse of the ceremonies. The larger ceremony fell into abeyance after the migration to the Cururú River had gained full force, and the shorter form was terminated after the exodus had reduced the savannah population to its present 360. Significantly, the Dajearuparip ended in 1945, at the conclusion of the period of rising rubber prices in World War II and the concomitant growing preoccupation of the Mundurucú Indians with extraction of latex. Thus, there is not only an insufficient number of shamans at present, but there are not enough people left in the savannahs to stage a large-scale reunion.
[224] Furthermore, only the campineiros, a bare one-quarter of the total Mundurucú population, still depend on game as
[226] the principal source of protein; the others rely primarily on fishing, and the ceremonies have correspondingly less economic significance to them. Finally, to the degree that the old social system has weakened, so also has this positive, affirmative aspect of the religion. The rites were vital to tribal unity and male activity and were a function of them. The decay of intervillage coöperation in other spheres and the inevitability of eventual abandonment of residence on the savannahs make the Mundurucú apathetic to the continuity of the group-based and group-affirmative rituals—actually, those aspects of relations with the supernatural that Emile Durkheim defined as "religion." [8] The people still believe in the game-animal spirits and still give credence to the efficacy of the ceremonial means of propitiating them. But the failure to translate the
[869] beliefs into the realm of action has robbed them of im-

[8] Durkheim, 1947.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

monly entangled in sorcery cases, either as accused or accusers, reflects the strains in the political system. Reduced village size contributes to the disruptive effects of sorcery accusations, for even if a man has only a few defenders, this may constitute a significant bloc within the community under current circumstances. 683 754

One result of witch killings has been a decrease in the number of shamans. This not only includes people who were actually executed, but also those who escaped or who left for fear of future accusation. Given the inevitability of disease and death and the Mundurucú belief that sorcerers are the responsible agents, the position of the shamans is very insecure. There had been no sorcery killings in Cabruá for several years, as of the time of our stay, but illnesses and deaths had occurred. The step son of the chief was being effectively protected by his family, leaving two other shamans open to accusation. One decided to move to his rubber-avenue home on the Tropas River, and the other immediately followed suit rather than be faced with the unhappy prospect of being the only available scapegoat. Cabruá was then left without a practicing shaman, and the community was deprived of one of the services that village life traditionally afforded. 683 754 756

Changes in Mundurucú religion show a close relationship to economic and social shifts. Aspects of belief and practice that promoted and affirmed the well-being and values of the society at large and which were best staged by a unified social group have disappeared. What remains are essentially practices that are defensive against prevailing fears and anxieties and which are highly individualistic in practice. A circular process is at work here. The decline of group ceremonial not only reflects the weakening of Mundurucú social structure, but it has aided in its debilitation. Fellow clan members are no longer united by 182 771 182 628 796

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

regular intervillage festivals, and this has contributed to the weakening of the bonds of descent. Villages pursue a far more isolated existence than they did in former times, and extravillage ties no longer bind the individual so closely to life in the savannahs. Within the villages, the disruptions caused by sorcery and leadership combine with increasing participation in trade relations to disturb the equilibrium of community life.

THE STRUCTURE OF MUNDURUCÚ-BRAZILIAN RELATIONS

The economic and social adjustments made by the Mundurucú to the collection and trade of wild rubber can be described by using the residents of Cabruá as illustration. The trade relations of the villagers have been briefly mentioned in the discussion of chieftainship, and it has been pointed out that the villagers disperse annually to tap rubber on both the Tropas and Cabitutú rivers. Those who collect on the latter stream generally deal with the trader in the hamlet of Sae Cinza, but occasionally make transactions with itinerant peddlers. The chief of Cabruá maintains his rubber-season dwelling on the Cabitutú at a place known as Cachoeirinha. With him live two other men, one of whom is his son-in-law, and two adolescent boys of his family, who also have rubber avenues. One of his sons and another man maintain a separate residence not far from that of the chief, and a stepson taps rubber near the mouth of the Cabitutú. The chief is considered the representative in trade of all but one of the dry-season residents of the Cabitutú, and these "clients" gather at his house when the trader is expected.

Several residents of Cabruá collect rubber on the Tropas River. Most are customers of a trader at Caroçal on the Tapajós River, who maintains a branch store and agent on

178 182 345 [562] durucú village on the Cururú River has ever had the men's house. The male organization has meaning primarily in terms of the social and economic division of the sexes and in the maintenance of male solidarity and dominance. These have been drastically altered, and the men's house would have no function in the new social structure. Similarly, the ceremonies for the game-animal spirits have never been observed on the Cururú, because the major festivals were focused on the hunt and depended on the men's house for their proper completion. Also of importance has been the presence of the missionaries, who have consistently discouraged native religious ceremonies in the region under their influence.

178 182 796

THE RUBBER TRADE

182 361 184 When posed with the question of why he prefers residence on the Cururú to the savannahs, the male Mundurucú informant gives three reasons. First, that even in the rainy season one can catch enough fish in the Cururú River, while the campineiro may hunt to no avail for several days in succession. Second, that savannah life requires much walking, but that, on the Cururú, the canoe makes travel easier. The walks referred to are those long treks that the savannah dweller must make at the beginning and end of the rubber season, when his supply of farinha has to be replenished, or when work has to be done in the gardens. [439] Third, that on the Cururú trade goods are plentiful and accessible, and a better return is received from rubber.

439 648 The latter point is important, because the Mundurucú are aware of the sharp practices of the Brazilian traders, although they feel powerless to cope with them. "Not only does the patron give very little for rubber," say the Cururú River residents "but when asked for more expensive articles he always replies that he does not have any

1: Tocantins--1 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

000

Studies on the Mundurucu Tribe: A Memoir Written and Read before the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute by Engineer Antonio Manoel Gonçalves Tocantins, Corresponding Fellow of the Institute.

I

114
121

Journey to the central Mundurucu villages, situated in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. -- Itinerary from Belém, capital of the province of Pará, to those villages. -- Scenes of savage life.

I left Belém on the eighteenth of June, 1875, bound for the Upper Tapajoz.

The journey up the Amazon from Belém to Santarém and up the Tapajoz from Santarém to Itaituba takes five days on one of the big steamers of the Companhia do Amazonas.

At Itaituba I embarked in a small canoe manned by eight Indians, nearly all of the Maué tribe, and proceeded through the falls of the Upper Tapajoz.

797 Ten days later I reached the Mission of Bacabal, which was founded by order of the Imperial Government and established on the right bank of the Tapajoz on the twenty-third of February,[74]1872.

---

128 Translator's Note:

Whenever possible, the spelling of Portuguese and aboriginal words -- including names of places, tribes, rivers, plants, native foods and implements -- has been changed to its modern Brazilian equivalent.

Portuguese personal names and trade names, book titles, aboriginal word lists and Mundurucu quotations have been left untouched, as have a few other naive words of uncertain phonetic rendition and those that would require the use of letter combinations equally foreign to present-day Portuguese.

797 by Fa. Antonino and Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva. This mission holds some five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe.

[124] The missionary Fa. Pelino who was alone there, his companion having already left Bacabal, lent me as an interpreter a Mundurucu Indian who understands and speaks the Portuguese and Tupi languages in addition to his own dialect.

114 I continued my journey up the Tapajoz and reached the mouth of the Cadereri River, an eastern tributary of the Tapajoz, five days after leaving the Mission of Bacabal.

There, according to what I had been told, I was supposed to meet a bold frontiersman who knew the way to the central villages. Unhappily, however, I did not find him, and the members of my crew knew nothing about the course of the Cadereri River.

Here I was, perplexed for lack of guides and information, when two Mundurucu savages appeared upon the beach.

We asked them, through the interpreter, how long it would take us to reach the source of the Cadereri.

The older of the two savages responded with the following [201] sign: with his index finger he pointed due east, and then he traced 805 a semicircle following the apparent course of the sun to the west, accompanying this gesture with expressive looks, motions and sounds; and he repeated this slowly and distinctly six times in such a way that before the interpreter could explain his message I had already understood that the savage meant it would take us six days.

He also told us that we would meet other Indians at the headwaters of the Cadereri, who could guide us to the village of [103] Necodemos whence he and his companion came. [75]

I was impressed by this name of Necodemos which the Mundurucu gave one of their main villages, for it is the name of the generous and compassionate Jew who bestowed simple funeral dignities upon Christ -- a shroud to enclose his body and a sepulcher to protect it.

I do not know why the Mundurucu gave this name to their village, but I imagine that the coincidence of names is no more than a mere accident.

In any case, I decided to seek the village of Necodemos in preference to any other.

621	Cererepçá	500
161	Cabroá	500
103	Imburariri	350
	Macapá	360
	Ucuberi	250
	Cabetutum	350
	Chacorão	700
	Airi	300
	Bacabal (Mission)	500
	Boburé	100
	Total	18,910

These figures may be somewhat exaggerated, or at least the population of these malocas may have undergone considerable changes. The village of Chacorão, for example, is now abandoned; that of Boburé is nearly extinct. Though it is certain that nowadays the numbers of strictly savage Mundurucu do not reach [102] 18,000 souls, I am convinced that the old population centers of the tribe, formerly established on the banks of the Upper and [103] Lower Tapajoz, in themselves exceeded this figure by far. These last-mentioned groups settled in the old missions, or incorporated themselves little by little into the Christian population in such a way that their descendants today do not even understand the dialect of the tribe.

XIII

Maloca of Necodemos -- Plan of Mundurucu malocas.

361 Necodemos is located on a hill, in the center of a vast plain, not far from the woods.

In the center of the maloca stands the ekçá or warriors' 342 quarters.

361 The ekçá consists of an elongated house, about one hundred meters long, roofed with thatch, its whole length open towards the

700 time. Many other peoples, if not all, have afforded posterity the sad spectacle of this aberration of human reason.

683 The Mundurucu hold fast to this fatal error: the sorcerer among them is irrevocably sentenced to death, but this is the only instance when capital punishment is applied.

797 The missionary from Bacabal, F. Pelino de Castrovalva,
683 relates the following case in the Report he submitted to the President of Pará on the fourteenth of August, 1876:

"First of all, Your Excellency must know that one of my greatest concerns, during my five years of office in this Mission, has been to blot out from the Indians' heads some stubborn superstitions, especially those which stood most directly opposed to religion and to the well-being of society.

"Now, one of the strongest superstitions I had to battle was that of witchcraft.

"All I did not say, all I did not do, to wrench from their hearts this evil superstition! And how many deaths were not caused by those mistaken beliefs before the Mission was founded! However, when I already believed that I had persuaded them to loathe this abominable sin, lo and behold [108] one day when the missionary was not there they reverted to the same practices.

"Your Excellency is aware that last year I came to the capital [of Pará] to attend to some affairs of the Mission. Well, while I was away, several people in the Mission sickened and died.

"And some of the Indians began to cry: 'It is witchcraft! It is witchcraft!'

"We must kill the sorcerers. They want to kill us all: we must kill them! They selected four young men of the Mission to be sacrificed as sorcerers. They were able to find one of them, by the name of Ismael; the others, warned in time, fled and came back to the Mission after my return.

"The young man was killed with two gunshots, and finished off with blows on the head.

"The executioners were Silvano da Silva and another boy (now dead).

"The commander was Capt. José da Gama who, around noon of the day when he gave orders to kill Ismael (who lived on

683 the other side of the Mission, across the stream, in the midst of
797 the woods), seeing that the envoys he had dispatched at dawn did not return, said impatiently: 'These people are no good at killing people, I'll go myself!' But when he got there he found the victim already sacrificed. They returned satisfied, leaving the body to the vultures, without giving it burial."

[622] This Capt. José da Gama, mentioned by the missionary father, had been the chief of a village which formerly stood on the banks of the Tapajoz and came with all his people to the Mission of Bacabal. His aboriginal name is Mari-Baxi; the missionary father always left him in charge of the Mission when he had to leave for any period of time. He is an energetic and bold Indian, and already before the Mission was founded he sacrificed several of his companions who had been accused of witchcraft, among them his own brother whom [109] he cast down the waterfalls with a stone tied to his neck.

If Mari-Baxi, alias José da Gama, still commits such acts in a mission which is under government supervision, we can imagine what the chiefs of the central villages may do. The above episode took place in 1875, while I was traveling beyond the Mission of Bacabal, visiting the plains villages. Upon my return I stayed two days at the Mission, where José da Gama was in charge during the absence of the missionary who had gone to the capital.

The chief greeted me with numerous tokens of regard and friendship, but said not a word about the crime he had just committed. He, as well as his accomplices, preserved the greatest secrecy on the subject. Even the missionary, who returned a few days after my stay at the Mission, only came to know the facts much later.

683 Around that time, the following episode also took place in one of the villages. Several Indian women went bathing in a
[482] brook near the village; upon returning, each carried on her head
[415] a gourd of water for her household. When they least expected it, four Mundurucu came out toward them, got hold of one of the poor girls who was about eighteen years old, and pierced her with their tremendous spears. Her companions tarried a moment and

796 village hunters during the coming year by keeping her children
224 close by and in large numbers. The reply is always favorable.

Then he calls in turn upon the "mother" of the deer and of all other animals the Mundurucu wish to encounter in the course of the hunt.

The fishing celebration is similar in every way.

796 In addition to those ceremonies consecrated to the tutelary
241 deities of hunting and fishing, the Mundurucu have a yearly cultivation celebration at the start of summer. [134]

Men and women stand in a row, blowing a kind of horn called ken; while singing and dancing they call upon the "mothers"
796 of manioc, maize, etc., in the following way:
241
539 "Oh, 'mother' of manioc, favor us with the fruit of thy children. Do not allow us to go hungry. Every year we entreat thee; we never forget thee."

The shamans sing this invocation before the people, who repeat it in chorus.

The Mundurucu runs as follows:

"Mucẽipixi eirũ beré bereme u tiédié imenedié diei chipanme mucẽ dẽ aipanem itabungue diẽé taraibote ama epõtepõte diẽe imenedié tutu utiẽ-die araiarai utẽcõpe ixi abime pame euatu abime éirũ bereereme bate que mẽaipanhate uéré mon utie caroi diẽai panme tuman."

XXIII

Mission of Bacabal -- History -- Persistent struggle between the leading citizens of the district and the missionary

648
797 The Imperial Government has spared no effort to bring into the lap of civilization those bands that wander through the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was to this end that the Mission of Bacabal was founded in 1872 by order of the Government.

This mission, calling as it did to all the Mundurucu Indians who lived on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, was the immediate

source of violent complaints on the part of the leading citizens of the Itaituba District.

To give an idea of the obstacles the Government must face in its great endeavor to christianize [135] the aboriginal tribes, I shall relate here the history of the Mission of Bacabal, which managed to gather together five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe, indubitably one of Brazil's principal aboriginal groups.

So that I may not be accused of bias, I shall transcribe textually certain documents written by the citizens of the district and by the missionary, which bring out the animosity between the two sides.

The leading cultivators and tradesmen of the Itaituba District sent a petition to the Legislative Assembly of the province of Pará on the first of March, 1874, complaining that the missionary of Bacabal did no more than monopolize the labor of the peaceable Indians on the banks of the Tapajoz, without troubling to christianize the savage bands of the central villages.

This petition is here reproduced in full:

"To the members of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. -- At the end of the year 1871, the missionaries Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva and Fa. Antonino came to the Upper Tapajoz to found a mission in a location more easily accessible to the aboriginal tribes which still inhabit, in large numbers, the interior of the region. This event was lauded by all, for it would ensure the growth and flowering of this part of the Empire, which lacks manpower in its dwindling agriculture and in other areas that underlie and maintain our trade. The missionaries chose the spot named Bacabal, the seat of a very old settlement of Indians who were already civilized, working in agriculture and the extraction of rubber, lending their skillful knowledge of canoe navigation, and bartering the products of their husbandry. The missionaries, ill-informed and reckless, [136] listening as they did to tramps and adventurers, immediately declared war on the tradesmen, calling them all without exception thieves and scoundrels. They advised the Indians not to pay their debts because they owed nothing, and prevented them from lending their skill to the dangerous canoe trips along the falls, thus causing terrible damage in the years 1872 and 1873, such as the loss of

648 797 twelve canoes with their loads and several lives!... These facts were related to the Government in the columns of a newspaper published in the town of Santarem. Unhappily, it seems that the higher authorities have been deceived and do not believe the true accounts provided by the press. This evil waxes greater day by day, for the missionaries, protected as they are by a government that entertains the most laudable intentions toward the process of christianization, keep in Bacabal those Indians who resided there and suborn into their service many who were employed by the tradesmen, as well as Negroes who led an irregular life. They put these people to tasks that benefit only the missionaries themselves, to singing hymns, and to performing other acts which decency demands to pass over in silence. The enclosed documents will make clear the behavior of these missionaries, who to this day have contributed nothing to the cause of christianization. This has already moved the Municipal Chamber of Itaituba to report to the Government the manner of behavior of these missionaries, which runs altogether counter to the ends of their mission and which to date has achieved no results whatever. -- The undersigned therefore request this illustrious body to recognize the growing evils which threaten the Upper Tapajoz, and to authorize the president of the province to send a delegation of competent men to investigate the facts and uncover the truth, so that measures may be taken to abolish the distress [137] which forces us to present this petition to the elected rulers of the people. Itaituba, March 1, 1874." (The signatures follow.)

The missionary father, on the other hand, does not bitterly indict all the citizens who signed the petition, but only those tradesmen named regatões [hucksters] who yearly penetrate the Upper Tapajoz, carrying in small canoes a few articles to barter for rubber, sage, copaiba oil, and other natural products of the region.

In a letter dated January 20, 1876, the missionary Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva relates the following events to the president of the province of Pará:

"It was on July 10 of last year that Mr. Tocantins visited this Mission; a few days after his departure I had to come to the capital, as Your Exc. knows, for reasons concerning the welfare of the Mission.

648 "During my absence the public morality of the village was
[97] thoroughly disturbed by some illicit peddlers.

. . . . . .

"These hucksters and their crews, having learned that the Mission was empty, made for the village one by one without delay and there committed excesses of robbery and licentiousness.

"According to their custom, they first intoxicated the Indians with cachaça [a kind of rum], thus depriving them of their reason, and then took from them everything they could -- manioc flour, ducks, chickens, etc. -- giving them in return nothing but the cachaça they could drink.

"They carried out public whoring day and night, in the harbor and in the houses; and, oh! Sir, in this respect they were truly [138] excessive! There was not one family of poor Indians whose dearest honor and decency they did not abuse horribly, and even the stones shed tears before such a clamity!

"The demoralization went so far that in their intoxicated state the Indians themselves copied the licentiousness of the hucksters, forgetting all they had learned and turning the Mission on those days into a veritable brothel!

"As a result of these unusual goings-on in the village during my absence, which lasted but 49 days, a notable retrogression took place.

"At that time also, ten Indians seized by some superstition (which possibly was also spread by strangers) kept saying that now that the missionary was gone the government had ordered them all to be killed, and that Mr. Tocantins had been sent here to this end; whereupon they fled into the depths of the woods.

"Others, numbering more than twenty, were deceived by the peddlers and left the village with them to help with the extraction of rubber.

"Several others contracted agreements with hucksters and rubber extractors, and were about to leave the Mission when I returned.

"Had the Mission remained abandoned a few days longer, it would have been completely destroyed.

"My unexpected return caused much perturbation among the Indians and much surprise to the enemy.

"Thanks to Divine Providence, public order was restored. Those Indians who had been led away from the Mission were sought out, and soon I was able to bring them all back [139] into the fold. I redoubled the discipline in accordance with the regulations, forbidding sharp dealing strangers to stop at the Mission or to contract agreements with the Indians in my absence and without my permission.

"The protection which the Government has so justly and wisely granted to the Mission has caused the despair of its enemies; and now that they are perfectly aware of this, they are slowly giving up the whole scheme.

"Following my return to the Mission there occurred only one unfortunate event, as follows:

"One of the greatest deceivers of the Indians, one Boaventura Alves Pereira, a licentious man who deals in cachaça and for this reason has often been expelled from the Mission, came one night secretly to some Indians, between December 10 and 15 of last year, and invited them to come and trade with him at a nearby harbor. The Indians, though somewhat wary, consented and accompanied him. The usual episodes were repeated; everything took place, though with greater moderation.

"As soon as I became aware of his presence, I immediately sent out some Indians in military uniform (who form here a sort of detachment), ordering them to bring me the huckster so that I might take back from him what he had stolen from them. They went; but on sighting soldiers the huckster untied his canoe from the dock. As the corporal attempted to hold the canoe and seize him, the huckster threatened to kill him with his gun.

"The disappointed corporal and his comrades ran to get a canoe and set out after him; but in order to avoid a conflict I did not allow them to do so.

"I punished the chiefs of the guilty Indians; and the huckster being a repeated offender, I denounced him to the sub-delegate of Itaituba in accordance with mission regulations. [139]

"However, Sir, knowing the hostility which rules in Itaituba against the Mission, nothing is to be expected from those quarters. For this reason I turn to Your Exc. and request and beg

1: Tocantins--58 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13
Cawahib SP10
M
648
797

that two individuals who are highly injurious to the development of the Mission be ordered out of its territory.

. . . . . .

"I am certain that Your. Exc. will rid the Mission of this human plague by ordering them to be expelled five leagues beyond the boundaries of the district, in accordance with the pertinent regulation."

XXIV

The Mundurucu attack a band of Parintintin -- The Parintintin attack some inhabitants of the Tapajoz river banks.

M
C
648
726

Around that time,[1] a band of Parintintin appeared on the banks of one of the tributaries of the Tapajoz, not far from the Mission.

These poor savages, far from being greeted by Christians and invited into the pale of labor and into life in society, met only with executioners.

Some adventurers, of the kind that comes to those parts in the summer months to extract rubber, lost no time in warning the Mundurucu of the neighboring village. The latter immediately set out, met the Parintintin, defeated them, killed a few, set the others to flight, and returned to the village with several woman and child captives.

No wonder the Parintintin have never managed to settle in the valley of the Tapajoz, which they have roamed [141] incessantly for many years. But these barbarians, whose fate is a continuous state of alarm and dread -- pursued as they are into the deepest recesses of the forest and ever threatened with the forced abduction of their wives and children -- also nurture in their trembling hearts the thirst for vengeance.

Unable to strike at the enemy or at those frontiersmen who had joined the Mundurucu ranks in the wretched hope of obtaining a few Parintintin child captives, these barbarians nevertheless

1 [i.e., ca. January, 1876. -Analyst]

C
648 savages. When the latter returned, they were furious on finding
726 the men gone, and they cut off her head with wooden knives and
[412] carried it with them, leaving behind the rest of the body, a large
number of arrows thrust into the roof of the hut and into a canoe,
[201] and others set in the form of a cross as a sign of vengeance.

"As a result of this episode, all the rubber gatherers who lived in those parts left for the islands, abandoning a stretch along the right bank of the Tapajoz some fifty leagues in length, from Apuí to Montanhas.

"When I heard about this at the Mission, I should have liked to fly out in search of those wretched aborigines; but after seriously considering the facts and the information [143] provided by the Mission Mundurucu, I realized that any such attempt would be futile. The thick impassable forests, the lakes, the dense network of streams branching all over the interior, all this makes the passage of a missionary altogether impossible."

XXV

Further antagonism between the missionary of Bacabal and the leading citizens of the Itaituba District.

M
648 The hostilities between the missionary and those he called
● 747 foes of the Mission were steadily maintained.

The Imperial Government has to heart the cause of Christianization and was eager to investigate the case, but it was difficult to determine the truth in those faraway parts.

The honorable president of the province of Pará, Commander Pedro Vicente de Azevedo, took it upon himself to visit the Mission of Bacabal in order to study all that pertained to the cause of christianization and to submit a detailed report to the Ministry of Agriculture.

I had the opportunity to observe that this mission which is one of the largest in the Empire, numbering as it does five hundred Indians, is in a position to perform great services by inviting to Christianity not only those Mundurucu who still live in the

1: Tocantins--61 C-5 (1875) 1877 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

648
787

jungle, far from the banks of the Tapajoz, but also the unruly Parintintin and all the heathen bands that roam the valley of the Upper Xingu and the borderlands of the province of Mato Grosso. [144]

The grave accusation had been levelled at Fa. Pelino that by reason of his own private interests he paid more attention to commerce than to catechism.

It is true that the missionary carried out a significant amount of trade with the Pará market, selling rubber, sage, copaiba oil and other natural products of this rich territory which had been extracted by the Mission Indians, and in turn buying foreign goods.

The citizens who lodged the complaint against Fa. Pelino maintained that the greater part of this trade was carried out for his own account, and that he had actually remitted important sums of money to Europe.

But the missionary denied this, asserting that the trade was carried out not for his own benefit but for that of the Mission Indians, who extracted these products from the forest and to whom he submitted accounts.

Be that as it may, in the absence of convincing proof that the missionary actually was enriching himself at the expense of the Mission -- proof all the more needed in view of the gravity of the accusation -- the Government decided to uphold the missionary and the Mission and in fact did so.

Unfortunately, however, new events occurred which placed a heavy strain on the missionary's repute.

These events grew in consequence, the matter was widely debated in the daily press and on the rostrum of Pará's Legislative Assembly.

In the Chamber of Deputies, the authoritative voice of my distinguished friend, Dr. Cantão, rose in defense of the missionary.

The enlightened opinion of the nation, which is not indifferent to such matters, expressed itself strongly. [145]

It was unfortunately established beyond doubt that the missionary had not always lived up to the trust which the Imperial Government had invested in him.

648 787 The Minister of Agriculture, in an order dated December 22, 1876, excused Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva from his duties as head of the Mission of Bacabal; at the same time, immediate and equitable measures were taken to maintain the Mission and to serve as vigorously as heretofore the cause of christianization in those remote parts.

XXV

Trade between the hucksters and the Indians of the Upper Tapajoz.

648 787 439 The bitter fight waged between the leading citizens of the Itaituba District and the missionary of Bacabal had no other cause than the Indian trade.

I refer here to those Indians who live at the Mission of Bacabal and at other points of the Upper Tapajoz riverbanks, and [154] not to the Mundurucu of the central villages, such as Necodemos and others, which are called villages of the plains.

The latter, who are truly savage, carry out no trade whatever, and indeed appear to avoid contact with both missionaries and petty tradesmen.

The missionary of Bacabal held the combined functions of director of the settlement, head steward, schoolmaster to both male and female pupils, and parson. He was not eager to obtain assistants from the government to help him in his various tasks, and kept the Mission totally isolated from any contact with the inhabitants of the district and especially with the hucksters. [146]

All the Indian trade in Bacabal was carried out through him directly with the Pará market, and he gave no account whatever of these transactions to the government.

We shall now endeavor to provide a general idea of the manner in which trade is carried out on the Upper Tapajoz.

The district of Itaituba, which stretches beyond the Mission of Bacabal to the borders of Mato Grosso, is one of the richest in natural resources in the valley of the Amazon.

It produces excellent rubber in large quantities, and the provinces of Pará and Amazonas owe the rapid development of their export and import trade to this commodity.

Rubber sells on the Pará market for $1.50 to $2.00 a kilogram; the Tapajoz alone yearly exports some 150,000 kilograms of it, and this amount would be larger if there were sufficient manpower to gather all the natural resources of the soil. The district also produces guaraná, a highly precious commodity of acknowledged medicinal worth.

The Maué Indians alone cultivate this plant and prepare the product, which they usually make into cylindrical loaves, sometimes, however, they mold it into the shape of animals native to the region, such as tapir, snakes, turtles and others, lending to this task considerable intelligence and artistic taste.

Guaraná sells on the Pará market for $4 to $5 a kilogram; and in Mato Grosso, where it is in great demand, the price is four times higher.

Each crew member of the canoes that sail in those parts takes a guaraná decoction every morning and even several times a day as a fever preventive. The results are positive.

The district also furnishes copaiba oil, sarsaparilla, [147] and other natural products which are priced high and esteemed greatly on all markets.

On this very day I find the following notice in a reputable newspaper of the capital of Pará [Belém]:

"Indians -- Sixteen Mundurucu Indians from the Mission of Bacabal, accompanied by their chief, have arrived in this capital to appear before the Presidency and to promote the sale of 292 arrobas (over 4,000 kilograms) of rubber.

"The chief's attire and the face paintings of these Indians have attracted public curiosity."

Commerce on the Upper Tapajoz is carried out by tradesmen known as regatões [hucksters or traders], who appear in those parts in small canoes loaded with goods during the summer months and the rubber harvest. Navigation through the falls is difficult and risky; it is often necessary to unload the canoe and carry the burden on land for several kilometers; then the canoe in turn has to be carried and reloaded; and farther on the whole procedure

439 Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva, who called those wretched Indians
797 to the Mission in large numbers, used to tell them: "My sons, you owe nothing to these illicit tradesmen; from [149] now on, work only for yourselves, for your wives and for your children."

XXVI

Trade between the Indians and the traders --
Strange and fabulous running accounts.

431 The missionary of Bacabal showed me several running accounts made out to the Indians by the peddlers, in which the former always owed the latter very large sums of money.

We will reproduce below the running account between the petty tradesman Manoel Quirino Paes and the Indian chief Joaquim Correia Piampé. Then we will outline the same running account, figured out in terms of cash and listing the respective prices.

This will demonstrate that even if we assume an honest and exact listing of the commodities sold as to quantity and quality, and of the rubber purchased as to weight, the goods were dealt out to the Indian at 400 per cent of their cost value.

There follows another running account, indicating that the chief José Francisco owes the trader Jose Domingos de Oliveira the tremendous sum of 6,876,282 reis!

It looks like a transaction between two wealthy parties; yet José Domingos de Oliveira is but a poor trader living in a simple hut on the banks of the Upper Tapajoz, and the chief José Francisco is a half-naked and illiterate savage. [150]

RUNNING ACCOUNT

"The chief Joaquim Corrêa Piampé owes Manoel Quirino Paes to March 28th:

2 cuts thick americano, 80 yards	5 arrobas rubber
2 cuts strong gingham [riscado], 80 yards	5 "

175 turned on the previously mentioned Parintintins, Parintins
448 (Parárauátes or Uauvrivait), and recently on the Apiacas above Salto Augusto on the Tapajoz with whom thirty years ago they had been at peace. *

* Lour. da Silva Araujo Amazonas
Diccionar. topogr. etc. da Comarca
do Alto-Amazonas. Recife 1852. 206.

In 1803 the first aldea of the Mundrucus, S. Cruz, seven days journey above Santarem on the Tapajôz, was founded and since that time the whole tribe has been at peace with the Brazilians. Several
[197] of their large villages have been turned into missions and trade with the whites. In S. Cruz, Boim, Pinhel, and the rest of the village on
[16] the Tapajôz 1,000 bows (fighting men) were counted, in the mission of Mauhe 1,600, in that of Juruty 1,000. **

438

** This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the villages on the Tapajoz produce 6,000 Metzen [one Metze = 1.05 bu.] of manioc flour a year, those of Mauhé 1,500 and those of Canomá 800. This was exported for the most part to Santarem and neighboring places. They are fond of giving large quantities of flour to their priests. In 1819 the Mundrucus of Canamá gathered 900 arrobas of cinnamon and an equal quantity of sarsparilla and sold it. With such a tendency to bourgeois industry they all might have been expected to settle themselves among the whites. At the time of my visit this was hindered by their dislike of public service away from their families. They were pressed to do this kind of work in the cities.

174 A number of considerations, particularly similar customs, organization for war [396] and numerous speech elements, all traceable to the Tupi, make it appear likely to me that these Mundrucûs originally

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Santarém and *Gurupa* in 1780 and again in 1784. They attacked the *Mura* in the Madeira River region and a few years later dispersed their southern neighbors, the *Parintintin* (*Cawahiwa*). Their next expedition, involving an army of some 2,000 warriors, is said to have crossed the Xingú and Tocantins Rivers and to have reached the western limits of Maranhão Province. The expedition is said to have been defeated and turned back by the *Apinayé* (see Strömer, 1937), but according to Nimuendajú, it may be doubted that the *Mundurucú* actually went so far east. A Neo-Brazilian punitive force fought a 3-day battle with them on the Rio de Tropas (ca. 1794). Peace was established in 1795 or 1796. 175 726

Except for minor conflicts with neighboring tribes, the *Mundurucú* abandoned warfare and gradually relinquished the great territory they had seized. Missions were established on the Tapajóz in 1799 and on the Madeira in 1811. By 1885, the *Mundurucú* still living on the Madeira River had been sufficiently acculturated to be described as "civilized" (Hartt, 1885). A few of the villages of the Tapajóz region are said to preserve as much of the old culture as can survive without military organization, warfare, and head hunting (Strömer, 1932). [797] [177]

The site of the tribe prior to its northward drive along the Tapajóz is not definitely known. Kruse (1934) believes that they lived adjacent to the *Apiacá* in Mato Grosso; Martius (1867) thought that language and customs pointed to an origin still further south. It is Nimuendajú's opinion (personal communication), however, that the *Mundurucú* were originally located on the Río de Tropas, where their principal settlements are found today and where the punitive expedition of 1794 found their chief military strength. *Mundurucú* legend attributes their origin to the town of Necodemus in this area. [173]

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

The *Mundurucú* subsist partly on horticulture and partly on hunting, fishing, and gathering. Tocantins' (1877) list of plants cultivated by them includes two species of manioc, sweet potato, pineapple, sugarcane, various peppers and beans, and several species of bananas. Other authors mention cotton, tobacco, and genipa. Tocantins names some 30 noncultivated plants utilized in *Mundurucú* economy. Martius (1867) says that this tribe formerly gathered wild rice along the Madeira and Irariá Rivers. They eat ants, larvae, and honey. 241 222

Some of the *Mundurucú* now have cattle. Though they do not use these as food, they will eat the meat of domestic animals if it is offered them. 231

In the aboriginal culture, wild fowl were kept in cages to provide plumage for the featherwork described below.

The *Mundurucú* are said to show great affection for their dogs. Women suckle puppies; when a dog dies it is given the same form of burial as a human being.

There are no published descriptions of *Mundurucú* hunting techniques, but accounts of hunting rituals indicate that tapirs, peccaries, hares, deer, and agoutis are hunted. One ritual simulates the use of a runway of stakes to trap peccaries. Intensive hunting occurs during the summer, when many families occupy temporary huts in the brush. 224 [221]

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ

The Mundurucú, a Tupian speaking people, are presently located in a region of mixed forest and savannah east of the Tapajós River in the state of Pará, Brazil, between the sixth and eighth degrees of south latitude. Highly acculturated and almost assimilated remnants of the tribe are also found on the Secundurí, Abacaxí and Maués Rivers in the adjoining state of Amazonas. The Mundurucú were first reported upon in the latter region in 1768 (Monteiro Noronha, 1862). Their military strength was rapidly impressed upon the colonists of the Amazon Valley, for they commenced a series of strong attacks upon forts along the Amazon River that continued until the colonial government retaliated and in 1795 struck at the Mundurucú homeland on the upper Tapajós River. There is no information on the impact of this attack on the Mundurucú, but they ceased raiding white settlements immediately thereafter and in time became active allies of the colonists and the Portuguese colonial government. So rapidly did the Mundurucú adapt to the whites that by 1817 Ayres de Casal (1817:237) wrote, "Nearly all of the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies, and some already are Christians." But the Mundurucú had by no means become pacific, and raids, often instigated by the whites, were pushed with unabated fury against other Indian tribes.

Shortly after their contact with the white colonists, segments of the Mundurucú were evidently in the process of migrating northward along the Tapajós River and into the country between the Tapajós and Madeira Rivers. The Mundurucú who settled in these more northerly regions soon became assimilated into the neo-Brazilian population. Missions and mission-sponsored reductions were established in their midst at several locales, and their inhabitants intermarried with the Portuguese and mestizo colonists. The population of these Indian reductions declined throughout the century; Coudreau (1897:8) states that the old Mundurucú reduction of Uxituba had 485 Indians in 1833, 343 in 1848, 100 in 1869 and only 50 in 1895. Others, such as Boim and Itaituba, lost their Indian character and became Brazilian towns. By 1885 the process had advanced so far that Charles F. Hartt (1885:117) noted: "The Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in large part been lost."

The balance of the tribe, which remained south, or upstream, of the head of navigation of the Tapajós River, maintained relative autonomy. They conducted trade, at first in manioc flour and later in raw latex, with Brazilian traders who seasonally ascended the river, but no permanent Brazilian settlements were located above the Cachoeira de Maranhão, a series of impassable rapids. At the end of the century, however, the boom in rubber extraction attracted permanent trading posts to the upper Tapajós River, and a Catholic mission was established on the banks of the river.

The rubber boom terminated the isolation of the Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós. The population became involved in rubber production for barter, and, although the new economic pursuit did not seriously hamper their tradi-

8: Murphy & Steward E-5 (1952-1953) 1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Despite the flourishing trade in gewgaws, the allure of most trade goods lay more in their sheer utility than in their exotic qualities. The increased efficiency of the Mundurucú economy made possible by steel tools must have been enormous. 439 177

The parallels in these basic processes of acculturation between the Mundurucú and the Montagnais are porbably to be found also among most aborigines. In the case of the Mundurucú, the displacement of aboriginal crafts by commercial goods better suited to meet local needs, both old and new, inexorably led to increased dependency of the people upon those who furnished these goods and therefore to a greater involvement in economic patterns external to their own culture.

The Mundurucú families, like those of the Algonkians, became dependents of the trading posts. More than a century ago, Bates related that Brazilian traders made seasonal expeditions to trade with the Mundurucú. After rubber became important in the Amazon, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós River. These posts, whether owned by individuals or companies, exercised such control over tracts of rubber-producing forest that they compelled the rubber collector to trade exclusively with them. They accomplished this by their power of dispossession and by holding the collector in debt. The traders among the Mundurucú were never able to obtain title of ownership to the rubber regions within Mundurucú country proper,[2] but they made the Indians dependent upon them in a very real sense through their credit arrangements. In time, all of the Mundurucú villages came under the control of various traders, who were so influential by virtue of being necessary to the Indians that they were able to appoint the "chief", in violation of Indian tradition, and thereby intensified their control over the Indians.

The progressive weakening of the hereditary chief, whose authority was based upon aboriginal activities, was furthered by the decline in warfare. The post-white warfare, although frequently mercenary in character and auxiliary to Portuguese occupation and expansion, continued the native pattern of authority. The Indians were paid in trade goods. When, at the end of the nineteenth century, the central Amazon region had been pacified, the military help of the Mundurucú was no longer needed. Meanwhile, rubber collecting had become the principal means by which the Indians acquired foreign trade articles. Since the Indians were important to rubber production in labor-starved Amazonia, they were pushed to greater efforts by the traders. Increased devotion of the Mundurucú to rubber production correspondingly interfered with their warfare; for in earlier times the rubber season was the time for war. When in 1914 a Franciscan mission was established in their midst, the earlier political and economic basis of Mundurucú warfare was so undermined that the admonitions of the priests that they live in peace were quite effective. [622] 721 177 439 [797]

At the end of the second stage of Mundurucú acculturation, only bonds of kinship and economic collectivity in producing food for the group held Mundurucú society together. Much of the old structure was gone. The chieftaincy had been undermined, warfare had ended, and reliance upon the outside economy was taking effect. During the nineteenth century, increasing numbers of Mundurucú who had difficulties with their co-residents were able to leave their villages permanently. Many others left in order to participate more fully in the rubber economy. 177 621

Full dependency upon rubber collection is not compatible with village life. Since the aboriginal Mundurucú villages were located several days foot travel from the rubber areas fringing the rivers, a family participating both in collective village life and the rubber economy had to migrate seasonally between its village and its house in the rubber area. Families living in this manner could spend only three to four months in rubber production. The only way the Indians can devote their full efforts to rubber tapping is to leave the villages of the interior savannah and live permanently near the rubber trees along the river banks. A large [221] 314 361 177

361 portion of the Mundurucú, whose increased need of and desire for trade goods
314 could no longer be satisfied by the yield of only three months' work in the rubber avenues, have made this choice.

These families represent the third stage of Mundurucú acculturation. Their
[182] resettlement in the rubber regions, however, has occurred in two ways. The first is a direct and complete adaptation to rubber collection, which can be studied in many contemporary inland villages. People desiring to increase their income from barter improve their rubber avenue house to make it more comfortable
[571] during the rains, plant gardens, and remain there. Although they maintain relationships with the inland villages, the loci of their social lives lie increasingly within the orbit of the communities of scattered families dependent upon the trading posts. The final step in their incorporation into the local Brazilian economy and the culmination of this acculturative process will come when they abandon horticulture to devote full time to work in the rubber avenues, and, like their Brazilian neighbors and the Western Montagnais, depend upon trade for the bulk of their food supply.

The second mode of readaptation to the rubber economy, while ending in the same type of settlement pattern and social organization as the first, involves passage through an intermediate stage. The previously mentioned mission on the
177 Cururu River had indifferent success in attracting the Mundurucú until the
797 1920s, when a policy of trading with the Indians was adopted. The missionaries were honest and generous in their commercial relations, and rubber-tapping became more profitable to the Indians. Their intensified collecting activities resulted in a general movement to the banks of the Cururu River, and by the 1930s many interior villages had been abandoned.

177 The migrants settled so heavily on the river banks that they were able to
621 nucleate in new villages. These villages, however, lacked the men's organization, division of labor, and collective patterns which structured the old type
594 villages. Although the population shift from the old to new villages was heavy, it involved individual families rather than whole villages. The new villages grew as additional nuclear families arrived from the savannah communities. During this period of growth, since the new villages consisted of families, many of which had not previously been connected with one another, each family had to carry on the subsistence activities which were formerly the function of the extended family and village. Gardens were cleared and planted by husband and wife with whatever aid their children were capable of giving. Fish, taken by family members from the nearby rivers, rapidly replaced game formerly taken in collective hunts as the major source of protein. Meanwhile, increased rubber production enabled the Indians to buy the hooks, lines, and canoes with which fishing was made more effective. As the new villages grew larger, the atomistic division of labor was perpetuated, and the nuclear family became the basic unit of production.

621 Political authority on the Cururu River was almost nonexistent. The migrants
178 began to trade as individuals, first with the missionaries and later with the newly established Indian Post. This economic trend stripped the "chiefs" of one of their last remaining functions, and their role was reduced to that of intermediary between the villagers and the priests and Indian agent.

The amorphously structured villages which arose on the banks of the Cururu River represent a transition to the family level and are not the culmination of adaptation to the ecology of rubber collection. Most of the residents of the
[221] Cururu River still have to reside away from their villages during the rubber season, but the easy communication made possible by canoe transportation allows the majority to return to rubber production after planting their gardens.

The new individualism and fragmented division of labor, combined with facets of the old culture which had become dysfunctional in the new situation, contributed

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tribe in general and the extended family in particular. Also, although the men's 178
houses are still built according to the traditional pattern the dwellings are now 621
built on a rectangular floor plan in contrast to the older elliptical shape. [341]

Modification of the traditional Mundurucú village is even more striking on the shores of the Cururú River. Some villages number almost 100 inhabitants, but others are tiny hamlets of two small houses; none has the men's house. All dwellings face toward the river, but there is no over-all village plan. The houses are constructed of wattle and daub and, but for a few distinctively Mundurucú characteristics, are much like those of the Neo-Brazilian population. This conformity to the architecture of the whites[3] is even greater on the Tapajós River, where the Mundurucú live in single-family isolation.

The decline of Mundurucú culture is also evident in the physical appearance and 291
dress of the people. All now wear the cheap cotton shirts and trousers or Mother 178
Hubbard dresses sold to them by the traders. The more traditional men of the savannah villages generally wear penis sheath and bark bit beneath this raiment and usually hunt in the latter accoutrements only. The elborate body and facial tattooing that were formerly the hallmark of all Mundurucú, both male and female, is also on the wane. It is common now to see young people who are half-tattooed, or who have only the first few lines, never completed because of the lapse of the practice. [304]

History

The current decadence of Mundurucú culture is not unexpected. On the contrary, 175
it is remarkable that the Mundurucú have preserved so much, and that they still have a semiautonomous society after more than a century and a half of continuous peaceful relations with the whites. They arrived late on the Amazon historical scene, and were not noted in published reports until 178.[3] Whether the Mundurucú reported at that time were the members of a war party or had migrated from their home territory is uncertain, for they were seen far to the north of the upper Tapajós country on the Maué-Assú River, a tributry of a channel of the Madeira River named the Paraná Mirím. But their center of strength remained roughly in their present habitat, and they fought a colonial military detachment in that region in 1795.[4] Their defeat at the hands of government troops ended more than two decades of Mundurucú raids upon the Portuguese settlements of the Amazon and ushered in a period of peaceful relations and active alliance with the whites.

Subsequent to their pacification, large numbers of Mundurucú drifted into 175
the vicinity of the growing towns and missions on the lower Madeira and Tapajós 797
rivers. The missions are of especial interest to the subject matter of this study. In 1803 the mission of Santa Cruz was established on the lower Tapajós River

[3] The term "white" as applied herein to the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon is used as a shorthand way of saying, "people bearing a local variant of neo-Brazilian culture, and who identify themselves with Brazilian society." Actually, the local people represent varying degrees of Caucasoid, Mongoloid, and Negroid admixture.

[3] Monteiro Noronha, 1862.

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 and was followed by others at Boim and Pinhel.[5] Spix and Martius visited the
797 Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River, another affluent of the Paraná Mirím, in 1819, and reported 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[6] Baptism and catechization of the Indians proceeded apace with their increasing involvement with the whites, and by 1817 Ayres de Casal stated, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians."[7]

175 The missionaries were by no means the only whites having contact with the
439 Indians, nor was religious instruction the only way in which they were exposed to European culture. The Indians manufactured manioc flour and collected the wild products of the region and sold these articles to the missionaries and traders, who probably were in active competition for the labor and production of the Mundurucú. The influence of the missions weakened with the deterioration of their economic hold over the Indians, and the Mundurucú tended to drift into a single-family settlement pattern along the banks of the streams. Today the Mundurucú of the Madeira River region are nearly assimilated, and those of the lower Tapajós are wholly so.

The bulk of the population, which remained in the area of the upper Tapajós River, experienced no such intensive contact. No missions were established above the great obstacle of the Cachoeira de Maranhão until 1872, and the area became settled by significant numbers of whites only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Before that period, the Mundurucú obtained the manufactured articles which they so avidly desired through mercenary warfare[8] and through the sale of surplus manioc flour and other products to traders who seasonally ascended the Tapajós River.[9] After about 1850, the upper Tapajós country was also penetrated by rubber collectors, to whom the Mundurucú frequently sold foodstuffs. The collectors traded with merchants in the growing town of Itaituba, below the head of navigation of the Tapajós, and returned each rainy season to the less isolated existence there. The contact of the Mundurucú with the Brazilians thus remained seasonal and sporadic.

By the 1870's, the commercial importance of rubber was growing rapidly; greater numbers of whites sought the product each year, and the Mundurucú were drawn increasingly into the extraction industry. The importance of the Indian population in the chronically labor-short Amazon region resulted in renewed efforts to attract or press greater numbers of them into commercial production. This problem and one solution of it were expressed in rather delicate and diplomatic terms by the Brazilian engineer, Antonio Tocantins: "The
175 imperial government has not spared efforts to call into the arms of civilization
797 the hordes that wander in the valley of the Upper Tapajoz. It was with this
439 purpose that in 1872 the establishment of the Mission of Bacabal was ordered."[10]

The superior of the new mission of Bacabal, Fr. Pelino de Castrovalva, under-

[5] Martius, 1867, p. 395.
[6] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.
[7] Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[8] See Murphy (1957) for a discussion of this pattern.
[9] Cf. Bates, 1863, p. 223.
[10] Tocantins, 1877, p. 134.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his task with some energy. But his methods were somewhat unexpected by the Itaituba merchants, who had strongly favored the establishment of a mission. The priest established himself at a point on the east bank of the upper Tapajós River and proceeded to gather into his "reduction" some 500 Mundurucú who had been dwelling on the banks of the stream. According to a later report by the French explorer, Henri Coudreau, the missionary had little or no contact with the main population in the savannah villages.[11] The mission Indians continued to collect forest products, principally rubber, and to sell them, but they traded only with the priests, who in turn, traded directly with Belém. Thus by-passed, the businessmen of Itaituba immediately protested to the governor of the province of Pará, claiming that the mission monopolized the Indian trade but made little effort toward catechization. The priest inveighed with equal vigor against the corrupting influence of the traders, whom he also accused of gross exploitation of the Indian population. Fr. Pelino lost the fight, and the mission was abandoned in 1876.

It would be extremely difficult to assay the effect of the Mission of Bacabal upon Mundurucú beliefs, for other avenues of communication with the white Christian population were opening rapidly during this period. As the rubber-extraction industry went into its boom period, permanent trading posts were established on the upper Tapajós and as far south as the waters of the Juruena and São Manoel rivers. And the rubber collectors correspondingly became more sedentary. Whole families settled in the rubber regions and remained there throughout the year. The new Brazilian population settled among and married with the Mundurucú of the Tapajós shores and had occasional contact with the more isolated dwellers of the interior. The latter fell increasingly into the skein of debt relations upon which the rubber economy was and is based, and the structure of their relations with the traders provided the means by which Christianity and other aspects of Western culture were communicated to them.

Recent Missionization

Active catechization of the Mundurucú Indians effectively lapsed with the abandonment of the Mission of Bacabal. Efforts were renewed by the Diocese of Santarém in 1911, however, and in 1912 German priests of the Franciscan order established a mission on the Cururú River, a tributary of the Tapajós flowing through the southern part of Mundurucú territory. The first task undertaken by the priests was to end Mundurucú warfare. Decline in numbers and involvement in the rubber trade made the Indians receptive to exhortations against war. Their prowess had been on the wane for some time, and wars were infrequent and of small scale by 1912. The next problem, that of bringing the Indians under the complete influence of the mission, met with very limited success until the classical pattern of trading with them was adopted. The priests bought rubber at a higher price than did the traders, and they sold merchandise more cheaply. So great was their success in attracting the Mundurucú that a

[11] Coudreau, 1897, p. 28.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

797 rise in rubber prices in the latter part of the 1920's was partly responsible for
175 causing the people of some savannah villages to migrate to the rubber-yielding
[161] forests along the Cururú River. Today, some 200 Indians reside at the mission, and another 300 are also clients of the priests.

797 Although this is not a study of changes in Mundurucú religion consequent
771 upon proselytization, it is necessary to survey briefly the effects of the mission upon native belief in order to interpret the data to be presented. Catechization is most actively pressed among those Indians on the Cururú River with whom the mission has trade contacts. The other 200 residents of the Cururú River have their closest relations with the local post of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios and only occasionally encounter the priests. The residents of the Tapajós River are far too scattered to be accessible with any frequency to the missionaries; these Mundurucú receive Christian influences through prayer sessions and religious fiestas held at the trading posts and through informal discourse with their Brazilian neighbors. The residents of the savannah villages maintain trade relations with the traders of the Tapajós River, but they are visited once a year by a priest who performs baptisms and remains for two or three days in each village to give religious instruction.

The personnel of the mission have proceeded with some degree of tact and restraint in their conversion of the Mundurucú population. All Mundurucú are technically Catholic, having been baptized, but only a minority have received all the subsequent sacraments. Children in residence at the mission school are administered Communion, and at intervals of several years the Bishop of Santarém visits the mission to hold Confirmation rites for those ready to receive them. All Indians in the villages under mission influence are married in religious ceremonies. These rites generally are the result of considerable pressure by the priests and follow a period of marriage according to native custom. The Indians themselves look upon the public marriage ceremony as most embarassing and shame-provoking and make every effort to avoid it. The sacrament of Extreme Unction is administered only to people who die at the mission itself. Otherwise, the customary funeral rites are followed and the body is interred under the floor of the dwelling.

Each Sunday a number of Mundurucú arrive at the mission for the primary purpose of trading and with the secondary intent of visiting; they are strongly urged to attend Sunday Mass, and most do as a means of keeping in the good graces of the prestigeful and respected missionaries. The superior of the mission has spent more than thirty years among the Mundurucú and speaks the language fluently. All of the Mass except the part universally recited in Latin is given in the Indian tongue. The Mundurucú observe the social division of the sexes while attending church. The front pews are occupied by the nuns and the 40-odd children usually resident at the school, and the remaining seats are occupied by the men. Most remain in a rigid kneeling position throughout the service, with the exception of one or two old men who imitate and even anticipate the ritual postures of the nuns. The women sit cross-legged on the floor of the center aisle; many nurse their children during the rites.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Attendance at church services is always greatest on such special holy days as Christmas, Easter, and the feast of St. Francis, the patron of the mission. The nuns serve refreshments to the participants, and dances are held in the houses of the Mundurucú who reside at the mission. These occasions unite hundreds of people and thus serve as the social equivalents of the now defunct tribal ceremonies devoted to the game-animal spirits. 797 771

Most Mundurucú ceremonies are no longer practiced by any segment of the population. The priests have made special efforts to discourage the practice of native rites in those Cururú River villages under their influence, and only the ceremony to regain stolen souls is still held. This rite requires the participation of only three or four shamans and two men who possess knowledge of certain songs, and is held in the closed house of the sick person. It is thus quite easily concealed from the attention of the priests, and the rites have been held in houses only a stone's throw from the priests' residence. Ceremonies involving a large number of participants have fallen out of practice, even among the more traditional savannah dwellers, who are not readily responsive to the dictates of the priests. As in the case of warfare, it is obvious that culture change was on the side of the missionaries and that their efforts were not the crucial factor in the decline of these aspects of Mundurucú culture. On the other hand, more individualized religious practices are still quite active among the Mundurucú. The priests recognize the psychological value of shamanism and have made little effort to inhibit its practice. They are quite realistic as to its tenacity among not only the Indians but the Neo-Brazilian population of the Amazon. But the position of the missionaries is of necessity ambiguous, for the ideological basis of shamanism is inextricably connected with the concepts surrounding sorcery, to which they are adamantly opposed. Frequent sermons are delivered against belief in witchcraft as the cause of illness, and the priests are extremely severe with those of their parishioners who take part in sorcery killings. Their efforts in this direction have had the net effect of causing the Mundurucú to withhold information on their religious beliefs, but it can be confidently stated that even the most acculturated Mundurucú believe firmly in witchcraft.

One of the more interesting facets of contemporary Mundurucú culture on the Cururú River is the general indifference of the people to Christian beliefs, in spite of their acceptance of the mission as an institution. There can be no denial of the fact that the priests are greatly respected by the Mundurucú and have great power among them. Chieftaincy in the Cururú villages is dependent upon recognition by the missionaries, and the major function of the chiefs is to act as intermediaries between the villages and the mission. The priests continually recruit children for the mission school in spite of the passive resistance of their parents, and they are able to bring considerable coercion to bear upon individuals through their economic power. But the Indians are only nominally Christians in spite of this influence and the intensive catechization to which they are exposed. [622]

The following chapters describe the manner in which the Indians have integrated and syncretized Christianity into their own belief system. This process

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

797 had doubtless begun long before the establishment of the present mission; it
771 is probable that items of Christian belief have diffused to the Mundurucú and been reinterpreted by them for a period of more than 150 years. These items of belief are now, from the viewpoint of the Indians, Mundurucú ideas. They recognize the affinity between Christian concepts and stories and some of their own, but they shrug off the former by saying that that is the way the priests tell the stories. Some informants thought that the priests had learned them from the Mundurucú—and learned them poorly.

The vast majority of Christian teachings have not, of course, been integrated into Mundurucú culture, and the Indians are exposed to these alien beliefs whenever they visit the mission or are visited by priests. Some of these, as the concepts of sin and damnation, are well known to the people, but make no emotional impact upon them. The idea of sin, especially original sin, is predicated upon the type of internalized authority more characteristic of the members of a complex society. Mundurucú social control is not dependent upon a sense of guilt, and the structure of personal relations is adequate to govern individuals. The Indians look upon this central theme of Christianity with mixed views. Some feel that hell is the particular destination of white people, but others barely bother to think about it at all. This summarizes the attitude of most Mundurucú toward missionary instruction. They rarely disbelieve the priests, for the latter are regarded as wise and sincere men. But their teachings are thought to be those of white men and thus to be true only for white men. There is no single and absolute body of unchangeable truth to the Mundurucú mind. Within their own mythology, for example, there are two separate origins of man; logically, this appears contradictory, but the Mundurucú do not put these beliefs to the test of logic. This statement does not imply that the Indians are illogical. Rather, it merely suggests that they, like most primitives, are not theologians. For this reason, the native and Christian beliefs coexist quite easily; but most Mundurucú have little interest in the latter, although they may not actively resist and reject them.

Social and Economic Changes

178 Although it is doubtful that Christian proselytization has resulted in a large-
174 scale displacement of native beliefs, the fact still remains that many aspects of
105 Mundurucú religion are in full decline. This decadence is not understandable
[771] as the result of a conflict of patterns of belief. Rather we must view religion, with Durkheim, as being in some way an expression of the mode of organization of the society. Also we are not concerned merely with belief, but with the closely connected subject of ritual; and the form of ritual is directly related to the structure of the social group that implements it.

With this thought in mind, we can review some of the major changes that have taken place in Mundurucú society since their contact with the whites. First, the Mundurucú were evidently patrilocal, as contrasted to their later matrilocality, until some time in the early nineteenth century.[40] This change in residence patterns revolutionized Mundurucú social structure. More than

[40] See Murphy (1956) for a full discussion of the causes and implications of this change.

II. HEROES AND SPIRITS

771 776 MUNDURUCÚ RELIGION is animistic in its broadest outlines, although vague and unpersonalized concepts of power pervade belief. Spirits and powers are active agents in Mundurucú life, and the constant manipulation and propitiation of them are essential to the well-being of the tribe.

CULTURE HEROES

773 Culture heroes were people of great supernatural power who lived in mythological times and who were responsible for creating people and much of the animal world. They are also believed to have endowed the Mundurucú with certain items of their culture, although the origin of most of it is not rationalized by mythology. Culture heroes are considered by the Mundurucú to be people of a remote past who accomplished wonderful deeds and then passed out of contact with the world of people and nature. They are in no way worshipped or manipulated nor are they objects of fear and veneration or, outside of their existence in the myth cycle, the subjects of much thought or interest.

One culture hero, Karusakaibö, stands above all the rest to such a degree that C. Strömer has referred to him as a "Hochgott."[1] Although the "Gott" stem of the appelation, as applied to Karusakaibö, does violence to most definitions of deity, Karusakaibö's dominant position in Mundurucú mythology is undeniable. Like many culture heroes, his origin is unexplained. He exists in a cycle of six myths in the course of which people, the peccary, and the tapir are created, and the hills and sky are formed. Karusakaibö, although an extraordinary person of great power, was believed to be a Mundurucú who lived in a village named Uacupari, situated near, but not identical with, a recent Mundurucú village of the same name. His son Korumtau, his wife Shikiridjá, and his sisters also enter into his adventures.

773 797 Karusakaibö has been syncretized by the Mundurucú with the Christian God preached to them by missionaries from the nineteenth century to the present day. The missionaries followed the example of the Jesuits of the early colonial period and have translated "God" as Tupan, the Tupian thunder deity; the Mundurucú have partly integrated the Christian and native myth cycles by incorporating pleasing tales from the Old and New Testament into their own mythology and substituting their own Karusakaibö for the missionary's Tupan. However, the subtleties of the concept of the Trinity have resulted in some ambiguity, and Karusakaibö is equated alternately with the Father and the Son.

773 797 842 Identification of the Christian deity and the principal Mundurucú culture hero has altered the position of the latter somewhat. Many Indians, especially those in closest contact with the mission, offer the influence of Karusakaibö as explanation for many phenomena not specifically accounted for in the cycle of Karusakaibö myths. As an example, various women stated that a couple must copulate several times to have children. After sufficient semen is accumulated within the woman, Karusakaibö (or Tupan, according to some informants) enters

[1] Strömer, 1932, pp. 5-6.

the woman and blows upon the semen, giving it life. Such atypical intervention 797
in everyday affairs by the culture hero remained puzzling until it was learned 773
that the nuns explain pregnancy to the girls at the mission school by telling 842
them that Tupan places babies inside their bodies.

In all his activities, Karusakaibö is accompanied by his constant companion, 773
Dailru, a trickster armadillo whose plots and interference are essential to nearly all of the culture hero's acts. In spite of the hero's great power, he finds it difficult to eliminate the wily armadillo and succeeds only at the end of the myth cycle, when he turns him into a tree that now holds up the sky.

The other Mundurucú culture heroes are of decidedly less importance and do not appear in the body of Karusakaibö myths. There is a three-part saga in which two men named Karustacuibö and Wakurumpö ascend to the sky and become the visible sun. The latter was an especially powerful shaman whose powers were so great that he once caused the sun to grow dark. He ended the eclipse by magically scraping off the face of the sun.

Moraichikö is the subject of a brief tale in which he is credited with making the rock paintings that are frequently encountered in the country adjacent to the Tapajós River. Since most of these paintings are on inaccessible cliffs, Moraichikö is acknowledged by the Mundurucú to have been a person of considerable supernatural power.

A series of four other stories surrounds Nung-nung, who is now in the Milky Way. In other stories, a man named Karukchewe was transformed into the tree from whose wood bows are made, and an old woman named Kapiru was responsible for the origin of horticulture. Thus, although Karusakaibö is viewed as the most important and powerful of the culture heroes, he was not responsible for the creation of all Mundurucú culture.

Another class of culture heroes had no part in the creation of the natural or human environment, but are figures in sagas. A long legend is told about the wanderings of Perisnat, and the wars of Turichungpö and Karudaibi are related in a two-part cycle. There are several such personages and, though many have some supernatural gifts, none is as powerful as Karusakaibö and Wakurumpö. Nonetheless, the stories of these mythical characters are important in the education of the young and in the expression of themes central to Mundurucú values and world view.

Spirit Mothers

The most important single class of supernaturals believed to be active in the 776
world are the spirit mothers of the game animals.* The generic spirit mother 224
of all game animals and the various mothers of certain species must be continually

* Belief in spirit mothers, owners, or protectors of animals and plants is widespread in the Amazon basin. For example, Oberg (1953, pp. 85-86) reports the concept of spirit mothers of plants and animals from the upper Xingú River, and Wagley and Galvão (1948, p. 102) describe two Tenetehara spirits, the Owner of the Forest and the Owner of the Water, which are closely related to the Mundurucú spirits. Belief in these bush supernaturals is evidently extremely tenacious, for Wagley (1953, p. 231) reports the concept of the "mãe do bicho" among the Brazilian residents of the town of "Tia." Most groups in eastern Brazil visualize these protector spirits as mothers; in contrast, the Tenetehara refer to them as fathers (Kaeb-Grünberg, 1953, pp. 176-177).

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 825 These *Turupari* make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air. Though the porpoise *Turupari* are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other *Turupari* is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 753 All types of *Turupari* travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peripheries of villages, and, consequently, few Mundurucú venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the *Turupari* is a magical stone that it throws at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the *Turupari* is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 755 There are no means by which attacks of the *Turupari* can be prevented, but Mundurucú shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 797 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the *Turupari* while in the field because the Mundurucú informants hesitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Mundurucú. The priests translated the Devil as *Turupari*, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the *Turupari*." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of *Turupari* beliefs shared by the Mundurucú and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 825 One of the commonest beliefs of *Turupari* in the Amazon Basin is that of the fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian *caboclos*, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to emanate victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Itá the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Mundurucú *Turupari*, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Mundurucú also believe in

776 171 the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept of the porpoise type *Turupari* was borrowed from the civilized population. If

177 this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

* Wagley, 1953, p. 166.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

phenomenon is not at all unusual in South America; Wagley and Galvão report the Tenetehara belief in the demon, Zurupari, to have been borrowed by the Indians from the local Brazilian population.[1] Similarly, the Tupinambá culture hero, Tupan, became a mythological figure in many Brazilian tribes through the active agency of the Jesuits. 776 171 171

Another instance of this type of diffusion and syncretism may exist in the Mundurucú belief that the *Turupari* take the souls of their victims in order to recruit their own ranks. This may well be an aboriginal idea, but it corresponds suspiciously to the classical missionary teaching that the souls of sinners are taken by the *Turupari*, or Devil.[2] The absence of any concept of sin in the Mundurucú belief is not surprising, for missionaries have labored for generations without noticeable results, to inculcate the idea of sin and punishment among them. 776 177 797

The *Turupari* attack all people regardless of age or sex, but a class of spirits known as *aibi* is dangerous only to infants. There are hordes of *aibi* wandering over the earth, for the shadows of all people turn into this spirit upon death. Only the transformed shadows of little girls are dangerous to infants, however. The Mundurucú believe that these *aibi*, like all little girls, want to take the children for themselves, and they rob the child of its life to do so. 776

Like the *Turupari*, the *aibi* kills its victims by throwing a magical stone into them. The *aibi* is clearly visible to the shaman as a little person no more than a foot high; its skin is either black or white, and it is always very beautiful. To ordinary people unendowed with shamanistic powers, the *aibi* is visible only as a fleeting shadow. It is not at all remarkable, therefore, that anxious Mundurucú mothers often see *aibi* on the paths between the villages and the bathing places. These paths are considered to be especially dangerous, but the *aibi* also attacks in the village on days when most of the people are abroad, and only one or two women or girls remain in the village to tend the infants. 776

As a rule, the Mundurucú believe that safety from all supernaturals can be gained by numbers; the various malevolent beings are always especially dangerous outside the village and to the lone person. This idea functions to provide supernatural support for sociability and cooperation, and few Mundurucú hunt, fish, or garden alone, nor does any woman willingly go to bathe or draw water by herself. To be sure, there are other, more concrete and persuasive reasons for Mundurucú gregariousness, but supernatural concepts rationalize and support this aspect of the social structure. 776 571

The shaman must be called to cure an attack by the *aibi*, but there are also means by which such attacks can be prevented. Children are made immune by frequent baths in a solution of water and the crushed leaves of an unidentified shrub, and a piece of ginger root is almost always hung on the child's *tipoia*, or carrying sling, as protection against the *aibi*. Also, mothers bite off and spit out pieces of the ginger root as they walk along the paths between the villages and the bathing places in the belief that this will avert molestation by the spirit. 776 751

[1] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, p. 102.

[2] It is equally possible that this represents a modification of an aboriginal concept of the Turupari. Métraux (1928, p. 59) notes the antiquity of this belief among Tupian groups, and the Mundurucú might well have shared this element.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

775 rich in game animals, and they and the Mundurucú souls pass their time in dancing. Both Karŭkŭkai and Upŏtcharŏ lie in a subterranean land called Karubisese. The Mundurucú believe Karubisese has three locations: below the headwaters of the Jurueena River, under the Great Falls of the Cururú River, and west of the Tapajós River beyond where the sun sets.

Life in the underworld is far better than in the terrestrial realm. The souls reassume their old bodies, but they are groomed and decorated in the manner followed by the Mundurucú before the coming of the white men. Similarly, the souls do not have to gather rubber, for there are no traders or trade goods; in short, the aboriginal culture is completely reëstablished in the underworld. Food is good and abundant, and the Mundurucú souls make war and take trophy heads. But Mundurucú warriors are never killed in the hereafter—only the enemy dies.

It has already been mentioned that the souls of those people killed by attacks of the *Furupori* go to the land of the *Furupori* and are there transformed into these demons. The Mundurucú look upon this as an undesirable fate, although it is not regarded with particular dread and foreboding. The same lack of deep concern for the fate of the soul is found in Mundurucú attitudes toward the afterworlds of the trumpets and the game. Although all acknowledge that life in these realms must indeed be idyllic, no one actively anticipates this existence. The Mundurucú do not learn ceremonial dances or play the trumpets in order to gain a favored residence after death. There were no indications that concepts of the afterlife acted as motivating factors or goals of behavior. Correspondingly, since one's fate after death is not considered as a reward for socially valued behavior, there is no post-mortem punishment or retribution for undesirable behavior. One goes to the land of the *Furupori* only because one has been attacked and killed by them, and those attacks are the result of misfortune and not of sin. To the Mundurucú life after death is not a subject for worry. When I asked one informant where she expected to go after death, she laughingly replied, "To a termite hill." Another decided to go to Pará (Belém), which all Mundurucú know to be the great city of the white men.

Missionary teachings have affected the beliefs of the more intensively proselytized Mundurucú to some extent. Those Indians who had spent some time at the mission school knew that people who did things contrary to the teachings of the priests went to "the fire of the *Furupori*," but those who acted according to those precepts "joined Tupan in the sky." However, it is doubtful if Christian belief in the hereafter influenced the behavior of more than a few of the most rigorously indoctrinated Indians. Although missionary teachings were generally accepted as true (at least as applicable to the white men) owing to the high prestige of the priests among the Mundurucú, the Indians commonly accepted the form of the ideas only and not their meaning. In those cases where the form of a Catholic belief became integrated into the culture, it invariably was made meaningful in Mundurucú terms, and the actual form underwent some transmutation in the process. Usually the same cultural trait will not have the same function in two

illness. This accomplished, the shaman informed the people of the identity of the sorcerer and implied that there was one more in the village whose name he would not reveal at that time. The accused man was duly slain, in spite of the objections of his house mate and brother-in-law. Sickness continued to trouble the village, and the shaman then revealed the name of the other guilty person. The latter, a young man named Antonio, was still present in Mundo Velho during our sojourn. He remained somewhat aloof from the other men, but on occasion joined and even joked with some of those most intent upon killing him. However, the latter by no means included all the villagers. The brother-in-law of the shaman who had been killed two years before, Antonio's house mate, and the men of another of the eleven dwellings of the village opposed his execution or were at least in favor of allowing him to depart in peace. The faction that favored killing him was led by the son-in-law and the sons of the chief. The chief, himself, had rather ambivalent feelings about the case. He owed his position as chief to the mission priests, and he did not wish to bring down their inevitable wrath through another killing. But he believed in Antonio's guilt and refused to live in the same village with him. For a time he planned to shift his residence, but those plans were changed when he heard that Antonio intended to leave for the Tapajós River.

We had lived in this village for several weeks before the conflict came to our attention, for there was no external indication of disturbance in the smooth flow of everyday life. Only gradually it became evident that feelings were quite bitter. The faction that favored killing Antonio regarded him with fear and loathing. Those who favored his cause did so not out of disbelief in sorcery, but because they distrusted the honesty of his persecutor's motives, and because they were weary of the interminable conflicts in the village. They knew, however, that their cause was hopeless, and all had decided to move at their earliest convenience. If all carried out their intention, the village stood to lose 26 of its 90 people. Antonio's case was not unique; sorcery-shaman interviews during the [illegible] involved in the rapid fission process that was occurring in all Mundurucú villages.

Sorcery killings probably produced such tensions even before Mundurucú society had lost its cohesiveness. But there can be little doubt that the stronger patterns of leadership and interdependency of the past were more conducive to unanimity of action within the community on these occasions. Also, where complete concurrence could not be obtained, the dissident elements undoubtedly remained passive rather than create disharmony. The individual and the family depended completely upon larger groups for their continued existence, and, in any event, there existed no alternate residence pattern.

Sorcery and executions will undoubtedly continue even after the larger social units of extended family and village have become completely fragmented. The priests of the Cururú River mission have inveighed against belief in sorcery for more than forty years with little noticeable effect. Nor were they the first to attempt to suppress the practice. In 1876, Father Pelino de Castrovalva, the

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Munduruca SQ13

754
578
797

founder of the mission of Barabal on the Tapajós River, wrote to the governor of the province of Pará the following words:

> Now one of the greatest superstitions with which I have had to battle has been that of witchcraft. What have I not said, what have I not done to wrest this pernicious superstition from their hearts? And how many deaths have they caused with these erroneous principles before the establishment of the mission? Despite all, when I begin to think that I have persuaded them to devote such an abominable vice, the first day that the missionary is missing they do the same things.[1]

[1] Cited in Tavartiva, 1877, pp. 198-199.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

VI. RELIGION IN A CHANGING SOCIETY

In the first chapter of this study it was suggested that changes in Mundurucú religion could better be understood through an analysis of changes in other aspects of the culture than through knowledge of the activities of the missionaries. This is not to deny that the priests are and have been powerful and influential figures among the Indians. But their proselytizing efforts have consistently been realized only after certain social and economic changes have taken place. Also, changes in religion have consisted principally in the disappearance of activities and beliefs. The acquisition of Christianity has been an extremely slow process, although it might be hypothesized that it will become accelerated with further disintegration of Mundurucú society. 178 797 771

Until very recent years, the core of Mundurucú religious beliefs was the relationship between the world of humans and that of the game animals; the sharp decline of this aspect of Mundurucú religion is one of the most striking changes. The bond between animals and humans was clearly expressed in the complex of beliefs and rites connected with the spirit mothers of the game, and the *Arsiorai* and *Dajaorwpartp* ceremonies were the most important of all Mundurucú rituals. Their enactment protected humans from the vengeance of the spirits and promoted the fertility and availability of game. Even the sacred trumpets, originally the abodes of ancestral spirits of localized clans, acquired a vague and undefined relationship with the animal spirits. Warfare, also, was rationalized by the beneficent influence of the trophy head upon these supernaturals. Furthermore, the shaman was not only responsible for feeding the spirits, but he was believed to be able to cure the animals that dwell in human form in the Land of the Game, much as he cures the tame game animals found in every Mundurucú village. 771 778

The closeness of the human-animal bond can be seen in other aspects of belief. Mythology abounds with accounts of animals that at one time had human forms, and the origin of certain species from the metamorphosis of humans is common. That the reverse can also take place is seen in the conversion of people into animals during the *Dapartp* ceremony. The best example of the merging and interpenetration of the two realms is the saga of Periuót, who became almost animal through an extended and solitary stay in the forest.

The relationship between Mundurucú society and the animal kingdom was one of symbiosis. The Mundurucú depended upon the animals for subsistence, and the animals, through their spirit mothers, depended upon the Mundurucú for the performance of rituals essential to their well-being and increase. The disappearance of these rituals is explained quite simply by the Mundurucú as owing to the lack of shamans sufficiently powerful to protect the animal spirits and human participants from attacks by the Farwport. This view is true to the extent that there are fewer shamans among the contemporary Mundurucú, but it also reflects a characteristic fatalism and apathy toward the aboriginal culture. Not only are modern shamans said to be weaker, but men, in general, are not believed to be as strong, brave, and wise as were their forebears. And game is not as plentiful as it was in times past, nor are women considered as beautiful and desirable.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

omy of the region. Trade and the patron have thus been the principal instruments in effecting social and cultural change in this part of South America. 177 648 439

THE EARLY CONTACT PERIOD

The Mundurucú were unknown in north Brazil, reported Martius, until 1770, when they began to launch strong attacks on the Portuguese settlements along the shores of the Amazon.[1] It was at this time, also, that they undertook an epic attack into the State of Maranhão, some 500 miles distant. A successful expedition was launched against them in 1795 in the upper Tapajós River region by the governor of Pará, after which they began to drift into the proximity of civilized settlements.[2] 175 648

The extent of Mundurucú territory in the eighteenth century is somewhat uncertain. Despite the possibility of a more southerly origin, the Indians themselves maintain that their home has always been in the savannahs to the east of the Tapajós, their scene of mythology is there, and that is where the expedition of 1795 found them. Their late appearance in Amazon history suggests that the Mundurucú occupation of sections of the lower Tapajós River and the country between the Tapajós and lower Madeira River did not much predate 1800 and was the result of the contact. Jesuit missionaries were active on the lower Tapajós River and west to the Madeira during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, but the Mundurucú are not among the tribes of that sector mentioned by João Bettendorf, the Jesuit chronicler.[3] A Brazilian traveler, Ricardo de Almeida Serra gives further support to this contention in his report on tribes living on or near the 181 175 [797]

[1] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[2] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 4–5.
[3] Bettendorf, 1910.

THE CONTACT PERIOD

131 Tapajós in 1779, which located the "Mondruci nation" on
175 the "Rio Vermelha," probably either the Cadirirí or Cururú River.[4] Also, although Martius was personally acquainted only with the Mundurucú living between the Tapajós and Madeira, he confirmed the upper Tapajós to be their area of greatest strength in 1819.[5]

175 The Mundurucú of the upper Tapajós River remained
648 relatively isolated during the early contact period, al-
[166] though large numbers of migrants from these villages moved north to the proximity of the white settlements. This population shift, caused by the lure of manufactured articles, was facilitated by the rapid decimation of the intervening Indian tribes. The complementary, and frequently identical, agencies of colonization and catechization had broken and absorbed those groups, such as the populous Tapajó, which had occupied areas near the Am-
[165] azon, and disease had reduced the ranks of the surviving societies. Mundurucú warfare aided the process. For example, Serra located the Hiauaín tribe in an area several days' travel above the first rapids of the Tapajós in 1779,[6] but in 1817 Manoel Ayres de Casal placed them on the east bank of the lower Tapajós, to where they had fled from Mundurucú war parties.[7] The net effect of these demographic changes was to provide the Mundurucú with uninterrupted avenues of access to trade facilities.

175 The Mundurucú who moved into the lower Tapajós val-
648 ley soon entered into close relations with the whites. The
197 mission of Santa Cruz was established in 1803 and was followed by other missions to the Mundurucú at Boim and Pinhel, all on the lower Tapajós.[8] The inhabitants of these

[4] Almeida Serra, 1869, pp. 3-5.
[5] Martius, 1867, p. 394.
[6] Almeida Serra, 1869, p. 3.
[7] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 232.
[8] Martius, 1867, p. 395.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

settlements traded to obtain Western goods. The process of assimilation proceeded with such rapidity that by 1817 Ayres de Casal was able to say, "Almost all the Mundurucú hordes are today our allies and some already Christians."[9] The Mundurucú occupants of the lower Tapajós were not, however, completely mission-dominated, as "a quite considerable distance above Vilanova de Santa Cruz on the west bank of the Tapajós, there is a village inhabited by another horde of Mundurucús, still pagans, and already having gardens, some already using trousers, and the women skirts, all of cotton."[10] There is no mention in the sources of the presence of the traditional village and men's house on the lower Tapajós. Apparently, the migrants did not transfer the native community organization to their new habitat.

The Madeira River area was likewise a region of post-contact penetration by the Mundurucú. This contradicts the information given to Lt. Herndon of the U. S. Navy by Alphonse de Lincourt, a French engineer of Santarém. According to the latter, the Mundurucú, after becoming friendly with the whites, moved out of the region between the Tapajós and the Madeira and retired to "the deep solitudes of the Tapajós above the cataracts."[11] It is much more probable that the Madeira region was an area of late eighteenth-century hostilities in which members of the marauding Mundurucú war parties had settled near the Brazilians and were later followed by other migrants.

Johann B. von Spix and Karl von Martius state that in 1819 the Missão Nova de Monte Carmel on the Canomá River in the lower Madeira drainage had 1,000 Mundurucú under its control.[12] The Indians were settled at the mis-

[9] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 237.
[10] *Ibid.*, p. 239.
[11] Herndon and Gibbon, 1854, p. 311.
[12] Spix and Martius, 1831, p. 1309.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175 648 [797] [439] sion and were also scattered throughout the surrounding forest. They were already conducting trade with the whites in manioc flour, sarsaparilla, and *guaraná* and apparently did not have the men's house and the other accoutrements of the traditional men's organization. According to these explorers, the Indians were found mainly on [131] the Canomá and its tributary, the Secundurý. About forty years later, Mundurucú inhabitants lived also on the Abacaxís and Maué-Assú rivers, two other tributaries of the Paraná-Mirim, a channel that connects the Amazon with the lower Madeira.

The Mundurucú of that area are of interest, because the earliest assimilation of large numbers of the tribe took place in the Madeira River region. It was there too that a long tradition of friendly relations with the whites was established; this friendship was to a large extent sealed by the coöperation of the Mundurucú in the quelling of tribes of the region still hostile to the colonists. In the late eighteenth century, two tribes of the lower Madeira, the Mura and the Arara, especially the former, waged incessant warfare against the white settlements and did much to impede the colonization of the central Amazon Valley. Unable to cope with the Mura, the whites enlisted the aid of the Mundurucú and from this date, according to Charles F. Hartt, the whites and the Mundurucú were allies.[13] By 1819, Ayres de Casal reported the lower Madeira River town of Borba to have a nearby settlement of Mura who had sought refuge from the Mundurucú,[14] and in 1852, Henry Walter Bates, the noted English naturalist, found fugitive remnants of the tribe scattered along the Amazon as far as the town of Catuá, a short distance below the mouth of the Rio Teffé.[15] At the time Bates wrote, the at-

[13] Hartt, 1885, pp. 116–117.
[14] Ayres de Casal, 1845, p. 238.
[15] Bates, 1863, p. 168.

175 182 648 [161] 1869, 100; 1895, 50.[18] The remaining fifty had already lost their identity as Mundurucú or as Indians. Hartt likewise reported in 1885 that "the Mundurucú of the Tapajós, below the rapids, are now all civilized and so mixed with the general population that their nationality has in great part been lost."[19]

On the Madeira waters, much the same process ran its course. In 1865, Louis Agassiz, the naturalist, and his wife traveled on the Paraná-Mirím and the lower part of the Maué-Assú River. On the latter stream they found a Mundurucú village consisting of two parallel rows of houses [797] with a Catholic church at one end of an open square.[20] At the time of their visit the population was scattered in the forest where they were working in their gardens and collecting forest products. The full population gathered only three or four times a year for festivals. Only a few Indians [191] spoke Portuguese, according to Mrs. Agassiz,[21] although there were undoubtedly more bilinguals who preferred not to disclose the fact. Most of the people lacked the characteristic Mundurucú tattooing, and all wore clothes. William Chandless, an English explorer who visited the region only a few years later, reported that the Mundurucú "are civilized, and live in families not as in tribal life."[22] [249] They were primarily engaged in the planting of tobacco [384] and the collection of *guaraná*, sarsaparilla, and *copaiba* oil. The movement of people from the savannahs of the Tapajós to the upper Secundurý River was apparently still continuing, for in 1870 Chandless reported "The Indians of the Rio de Canumá, as far as I went, are much like those on the Maué-assú: higher up the tattooed sons

[18] Coudreau, 1897, p. 8.
[19] Hartt, 1885, p. 117.
[20] Agassiz, 1869, p. 308.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 312.
[22] Chandless, 1870, p. 424.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

rubber trade, and further contact was provided by the establishment of the mission of Bacabal on the upper Tapajós in 1872. The Silesian priest in charge attempted to protect the Indians from the traders and is said by Tocantins to have told them, "My children, you owe nothing to the contrabandist regatões; now you will work only for yourselves, your women, and your children." [33] The priest's technique for protecting the Indians was, quite simply, to monopolize their trade. The rubber interests were powerful, however, and in 1876 he was dismissed upon complaint of the businessmen of Itaituba, and the mission was abandoned.

Concurrent with the rise and fall of the mission of Bacabal, increasing numbers of permanent houses of commerce were established on the banks of the upper Tapajós and its tributaries. The importance of rubber had resulted in regular exploitation of the resource, and the system of establishing proprietary rights to rubber regions was extended to the upper Tapajós. This was done through grants by the state or purchase from it, or by simple squatter rights perpetuated by force and registry on the tax rolls. Since that time, the basic social and economic organization for the exploitation of rubber has changed little, although the violence of the boom days has subsided and the Tapajós has declined into an economically stagnant, poverty-stricken backwater.

The Mundurucú became absorbed into the patron-client system and they also came into closer proximity to the whites, who poured into the region as the rubber boom accelerated. Although the larger part of the Indian population remained in the savannah villages and collected rubber for only brief periods, there was a steady egress of people to the major streams. Tocantins states that many

[33] Tocantins, 1877, p. 149.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

on manufactured goods and continued to tap rubber, although on a reduced scale. 175 439 648

In 1911, a German priest, Fr. Hugo Mense of the newly established Franciscan diocese of Santarém, ascended the Tapajós and chose a site on the Cururú River where he established a mission. The location decided upon was about two miles north of the Cururú on the boundary between the savannahs and the gallery forest that borders the stream. In 1912, the mission personnel numbered two priests and three nuns. The priests attempted to catechize the Indians while the nuns were in charge of the mission school, which, according to William C. Farabee, had twenty-six Indian and Brazilian children in 1916.[39] At that time, the Cururú region was populated only during the dry season, when the Indians moved from the savannahs to the Cururú to collect rubber. During this period, they were visited regularly by merchants who plied the river. Many people of the savannah villages, within a range of from three hours to two days by foot from the Cururú, did not, however, tap rubber. 175 797

In 1918, a new priest arrived at the mission who urged the relocation of the mission because of the distance from the river bank and the shortage of agricultural land in its immediate vicinity. Plans were made for a larger, permanent, self-sustaining establishment and, to the end, the mission moved to its present site on the banks of the Cururú, began to raise its own crops, and instituted a policy of trading with the Indians. That policy gave the mission an income and simultaneously removed the Indian from his dependence on the traders. The priests had recognized the great influence held by the patrons over their Indian clients and saw that it would be to the advantage of the mission if it assumed this role. But in the beginning [439]

[39] Farabee, 1917, p. 138.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1960
SQ13 Mudurucu SQ13

175 797 little progress was made in attracting the Indians to the mission. The priests made the rounds of the villages preaching and baptizing, and children were recruited for the school, but such contacts were sporadic.

175 439 797 In the late 1920's, the world price of rubber rose somewhat as a result of export restrictions imposed on the planters of British Malaya, and the attraction of higher returns caused the Indians to become more engaged in trade. This meant, of course, that more Indians came into contact with the mission in its new role as a trading post. The regatões still offered competition, but the Mundurucú, who knew nothing of weights and prices, nonetheless learned that they received a great return for their rubber and manioc flour from the missionaries. They came to tap rubber in increasing numbers along the Cururú, and many left the savannah villages for all-year residence on its shores. By the 1930's, permanent villages began to [361] grow up on the river banks. The population shift pro- [166] ceeded so rapidly that by 1950 the were only about 360 [162] Mundurucú left on the savannah whereas the Cururú population numbered 700.

175 439 657 Of less importance in attracting a permanent population to the Cururú was the founding on that river of the Mundurucú post of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service in 1941. This post followed the establishment of an Indian reservation in 1939 that included most of the country lying inland from the Tapajós and bounded by the Cururú and Tropas rivers. Traders were barred from the reservation but since no inspection points were set up on the Tropas, Cabitutú, and Cadiriri rivers, the Tapajós River patrons and some regatões were still able to visit the savannahs. However, the Cururú, where the bulk of the Mundurucú population now lives, was effectively closed

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

175
439
657

to outside commerce, and a trade monopoly is now held by the mission and the post.

The population shift to the Cururú has had profound effects on Mundurucú society. Before 1930 there were fifteen villages in the interior region between the Tropas and the Cururú. Today there are only seven, for the eight villages nearest to the Cururú were abandoned after their populations had been steadily drained to the banks of the river. On the Cururú, there are no traditional villages. There is no men's house, and the architecture is local Brazilian. Six of the seven remaining savannah villages maintain the men's house and a modified form of the native dwelling.

175
166
361
[177]
[342]

Except for the village of Cauí, established in the 1930's by a few conservative Indians dissatisfied with life on the Cururú, all contemporary savannah villages are two to three days' march from the shores of the Cururú. The contact between the two populations is diminishing; they trade in different places, their way of life has become differentiated, and they feel themselves to be different. The Cururú River people ridicule the *campineiro*, the Brazilian term for a dweller of the savannahs, because "he has no clothes," "he is lazy," "his houses are dirty," and "he sleeps with a fire under his hammock at night." Actually, such ridicule reflects a sense of inferiority among the Cururú-River Mundurucú, because they at the same time respect the campineiro for his greater knowledge of the traditional culture, his supposedly still-existent warlike proclivities, and the fear that he may be a powerful sorcerer. The missionaries have inspired many of the stereotypes of the campineiro as an uncouth backwoodsman in order to persuade the people to abandon their native practices and accept missionary instruction. The campineiro, on the other

175
184
361
175
184
186
[797]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

particular patrons. Two or three decades ago, all savannah communities were much alike and, except for differing places of dry-season residence, the populations of all maintained frequent contact through intermarriage, visiting, and joint participation in ceremonies. The cultural and social differentiation of Cururú and savannah dweller is thus quite recent. 167 184 361 [628]

There are two major points of difference between the migration to the Cururú and that to the more northerly rivers. First, in the former large numbers of people moved in a comparatively short period. Secondly, the patrons on the Cururú River were not Brazilian rubber traders, but a group of German Catholic missionaries who were deliberately attempting to attract the population and modify their culture. The missionaries achieved little success during their first ten to fifteen years of activity and attracted large numbers of Indians only after the price of rubber rose. On the other hand, the astuteness of this example of applied anthropology should be given recognition, for the missionaries offered high rubber prices and low-cost merchandise, and thereby accelerated the migration process. 167 797

THE NATURE OF THE MIGRATION

The population move to the Cururú occurred in piecemeal fashion, for, as in the contemporary savannahs, nuclear families or segments of extended families shifted and not whole villages. Co-resident groups of Indians who commonly collected rubber and fished on the banks of the Cururú during the dry season were lured into setting up permanent residences there by the attraction of trade goods and the persuasion of the missionaries, who sought thereby to bring the Indians more directly under their influence. Other rubber-season residents perceived the economic advantages of all-year occupation of the Cururú, 167 361 178 [797]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in stock, although everybody knows that this is false." In 439
contrast, they have more confidence in the missionaries 648
and, despite some animosity against the priests, generally [797]
concede that they do not deceive their clientele.

The most casual inventory of the possessions of a Cururú 184
household shows that the people there own many more 177
manufactured goods and far fewer articles of native man- [422]
ufacture than the campineiros. Pottery and hammock mak- [323]
ing are almost forgotten arts, although they are continued [286]
by the savannah women. Also, the Cururú woman usually
has two old dresses, one fine dress, and one or two slips. [291]
Her campineiro sister has only one dress for everyday wear
and is extremely lucky to have a slip or a "party" dress.
The Cururú men, likewise, have more clothes than the men
of the savannahs and attach more importance to sartorial
elegance. They also seek to obtain many other items, such 439
as canoes, coffee, and sugar; these are known and appre- 177
ciated by the campineiro but are not within his means, and 184
are not yet viewed by him as necessities.

Concomitant with the greater demand for manufactured 177
articles has been an increase of the prestige of Western cul- 439
ture in the eyes of the Cururú people. They want these
articles for their utility more than do the campineiros, and
a positive value is attached to their use. But it is chiefly the
overt and material aspects of the outside world that entice
the Mundurucú. The resistance of their children to the 177
teaching of the Portuguese language, reading, and arith- 797
metic at the mission and Indian Service schools is remark- [658]
able. And although Christianity is not actively rejected,
the people are not deeply affected by the missionary
teachings. The words of the priests are accredited and re-
spected without any commitment or great interest on the
part of their listeners. Not even those Mundurucú who
have been reared by the missionaries and have lived at

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 797 the mission throughout their lives wholly renounce native belief.

The priests have had considerably more success in encouraging a positive attitude toward rubber collection and 177 461 in fostering productivity as a prestige index. This is not true on the savannahs, where production is more narrowly linked to the obligation of the client to the patron and to the acquisition of needed goods. On the Cururú, however, it is more common to hear a person characterized as "lazy" or as "a good worker" with special reference to rubber collecting. The women make such statements more often than [562] the men, for the value of a woman's possessions and there- [556] fore her status in the new scale of female values depends on the amount of rubber her husband collects. Thus, the Cururú woman does not want to marry a "lazy" man and [581] especially does not want a campineiro, who is more likely to be a disinterested rubber tapper and less inclined to help his wife in what he considers to be woman's work.

The rubber trade on the Cururú is monopolized by the 439 797 mission and the government Indian post. The bulk of the Mundurucú population on the Cururú River lives up- 648 stream from the mission, and since the Indian post is situated near the mouth of the river it is at a serious disadvantage in the competition between the two for the trade and, thereby, control of the Indians. The post lost influence also because of widespread dislike of the agent then in charge. Therefore, the mission today enjoys the greater [177] Indian patronage and has been the more important agency in the introduction of Western culture.

Both the Indian post and the mission trade with the In- [437] dians on the basis of the barter-credit system which prevails throughout the region. During the dry season, rubber is traded, and farinha is bought during the winter rains. The Indians make occasional visits to the two agen-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

cies, and the agents, in turn, make periodic trading trips up 439
and down the Cururú in motor launches. These trips are 797
more frequent in September, October, and November 649
when rubber is still being collected and the river has be- [484]
gun to rise, making navigation easier. The spheres of mission and post influence intersect in the village of Morro, halfway between the two, and the villagers trade with either. Below Morro, the post controls the trade, although the Indians nearest the mouth of the river frequently deal with independent traders of the Tapajós. Above Morro, all Indians are customers of the mission. The trading trips which representatives of the two organizations make into the domains of each other are mutually considered to be intrusions of the regatão type.

A common occasion for trade at the mission is provided by the Christian holy days, which are always observed by a large number of Indians. Pressure is exerted by the priests to come to these gatherings and to attend Mass and receive the Sacraments, but to the Mundurucú these are times to deliver rubber, partake of the coffee and sweets [527]
provided by the nuns, hold dances, and get together with their widely scattered relatives and friends. In the latter respect Catholic rites help to fill one social function of the extinct intervillage ceremonials.

There is one important difference between the trade as conducted on the Cururú and by the Tapajós patrons among the campineiros. The patrons generally trade with chiefs and family heads, and, although individual accounts are kept, the fiction of collective dealing is partly maintained. Both the Indian post and the mission deal with persons only, however, and each is aware that he has a separate account of credits and debits and is an independent producer. Wives who tap rubber with their husbands, [594]
and young sons who similarly aid in the avenues of their

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
[591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[59a] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[47b] the previously described loss of coöperative patterns in
[59b] the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
439 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In con-
461 trast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

476 226 [224] Hunting is infrequent and usually solitary, and fishing, unless done with timbó, requires the collective labor of only two people. Frequently, a man takes along his wife or son as a paddler when fishing with bow and arrow from a canoe. In the dry season, the all-year residents of Missão Velha join in timbó fishing at intervals of one to two weeks. If a large-scale expedition is contemplated, invitations are sent out to the families living in temporary isolation on the river banks. The residents of other villages who happen to tap rubber nearby are generally included in the party. The [199] largest fish-drugging ventures are usually organized by the mission.

241 476 [462] Coöperative gardening is most commonly done by the residents of one household, whether it represents one or three nuclear families. The men clear and burn the forest clearing, and both men and women plant, weed, and harvest. The same group is considered to own the garden produce, although the land is not owned here either. All household members share equally in the labor and results of farinha making. In Missão Velha, the residents of one-family dwellings sometimes join together in horticulture with one or two similarly situated families. As has been stated, this interhouse coöperation usually is between close relatives, although the same families do not necessarily pool their efforts every year.

415 252 422 [343] Missão Velha has one farinha shed which houses the copper pan and furnace for toasting the grated manioc, the tipiti for squeezing out the poisonous liquid, several aluminum pans for setting the tapioca, and a hand-operated mechanical manioc grater. Each household, or group of coöperating households, uses the facilities of the [476] farinha shed in rotation and there is no coöperation or mutual help beyond the limits of the garden-owning group. The aluminum pans for extracting tapioca are individually

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

owned, though freely borrowed, but the two most costly 252
items, the copper-toasting pan and the grater, are consid- 422
ered to be the property of the chief, since they were pur- 415
chased through his and his extended family's labor. The [622]
large copper-toasting pan is necessary to the production of farinha, and the grater, although easily substituted by a hand grater, facilitates greatly one of the most onerous steps in the manufacturing process.

Political organization is almost nonexistent on the Cu- 623
rurú. The informal council of elders that operated in the context of the men's house is no longer present, and the importance of self-interest as opposed to community interest has increased greatly with the emphasis on rubber trading and the failure to perpetuate cooperative patterns. N2
Missão Velha has a chief, José, who owes his position pri- 622
marily to recognition by the mission, but who is also ac- 554
corded some deference because of his age and his status [797]
as one of the earliest occupants of the village. The chief takes his status seriously and behaves with dignity. Despite his personal prestige, however, his functions are almost nil. Since collective action seldom occurs in Missão [476]
Velha, his influence is felt primarily in his extended family, which is the largest kin group in the village and includes sons-in-law as well as sons. This tendency for the chief to keep his sons nearby while attracting sons-in-law represents a continuation of the savannah pattern and of the ideal of patrilineal inheritance of the position. Although the chief's status was thereby strengthened in Missão Velha, the validity of his position was questioned by many residents. When informants were asked about the duties and responsibilities of the chief the usual answer was, "Today 'chief' is only a word. In the old days we had real chiefs who bought things for the people." Residents of Missão Velha who were not of the chief's family were

622 554 ironical in their replies to the question of how José achieved his present status. Typical answers were, "Ask the priests," or, "Only José knows."

554 578 622 797 This ill-concealed resentment toward José is less indicative of personal animosity than of hostility toward his family and the mission, which José is considered to represent. Mission policy is obviously to recognize as chiefs persons of some prestige who are friendly toward the priests and Christianity and who can be depended upon to make known the priests' wishes and urge acceptance of them. As for José, this policy entails favoritism toward him and his family, which his sons and sons-in-law and their wives reciprocate by currying favor with the priests and bearing stories of the peccadilloes of the villagers. The people are well aware of José's status as an instrument of the mission and, for this reason, do not recognize him as a true chief. This hostility toward José and his followers causes, in part, the factionalism to be discussed later.

The priests, despite their policy of recognizing certain men as chiefs, generally bypass them and deal with the people individually in matters of trade, religion, and family. The net result is to relieve a source of potential conflict by making it unnecessary for the chief to intervene on behalf of the mission in individual cases, as opposed to general support of mission policy. But the importance of the chieftaincy in its role as intermediary with the mission, which is its only function, is thereby diminished. In passing, it should be noted that in some upstream villages, where mission influence is weaker than in Missão Velha, there are no formally recognized chiefs.

756 [758] [753] Shamanism is the only element of the native religion that is still practiced on the Cururú. Although the Indians seek medical aid at the mission and the Indian post, this has not made serious inroads on the art of the shaman, for

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

114 the central problem of this work. It might be asked
177 whether the classical culture-historical emphasis of accul-
121 turation studies would have elucidated or confused some of the central issues of Mundurucú social change. Could the development of matrilocality have been understood in these terms? Or could the fact that family organization among the Mundurucú of the Cururú River is converging with that prevalent among the Brazilian population of the region be clarified by noting their intercourse with celibate [197] German priests? It is true that the priests have encouraged the independence of the nuclear family, but how does this also explain a similar process of fragmentation among the Indians without close contact with the missionaries? Also, it cannot be denied that the adoption of Brazilian forms of dancing and tonsure, of dresses and guitars, are significant because they constitute breaks in the symbolic barriers between the Mundurucú and the whites and, in effect, bespeak alienation from the past. But were not these barriers already shattered and was not the major part of the population already alienated from their heritage by other factors?

The necessities of existence and the ways in which peo-
121 ple and peoples interrelate should be the central problems for the student of culture change—as they are for the persons caught in the process. These, and not man's propensity to imitate, cause the fundamental alterations of a way of life. The question is perhaps too often phrased as "how *have* cultures changed" rather than "how *do* they change." The former leads to description, the latter to theory.

A recent report by a Social Science Research Council seminar on acculturation has expanded the outmoded definition of acculturation as simple transmission of culture between groups in contact to include almost anything that happens when "conjunctive" relations are established be-

/16 cont./

*241 177 [171] of sweet manioc, even though, in many respects, their agricultural system is quite similar to that of the Mundurukú.

The first great influence of civilization unquestionably occurred during the nineteenth century, following the pacification of the [361] Mundurukú, when they settled on the margins of the Tapajós. Through this contact, nearly all the plants cultivated on the lower Amazon became known to the Mundurukú and were, for the most part, adopted [797] by them. The old mission of Bacabal must also have had some influence on this development. The new agricultural acquistions, as well as their handling and usage, spread rapidly along the Tapajós, but very slowly toward the interior and especially toward the grasslands of Mundurucânia. The knowledge and use of manioc flour ex- 262 177 emplifies this process. In the old days, the Mundurukú were not familiar with manioc flour and made only tapioca cakes. Nowadays, even in the villages of the interior, they all make flour. But, as I said, manioc flour is a relatively recent acquisition. My informant Tomé told me the following: "My grandmother told me, one day, that in her childhood, in the villages (of the interior), they did not [252] know yet how to make flour. They only made tapioca cakes, which sometimes they even roasted on stone (slabs)...." This was at the most 80 years ago. The Mundurukú of the Tapajós, on the other hand, being far more exposed to contact with civilization than the Mundurukú of the central grasslands, were already quite familiar with manioc flour in those days and even prepared it for commercial purposes. [439] Martius, Bates, and others, as we already indicated at the beginning of this work, speak of the important flour production and of the flour trading which the Mundurukú of the Tapajós carried on with the traders of Santarém and of the lower Amazon. It seems 241 177 obvious, therefore, that the spread of agricultural elements into the Tapajós region occurred /17/ at a rather uneven rate, and that in the case cited, in the villages of the interior, the making of manioc flour was acquired much later than in the villages of the Tapajós River. If this happened in connection with the more usage of a plant

/17 cont./

*241 177 which they were already cultivating, the introduction of new plants /must have been/ all the more /uneven/. Here, the process may have been even slower.

242 137 177 799 Of even more recent acquisition, especially through the influence of the Franciscan mission founded in 1911 on the Cururu River, are products such as rice, beans, and various other plants which are cultivated chiefly by the religious sisters, but which have been adopted by the Indians on a very modest scale. During the last decades, the following fruit trees have reached them: the mango tree, the orange tree, the lemon tree, the coffee shrub, and a certain type of cacao tree. They were already familiar with other products such as maize, pumpkins, etc., but cultivated them on a very small scale.

*241 8. Weeding or cleaning. We have described the planting. A few facts remain to be given concerning the garden tasks after planting. It is obvious that, once the planting itself has been done, the plot still requires a certain amount of care. Not right away, but after several weeks or months. /sic/ This is the weeding. Between the planting and the harvest, two weedings of the garden are usually carried out, the entire plot being cleaned. They speak of the first and second cleaning, or of the first and second weeding. This is done almost exclusively with the machete. There is no specific time set aside for this, because it depends to a large extent on the weather (rain) and on the need. The first weeding is called tip ogn, the second karit ogn.

244 9. The harvest. The Indian generally use the regional term, "tearing up the plot," or "pulling up the bitter-manioc roots" — maop ta ogn. Within a year, the garden has matured and may be torn up. The manioc roots are pulled up by hand. The entire plot is not harvested at one time, but according to need. In order to pull up the manioc roots, a certain amount of strength and ability is required. Often, when the tubercles hold firm to overly hard ground, [412] the Indian digs with the machete around the roots in order to loosen the soil and pull out the manioc root /18/ with greater ease. This same technique of using the machete as an auxiliary tool in the extraction of manioc roots is also used in gathering other tubercles, such as yams, sweet potatoes, etc.

/7 cont./

242 this estimate. Through repeated tests he finds out the type of the soil and draws the necessary conclusions. As a rule, he proceeds as follows: with the machete, he digs a hole and examines the soil.
[823] By crumbling it between his fingers, he finds out its quality by touch. He distinguishes three types: sandy, clayey, and black, allowing for certain variants and intermediary types, according to the composition and percentage of clay or sand. He makes these soil tests at various depths and in various places when he suspects that only a thin layer is involved, or to find out how far /the layer/ extends. The type of garden also depends on the type of the soil; in other terms: depending on what he wishes to plant, he has to choose a /specific/ type of soil. For this reason, in his hunting forays through the forest, the Indian pays attention to the ground through which he passes in order to find out where he will find appropriate soil when he needs it. The following rule applies as a general norm:

242 154

sandy soil:	good only for bitter manioc; inadequate for other plants.
clayey soil:	good especially for bitter manioc, tubercles in general, and also for banana plantations; other plants do not grow well in this soil.
black soil:	good for everything. For this reason, black soil is always sought out and preferred. This is the tobacco ground par excellence.

[845]

[849]

*241 2. Size and shape of the plot. As was already partly explained,
[242] the size of the plot depends on the quality of the soil. If /the Indian/ finds the chosen soil somewhat weak, he figures out beforehand that the harvest will be less satisfactory, and makes the plot somewhat larger. From the practice he has acquired since youth, he empirically figures out the area that will be needed. To do this he does not use measurements, as our peasants do ("braças," "varas," and such).
[804] I attempted in various ways to find out how the Mundurucú figure: out the size of the plot he is about to prepare. The answers were always the same: "... just by looking, you already know ..." /8/ or "... just by looking...." If the family has grown through the years,

/8 cont./

*241 or if other relatives have come to live in the house, then the plot is
• [804] made larger. The calculation is thus basically intuitive, even though it is based on practical experience gathered through generations.

*241 Nowadays, the Indian usually plants a little more than he needs
197 for his own use, to obtain a surplus (along with the surplus of rubber
[437] he has gathered) and improve his lot by using it in the purchase of clothes, nets, machetes, etc. The garden, therefore, helps him to maintain his economic balance at his present stage of acculturation.

[242] Another factor which also depends in part on the terrain is the shape of the plot. Here, however, other elements are already in evidence, especially the influence of neo-Brazilian acculturation. Whenever possible, the Mundurukú prefer the traditional shape, which is rounded or elliptic-oval. Thus did the ancestors make their plots, and thus they are made to this day in the villages of the interior. Still in 1957, this garden shape could easily be distinguished when flying over the villages of the Kabitutu and Pararokti. But this is no longer an iron rule. "It depends on the terrain," they told me. But I believe that the influence of the peasants is stronger than that of the terrain. Thus we find gardens of various shapes, elongated, rectangular, and even square. The latter predominate especially in
[361] the Curuá and Tapajós region, and thus in areas where the Mundurukú no longer live in village communities but in isolated dwellings. The
[182] dismembering of the community and the emancipation of the Mundurukú family from the village system are reflected there as they are in many other aspects of the culture.

*241 3. Clearing—ryut tatabm. To clear is to cut down the undergrowth with the machete, removing from the site of the future garden shrubs, young trees, and brush. This is done to prepare for the next task, which is the felling of the trees. In this way, the woodcutters have greater freedom of action. After the trees are felled, it would be impossible to clear the ground of undergrowth. As a rule, the clearing is done in three days' work, and some time is allowed to elapse for the brushwood to dry.

by Fa. Antonino and Fa. Pelino de Castrovalva. This mission holds some five hundred Indians of the Mundurucu tribe.

The missionary Fa. Pelino who was alone there, his companion having already left Bacabal, lent me as an interpreter a Mundurucu Indian who understands and speaks the Portuguese and Tupi languages in addition to his own dialect.

I continued my journey up the Tapajoz and reached the mouth of the Cadereri River, an eastern tributary of the Tapajoz, five days after leaving the Mission of Bacabal.

There, according to what I had been told, I was supposed to meet a bold frontiersman who knew the way to the central villages. Unhappily, however, I did not find him, and the members of my crew knew nothing about the course of the Cadereri River.

Here I was, perplexed for lack of guides and information, when two Mundurucu savages appeared upon the beach.

We asked them, through the interpreter, how long it would take us to reach the source of the Cadereri.

The older of the two savages responded with the following sign: with his index finger he pointed due east, and then he traced a semicircle following the apparent course of the sun to the west, accompanying this gesture with expressive looks, motions and sounds; and he repeated this slowly and distinctly six times in such a way that before the interpreter could explain his message I had already understood that the savage meant it would take us six days.

He also told us that we would meet other Indians at the headwaters of the Cadereri, who could guide us to the village of Necodemos whence he and his companion came. [75]

I was impressed by this name of Necodemos which the Mundurucu gave one of their main villages, for it is the name of the generous and compassionate Jew who bestowed simple funeral dignities upon Christ -- a shroud to enclose his body and a sepulcher to protect it.

I do not know why the Mundurucu gave this name to their village, but I imagine that the coincidence of names is no more than a mere accident.

In any case, I decided to seek the village of Necodemos in preference to any other.

302 Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

304 The tattoing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

[305] Then the painter traces the designs on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

[306] The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

304 It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social
69 bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacaebê.

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs -- Burial customs.

[307] The Mundurucu call the sun casi.

[308] They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coatu and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

They say that summer begins when the swallows appear.
They call the moon caxiate.
The full moon, caxi-tupambon-pimau.
The first quarter of the moon, caxi-quite.
The last quarter of the moon, caxi-hian.
Day, cabiá; night, ximan.

To signify morning, noon, or afternoon, they point out with their index finger the location of the sun at that particular hour.

They call the stars cacuta.
The seven-star constellation (Hesperides) they call tauadirá
The morning star, cabiara.
The Southern Cross, chenchenta (ch as in Spanish muchacha).

They say that the earth is flat, but they know not where it begins or where it ends.

When a Mundurucu dies -- man or woman, elder, youth, or child -- his spirit, biumbé, passes on to another world, a sort of paradise which they call cabi.

The cabi consists of a boundless plain, in the midst of which stands an ekcá large enough to hold them all.

Sometimes these spirits wander through the air and cause storms. Sometimes the Mundurucu spirit comes down to earth and turns into a matin tapirera to hunt at night. It so happens that throughout the valley of the Amazon the repeated cries of a bird may be heard during the night, echoing over and again the same syllables -- "matin tapirera."

Beyond this life, beyond the grave, there is no more pain and no realm set aside for the torture of spirits. Life beyond the grave is much sweeter than earthly existence. [117]

Once in the cabi they can never die; and if they need something they come down to earth in the form of thunder. There are no evil spirits intent on bringing ruin on the Mundurucu.

When one of these savages dies, his relatives dig a grave beneath [his?] own hammock, in the shape of a vertical cylinder. They lower the body into it, head uppermost, folded in the posture of the foetus in the maternal womb.

/10 cont./

*241 372 them to work too quickly, or else they would merely burn the small branches and foliage and leave the trunks intact. The trees would be charred rather than burned.

To set the brush on fire, the Munduruká use torches made of dry straw or of certain resinous woods. With them, they set fire to various parts of the clearing. If there are other gardens or even houses nearby, and danger that the fire may reach them, they often burn first a narrow strip of brush lying below the wind, so that later [816] on the great fire in the clearing will meet a firebreak and will not go on to the neighboring forest or house. As a rule, they also prefer to burn the clearings before they set fire to the grasslands, as is their custom. According to them, the burning of huge expanses of grasslands [821] would attract rainfalls that would interfere with the burning of the clearings.

6. The remaining brush. Taipa: "the brush"; "to pile up the brush" — taipa chign or taipa chichig: "to burn the brush" — taipa mapign or simply imapign, "to burn."

While the thin branches and trunks burn within hours or within a day, the larger trunks take longer, burning down slowly. Then comes the turn of the remaining brush: foliage, branches, and pieces of timber which have not burned up completely are gathered together and piled up on top of the thicker, still smoldering trunks, the better to destroy them. Then fire is set once more to this pyre, in order to reduce the remaining timber to ashes and clear the ground for planting.

Like all garden tasks, the burning, the piling up of the brush, and the burning of the pyre require patience and ability. Otherwise the Indian will get a poorly burned field.

*241 [321] 7. Digging and planting. Next comes the time of planting, in the month of September or October, depending on the first rains. Men and women go to the new plot to plant together. Planting is a dual task consisting of two distinct acts: digging or opening up the ground, and planting, /11/ that is to say, slipping the bitter-manioc shoots into the ground. The first task is the man's, the second the [449] woman's.

302 Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

304 The tattooing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

[305] Then the painter traces the design on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

[306] The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

304 It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social
69 bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caro-Sacaebé.

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs -- Burial customs.

[307] The Mundurucu call the sun caxi.

305 They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coatu and the latter iai.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholletia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

They say that summer begins when the swallows appear.
They call the moon caxiate.
The full moon, caxi-tupambon-pimau.
The first quarter of the moon, caxi-quite.
The last quarter of the moon, caxi-hiau.
Day, cabiá; night, ximan.

To signify morning, noon, or afternoon, they point out with their index finger the location of the sun at that particular hour.

They call the stars cacuta.
The seven-star constellation (Hesperides) they call tauadirá
The morning star, cabiara.
The Southern Cross, chenchenta (ch as in Spanish muchacha).

They say that the earth is flat, but they know not where it begin or where it ends.

When a Mundurucu dies -- man or woman, elder, youth, or child -- his spirit, biumbé, passes on to another world, a sort of paradise which they call cabi.

The cabi consists of a boundless plain, in the midst of which stands an ehca large enough to hold them all.

Sometimes these spirits wander through the air and cause storms. Sometimes the Mundurucu spirit comes down to earth and turns into a matin tapiocra to hunt at night. It so happens that throughout the valley of the Amazon the repeated cries of a bird may be heard during the night, echoing over and again the same syllables -- "matin-tapiocra."

Beyond this life, beyond the grave, there is no more pain and no realm set aside for the torture of spirits. Life beyond the grave is much sweeter than earthly existence. [117]

Once in the cabi they can never die, and if they need something they come down to earth in the form of thunder. There are no evil spirits intent on bringing ruin on the Mundurucu.

When one of these savages dies, his relatives dig a grave beneath [his?] own hammock, in the shape of a vertical cylinder. They lower the body into it, head uppermost, folded in the posture of the foetus in the maternal womb.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Karumkaibu (Farabee, 1917 a). His wife, Sikrida (Strömer, 1932); 776
Chicridha (Tocantins, 1877), is a *Mundurucú* woman. Korumtau 773
(Carutau (ibid.)) is his eldest son and his second born is Aumkaite (Hanu-Acuate (ibid.)). Karumkaibó's companion and helper is Dairu (Rayru (ibid.)), an armadillo.

Conflict between Karumkaibó and his sons and companion is a recur- 773
rent theme in several myths reported by Strömer and Tocantins. In one story, Aumkaite is seduced by his mother. Karumkaibó learns of the incest and in anger pursues his son. Aumkaite delays his flight to have sexual intercourse with several importunate women whom he meets on the way; his father overtakes him and transforms him into a tapir. The insatiable women are transformed into fish.

On another occasion the offenders are Dairu and Korumtau. Their offense is not explained clearly in the account (Strömer, 1932) but appears to involve an improper relationship between Korumtau and some peccaries, for which Dairu is partly responsible. Again the guilty are pursued by Karumkaibó; to evade his father, Korumtau transforms himself successively into a peccary, a cricket, a bird, and a monkey. Once he is wounded by an arrow shot by the pursuing father, but the armadillo draws the arrow from the wound. The animals of the forest give aid by warning of the father's approach. Finally, the two fugitives throw themselves into a body of water and escape.

The *Mundurucú* origin myth tells of the emergence of mankind from under the ground. According to one version (Farabee, 1917 a), Karumkaibó had made the world but had not created men. One day Dairu, the armadillo, offended the creator and was forced to take refuge in a hole in the ground. Karumkaibó blew into the hole and stamped his foot on the earth. Dairu was blown out of the hole by the rush of air. He reported that people were living in the earth. He and Karumkaibó made a cotton rope and lowered it into the hole. The people began to climb out. When half of them had emerged, the rope broke and half remained underground, where they still live. The sun passes through their country from west to [32]
east when it is night on the earth; the moon shines there when the earth has moonless nights. According to another version of the tale (Tocantins, 1877), the creator stamped his foot at the site of the village of Necodemene; White people, Indians, and Negroes emerged from a fissure in the ground. The creator tattooed the *Mundurucú* like himself; the Whites and Negroes scattered. Karumkaibó then showed the *Mundurucú* how to raise manioc, maize, cotton, and other plants and how to utilize them. It was he who [53]
traced the petroglyphs now found on certain cliffs in the region of Necodemene. Another origin-of-agriculture myth is given in a text gathered by Strömer (1937).

Kruse (1934) reports a myth in which the women are said to have 773
once been in possession of the men's hétaie, while the men lived in the 562

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

773 dwelling house. The men did all the work, including such women's tasks as fetching firewood, providing manioc, and baking manioc meal. The woman ruler of the tribe and two companions found three sacred trumpets and secretly practiced playing on them in the forest. When the men discovered the secret, they took the trumpets away from the women. The women were sent to the dwelling house and were forbidden to look again upon the trumpets, while the men took possession of the men's house.

773 Both Strömer (1932) and Farabee (1917 a) report a myth which tells that the sun once fell upon the earth and destroyed its inhabitants by fire. Five days after the fire, the creator sent a vulture from the sky to see if the earth had cooled, but the vulture remained to eat the bodies of men who had been killed. After 4 days a blackbird was sent, but it remained to eat the charred buds of the trees. Four days later, the creator sent a dove, which returned with earth between its claws. Then the creator came down and recreated men and animals of white potter's clay.[4]

LORE AND LEARNING

773 A few miscellaneous cosmological beliefs were obtained by Farabee: Karusakaibó created the sun by transforming a young man who had red eyes and long white hair. The moon is a transformed virgin with white skin. The rain spirit makes thunder by rolling a pestle in a mortar. The constellations are men and animals in a great savanna. An eclipse of the sun is due to a great fire which sweeps over its surface. A powerful shaman once ascended to the sun and put out the fire. Now, when an eclipse occurs, the shaman sends his yakpu to clear the sun. The yakpu (a fragment of meteoric iron) falls to the earth as a ball of fire. After it cools, the shaman puts it away until the next eclipse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113 Baena, 1885; Barbosa Rodrigues, 1882 a; Bates, 1892; Campana, 1904-05; Chantelou, 1862, 1870; Coudreau, H., 1897 a; Farabee, 1917 a; Hartt, 1885; Hirschberg, 1916-20; Kayser, 1901; Kissenberg, 1885; Krause, 1934; Martius, 1867; Nimuendaju, 1928; Nordenskiöld, 1924 b; Spix and Martius, 1823-31, vol. 3; Steinen, 1889; Strömer, 1932, 1937; Tocantins, 1877; Wood, 1868-70.

[4] For names of some of the mythic groups in condensed form above, see Strömer (1932); for other myths, not included in this account, see Strömer (ibid.) and Tocantins (1877). Farabee (1917 a) also gives three animal fables which he attributes to the Mundurucú.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

wat do not have sexual relations in the same position as do the Mundurucú, and his wife replied, "If I lie on the ground I will get warm. We will do it standing up, instead." Furthermore, although the sun also rises in the east and sets in the west in the underworld, it is night there when it is day in the terrestrial world. The kakawat engage in fish-drugging expeditions, as do the Mundurucú, but they poison the water with the sipó snake and not with timbó. Also, they fish for anacondas rather than real fish. Fish-drugging expeditions are always noisy affairs,* but those of the kakawat are so tempestuous that they create a huge wind which is felt in the terrestrial world as the two- or three-day cold spell which strikes the Mundurucú country in June of every year. Conversely, Mundurucú timbó-fishing causes a cold spell in the underworld.

776 756 [§21]

Mothers of the Rain

The mawhat ši, or mothers of the rain, are a number of spirits, each of which is believed responsible for a certain type of rain or storm.* The Mundurucú believe that the rains are their children and that atmospheric disturbances are the results of their activities. Informants were not certain exactly how many mothers of the rain exist, but they were able to give the names of seven and to describe some of their attributes. The mawhat ši are colored in varying degrees of black or white, and all their possessions, such as carrying baskets and penis sheaths, are correspondingly black or white. All the mawhat ši described by informants are male, but these male spirits have wives who are also considered mothers of the rain. Three of the mawhat ši are mentioned by name in the legend of Perimat.* They are Tipuhihtum (storm of wind and rain), Iaapurungrung (strong thunder and lightning), and Kurehiseriayun (steady, slow rain). Kurehiseriayun was also mentioned by informants as the bringer of a fine, all-day rain and as being of whitish color. Of somewhat darker hue is Chuurirunupi, who appears on those days when clouds gather and thunder rumbles. The storm never breaks, however, and the sun always reappears. Dahituwahi causes rain and high winds, but, although black, he is not as black as Dahituwapi, who brings storms with black clouds. Finally, Karuparabi, also a black mawhat ši, carries strong electrical storms with violent thunder and lightning. The thunder is believed to be the sound of his footsteps, and the rays of lightning are thought by the Mundurucú to shoot from his arms. Karuparabi's violent behavior is attributed to his anger because of the intimacies of his wife and Chuurirunupi.

776 §21

The mawhat ši live in houses below the ground; these houses are scattered throughout the world and their occupants determine the weather in their environs. One house of the mawhat ši is inside a hill near the Cabitutú River, and its residents make the weather in the surrounding Mundurucú country. During the summer dry season, the mawhat ši wander afar, as do the Mundurucú, and do not return until the beginning of the rains. The people are able to detect the return of the spirits to their homes by the first rumbles of thunder in September.

* Tocantins' (1877, p. 138) statement that the souls of Mundurucú dead are believed to produce storms was misinterpreted by informants.

* See page 36.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

The *wambat is* are delayed in their journey in certain years, and the rains then arrive late. There is no way by which humans can hasten their return.

Although the Mundurucú have no supernatural techniques to induce or stop rain, they believe that they can frighten the mothers of the rain by planting a bow in the ground when a violent electrical storm threatens. Significantly, they generally resort to such preventative measures at the beginning of the rainy season, a period when storms frequently threaten but seldom strike. I have never seen them attempt to frighten electrical storms away after the full force of the rainy season has arrived.

In the old days, say Mundurucú informants, extremely powerful shamans were able to see the *wambat is*, who always took the form of black deer when they traveled. When a shaman sighted one of these invisible animals he knew that it would rain and that it would be useless to go hunting.

Kaabeb Sewete

The *kawiki* is a set of three trumpets, or more precisely, resonant chambers, which are kept in a small enclosed room attached to the men's house of each Mundurucú village. These trumpets are functionally equivalent to the more widely distributed bull-roarer. They are taboo to the sight of women, to whom they are believed to have once belonged, and they are endowed with supernatural qualities. This supernatural aspect of the *kawiki* stems from the belief that they harbor certain spirits. These are of three categories. First, each set of trumpets is believed to possess a soul (*dawabik*) that resides within the instruments. Again, each set of trumpets is considered to be the property of a certain clan and the residence of the *tabi*, or eponymous ancestor, of the clan. Finally, each set of trumpets has a group of spirit "companions" (*kawiki ejawet*). All three categories of spirit, when properly propitiated, act to protect the village in which the trumpets are housed.

The interrelationship of the various spirits of the trumpets with the structure of clan and phratry organization has been analyzed elsewhere,[1] but a brief recapitulation is necessary in order to understand fully the place of these supernaturals in contemporary Mundurucú culture. As mentioned in chapter I, the Mundurucú at one time practiced patrilocal residence, and their patrilocal clans had a residential basis in patrilineages. Furthermore, evidence suggests that the clan was once localized, and clan and village were equivalent units. During this period, what are now only the *kawiki* of certain villages were also the *kawiki* of clan groups. The clan ancestors were contained within the trumpets and exerted a benevolent influence over the clan-village unit. Clan, ancestor, and trumpet were all named after the same eponymous object, whether animal, fish, or plant. Each trumpet also had a spirit companion which was given a plant or animal name other than that of the clan. Ensuing population growth produced segmentation and the formation of new local lineages, some of which in time became localized clans in their own right. The offspring clans adopted new spirit companions for their trumpets but kept those of the parent clan, also. The sharing of a spirit com-

[1] Murphy, 1958.

/10 cont./

*241 372 them to work too quickly, or else they would merely burn the small branches and foliage and leave the trunks intact. The trees would be charred rather than burned.

To set the brush on fire, the Mundurukú use torches made of dry straw or of certain resinous woods. With them, they set fire to various parts of the clearing. If there are other gardens or even houses nearby, and danger that the fire may reach them, they often [816] burn first a narrow strip of brush lying below the wind, so that later on the great fire in the clearing will meet a firebreak and will not go on to the neighboring forest or house. As a rule, they also prefer to burn the clearings before they set fire to the grasslands, as is their [821] custom. According to them, the burning of huge expanses of grasslands would attract rainfalls that would interfere with the burning of the clearings.

6. The remaining brush. Taipa is "the brush"; "to pile up the brush" — taipa chiga or taipa chichiga; "to burn the brush" — taipa magiga or simply imagiga, "to burn."

While the thin branches and trunks burn within hours or within a day, the larger trunks take longer, burning down slowly. Then comes the turn of the remaining brush. Foliage, branches, and pieces of timber which have not burned up completely are gathered together and piled up on top of the thicker, still smoldering trunks, the better to destroy them. Then fire is set once more to this pyre, in order to reduce the remaining timber to ashes and clear the ground for planting.

Like all garden tasks, the burning, the piling up of the brush, and the burning of the pyre require practice and ability. Otherwise the Indian will get a poorly burned field.

*24 [821] 7. Digging and planting. Next comes the time of planting, in the month of September or October, depending on the first rains. Men and women go to the new plot to plant together. Planting is a dual task consisting of two distinct acts: digging or opening up the ground, and planting, /11/ that is to say, slipping the bitter-manioc [445] shoots into the ground. The first task is the man's, the second the woman's.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related." but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero. 614 616 [534]

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo). 595 601 587

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given. 591 [684] [592] [822]

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry. 622 624

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a[1] war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader. 701

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting, 726 462 [482]

[1] [Martius (Source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time.-- Analyst]

773 Now it so happens that a large cave actually exists near the
[199] present site of Acupari. The Mundurucu say that even today the grunts of wild pigs and cries of agony may be heard there.

Others state that women's ornaments such as bracelets made of chestnut shells may be found near the cave entrance, as well as other vestiges of the tremendous catastrophe. The Mundurucu dare not enter the cave of Acupari.

Then Caru-Sacaebẽ left with Rairu, the only survivor of the disaster.

Arriving at the place where Necodemos stands today, he stamped his foot upon the ground, and from the large fissure that resulted he drew one pair of Mundurucu, one of white people, one of Indians, and one of Negroes.

[200] Caru-Sacaebẽ painted the Mundurucu couple in the same fashion as he himself was painted, and this was the origin of the maloca of Necodemos and the beginnings of the tribe, which grew so large and powerful that the earth shook when they marched off to war.

The white people, the Indians and the Negroes set off to populate other lands.

In Necodemos, Caru-Sacaebẽ laid out a field and sowed it, and when the first rains fell there sprouted manioc, maize, sweet potato, yam, cotton, and other food-yielding and medicinal plants.

He taught how to build ovens and how to make manioc flour.

He made a small wooden statue, gave it life, and named it Hanhu-Acauãte; this was his second son.

To provide Hanhu-Acauãte with a mother, Caru-Sacaebẽ took as consort a maiden of the tribe by the name of Chicrichá. [88]

Hanhu-Acauãte grew; some women eluded the vigilance of Chicrichá and seduced him.

Caru-Sacaebẽ changed Hanhu-Acauãte into an ant, and Chicrichá and the guilty women into fish.

Necodemos was already strong and powerful.

773 Caru-Sacaebẽ drew on a high rock between Acupari and
172 Necodemos those symbolic characters which are still to be seen

727 when they feel or fear they are being pursued. At night they
[373] guide themselves with torches made with fragments of a resinous wood which they call ouichique-taque, and which the Indians of the Lower Tapajoz know by the name of pau candeia [(Port.) "lamp wood"]. This wood, when dry, catches fire easily; it blazes brightly when carried on the run.

726 Almost invariably these expeditions last so long that the
[374] Indians run out of provisions and subsist on chestnuts rather than manioc flour and sweet potatoes. They suffer long privations; some of them return thin.

It is maintained that the Mundurucu make these forays every year and that they always bring captives.

A very old Indian woman, probably a native of the interesting Tapajoz tribe which gave the river its name and which is now extinct, told me that more than once during her youth [96] the Mundurucu had come down the banks of the Upper and Lower Tapajoz, striking cruelly at the many malocas then extent, cutting enemy heads, and spreading boundless terror throughout the region.

A well-verified tradition also has it that these barbarians once reached the mouth of the Tapajoz, and besieged the fort built by the Portuguese in the Christian Tapajoz village which is now the site of the flourishing city of Santarém.

X

Facts about some native tribes whom the Mundurucu fight and who wander through the valley of the Upper Xingu and toward the borders of Mato-Grosso.

[375] The Mundurucu say that they still find many heathen bands
[376] in the extensive regions they roam, and that towards the east there runs a broad and mighty river, full of waterfalls, which they call Caruntunzi and the banks of which are inhabited by many pagans.

This must be the Upper Xingu, which is indeed one of the major tributaries of the Amazon and one of those which run closest to the capital of Pará. Its upper course, however, is still entirely unknown.

They say that summer begins when the swallows appear.
They call the moon caxiaiu.
The full moon, caxi-tupambon-pimau.
The first quarter of the moon, caxi-quite.
The last quarter of the moon, caxi-hiau.
Day, cabid; night, ximan.

To signify morning, noon, or afternoon, they point out with their index finger the location of the sun at that particular hour.

They call the stars cacuxa.
The seven-star constellation (Hesperides) they call tauadiua
The morning star, cabiaxa.
The Southern Cross, chouchouxa (ch as in Spanish muchacha).

They say that the earth is flat, but they know not where it begins or where it ends.

When a Mundurucu dies -- man or woman, elder, youth, or child -- his spirit, biumbé, passes on to another world, a sort of paradise which they call cabi.

The cabi consists of a boundless plain, in the midst of which stands an ekeá large enough to hold them all.

Sometimes these spirits wander through the air and cause storms. Sometimes the Mundurucu spirit comes down to earth and turns into a matin tapirera to hunt at night. It so happens that throughout the valley of the Amazon the repeated cries of a bird may be heard during the night, echoing over and again the same syllables -- "matin tapirera."

Beyond this life, beyond the grave, there is no more pain and no realm set aside for the torture of spirits. Life beyond the grave is much sweeter than earthly existence. [117]

Once in the cabi they can never die, and if they need something they come down to earth in the form of thunder. There are no evil spirits intent on bringing ruin on the Mundurucu.

When one of these savages dies, his relatives dig a grave beneath [his?] own hammock, in the shape of a vertical cylinder. They lower the body into it, head uppermost, folded in the posture of the foetus in the maternal womb.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

tato (*Ipomoea batatas*), maize, beans, squash, pineapple, 241
and pepper. At some time after the advent of the whites in 262
the Western Hemisphere such plants as banana, rice, po- [171]
tato, and sugar cane were introduced. Cotton, although [248]
native to the New World, was not adopted and used by the
Mundurucú until the nineteenth century. Similarly, although the potato is native in western South America it was not found aboriginally in the eastern part of the continent.

The agricultural land exploitable by each village is more 134
than adequate, but not unlimited. Amazonian forest soil 241
is generally of extremely poor quality. It is loose and fri- 311
able and thus suitable to the simple digging sticks formerly used by the aborigines in planting, but it lacks the colloids essential to hold the minerals in the topsoil. The result is that the minerals are leached into the subsoil by the heavy annual rains. There is some variation in soil quality, however, even in this rather uniform environment. Much land is unusable in Mundurucú territory because it is periodically inundated or because it is sandy, grass-covered savannah. The tillable forest land is classified by the Mun- [829]
durucú into the categories of black, red, and clay earth. The latter two are further subdivided if they contain a significant percentage of sand. Black earth is the best land and is usually the only kind in which they raise squash, melon, beans, and rice. These crops can be grown with uncertain prospects of success in red earth while maize can be raised in both. The tuber crops grow in all kinds of soil. Since black earth is not accessible to all villages, the list of Mundurucú crops is often drastically reduced in certain locations.

The land cannot be used for more than two plantings. 241
On the second planting, in all types of soil, only bitter 311
manioc is raised. Certain crops, such as pineapple, replant

/1 cont./

242 this estimate. Through repeated tests he finds out the type of the soil and draws the necessary conclusions. As a rule, he proceeds as follows: with the machete, he digs a hole and examines the soil. [223] By crumbling it between his fingers, he finds out its quality by touch. He distinguishes three types: sandy, clayey, and black, allowing for certain variants and intermediary types, according to the composition and percentage of clay or sand. He makes these soil tests at various depths and in various places when he suspects that only a thin layer is involved, or to find out how far /the layer/ extends. The type of garden also depends on the type of the soil; in other terms: depending on what he wishes to plant, he has to choose a /specific/ type of soil. For this reason, in his hunting forays through the forest, the Indian pays attention to the ground through which he passes in order to find out where he will find appropriate soil when he needs it. The following rule applies as a general norm:

242 134 sandy soil: good only for bitter manioc; inadequate for other plants.

clayey soil: good especially for bitter manioc, tubercles in general, and also for banana plantations; other plants do not grow well in this soil. [345]

black soil: good for everything. For this reason, black soil is always sought out and preferred. This is the tobacco ground par excellence. [349]

*241 2. Size and shape of the plot. As was already partly explained, [242] the size of the plot depends on the quality of the soil. If /the Indian/ finds the chosen soil somewhat weak, he figures out beforehand that the harvest will be less satisfactory, and makes the plot somewhat larger. From the practice he has acquired since youth, he empirically figures out the area that will be needed. To do this he does not use measurements, as our peasants do ("braças," "varas," and such). [804] I attempted in various ways to find out how the Mundurukú figure out the size of the plot he is about to prepare. The answers were always the same: ".... just by looking, you already know ..." /8/ or "... just by looking...." If the family has grown through the years,

XVIII

Means of subsistence of the Mundurucu -- Hunting -- Cultivated Plants -- Wild Fruits.

224 The Mundurucu, living as they do among vast plains and virgin forests, being skillful hunters and possessing excellent hounds, owe their subsistence largely to hunting.

They also practice some husbandry which, though still quite rudimentary, is of considerable help to them. [119]

Many wild fruits also grow in the region, some of them excellent.

I will not enumerate all the various kinds of game which are to be found in those parts, white tapir, deer, wild pig, mutum [?] and the inhambu and jacamin birds occur in such abundance. I will, however, provide below a list of all the plants cultivated by the Mundurucu, and another of the wild fruits, with the corresponding names in their own language:

Cultivated Plants

[English], Portuguese or Tupi Term	Mundurucu Name
manioc	mocetá
sweet manioc	mocepean
large white yam	puerá erechache
large purple yam	puerá aniucate
small white yam	auairá
small purple yam	auauerá aniucate
sweet potato	uixiá
pineapple	para-ã
papaya	ação-ã
pepper	aium-ã
sugar cane	canipec
timbó liana	comopi
cotton	bruun-ã
maize	muirarã

24 [English], Portuguese or Tupi Term — Mundurucu Name

•124

large bean — uritri
banana — acouhá
S. Tomé banana — acoreqempá
large tajá — pan-ao-pan
manioquera — mocerá
reed — bepá
jamaru (gourd) — uiaia

[120] Wild Fruits
Fruits of the forest and bush

232
129
137

Para chestnut [Brazil nut] — bemaio
assaí — oaporeme
muriti [fruit of that palm] — inberepeá
bacaba — barurusã
patauá — uadhu
uxi — taruá
pequiá — xaá
abio — anacaréa
forest caju — herecerá
maracock? [passion fruit] — maracuiá
bacuri-pari — uaremecá
sage — utuá
araticu — bocuboco
mocajá — uacurá
anaja — uaritaia
copu-ahi — acarapá
pajurá — cobican-a
cumai ([Port.] solvashinha [small sage]) — iubaá
massaranduba — cirara-ã
forest cacao — uadherá
jutaí or jatubá — [sic]
copu-assu — acarapá

Fruits of the Fields

jaboticaba	juhã
mangaba	uahua
field caju	hacerácasaq
axiua	etem-ã
muruci	quenhen-ã
marmelada	hura-ã
field araticu	hocubucu haru
pineapple	ipará

Daú is the favorite food of the Mundurucu. It is prepared with Pará chestnuts.

This nut is quite well known, for the province of Pará yearly exports it to Europe by the thousands of hectolitres.

It is known in Europe as the Brazil nut, and contains sixty per cent light and delicately flavored oil.

To prepare daú, the Mundurucu cook the nuts, peel them, soak them, mash them, place them in a pot, cover them with leaves, and allow them to smoke for eight days. [121]

This paste undergoes a sort of fermentation and exhales a strong odor.

Then they mash it again and place it in a pan on the fire.

Thus prepared, daú keeps for a long time.

They also make another kind of daú from the same nut; once cooked and mashed, it is mixed with fish or meat.

The Mundurucu also feed on banana mush; yam mush; porridge of manioc flour mixed with assaí; pataná; bacaba; and mauiqueira mush.

In summertime they drink a sort of refreshing beverage made from wild beans which they call uselma.

They do not appear to use alcoholic beverages or to become intoxicated.

They are very frugal. When game is scarce on rainy winter days, they subsist on sweet potatoes, yams, chestnuts, daú, etc.

They preserve the flesh of game by smoking it slowly over the fire in the accustomed manner.

Uncultivated Fruits Native to the Region

Fruits of the Fields

mangaba	Hancornea speciosa, Martius; apocinea fam.
jaboticaba	Myrtus cauliflora, Martius; myrtacea fam.
field caju	Anacardium humile? Martius; therebintacea fam.
axina	[sic]
murici	Byrsonima verbasca
marmelada	The people of Sergipe thus call the fruit of a wild shrub, which looks somewhat like the grape and is of a dark purplish hue; it is edible, and considered to be a kind of quince native to [the province of] Alagoas. Cydonia?; rosacea fam.
field ariticu	Anona coriacea, St. Hilaire; annacea fam.
anahy	Leopoldina imperialis cucurbitacea fam.

Fruits of the forest and bush

chestnut	Pará or Maranhão chestnut, Bertholletia excelsa, Humb. and Bomp.; myrtacea fam.
assahy	Euterpe edulis Martius; palmtree fam.
muriti	Mauritia vinifera, Linn.; palmtree fam.
bacaba	Oenocarpus bacaba, Martius; palmtree fam.
[123]	
patauá	Oenocarpus?; palmtree fam.
uxi	Uxi umbrosium; crossobolanea fam.
pequiá	Pequiá, coffee or wild coffee, Cascaria foetida; sandea fam.
abio	Labatia reticulata, Martius; sapotacea fam.

137

137 forest caju	Considered to belong to the Cassuvium genus, Anacardiaceae fam.
maracock? [passion fruit]	Passiflora maliformis, Linn. and Wild; passifloraceae fam.
becuro-pari	Platonia insignis, Martius; caselliaceae fam.
sage	Lippia citriodora, Scheik; verbenaceae fam. Brazil sage, Salvia fulgens, Cav. Mahl.; labiaceae fam. Forest sage, Humeria salsaparilha.
artico	Anona silvatica, St. Hilaire; anonaceae fam.
mocaja	Known in Rio de Janeiro as "cacanhal coconut." Acrocomia sclerocarpa, Martius; palmeae fam.
acaja or maji	Palmeae fam.
cupo-assu	Deliomea lactea; malvaceae fam.
cupo-aí	Leguminosa fam.
pajura	Laurineae fam.
cumati	Psidium albidum, St. Hilaire; myrtaceae fam.
mamaranduba	Achras paracensis, Mamaranduba emarginata, Lacerda; sapotaceae fam.
[126]	
forest cacao	Cacao, Theobroma cacao, Linn.; bombaceae fam. Wild cacao, Theobroma guianensis, Wild; bombacaceae fam.
jacibá	Hymenoea stilbocarpa, Haine and Martius; Hymenea courbaril, Linn.; leguminosa fam.

77% offended. These spirit owners were angered when a hunter killed an animal just for its hide and left the meat to rot, when someone ridiculed the game, when the spirit "mothers" were not "fed" by the shaman both privately and at ceremonies, and for a variety of lesser reasons. They took revenge by robbing the soul of the malefactor or causing him to have some accident.

Species of fish also had spirit "mothers," but these were of minor importance. There was also a "mother of fishes" which could be found in occasional alligators. As with all of the spirit "mothers" that resided in animals, only a shaman could detect in which particular animal it was located. In ancient times there used to be a "mother of birds," say the Mundurucú, but a sorcerer buried her deep in the ground and she is still alive but can never get out. Wild trees of importance to subsistence had "mothers" too but these were rarely referred to by the Mundurucú. The general "mother of the game" and the species "mothers" of the larger game animals were those that figured most heavily in the ceremonial life.

77% The malignant spirits were an important factor in the Mundurucú belief system for they persist in Mundurucú culture despite the decline of the rest of the native religion. In common with the Tupian tribes and the Jê-speaking, the Mundurucú believed in the evil spirit known as

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

ponion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534 776 778 174 604

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The clan relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure.

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *dewabik*; the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *dewabik*; one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *akê* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *dewabik* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 774

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karihi*, go to Karihikai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upitcharü, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

burití palm and were fashioned in an extremely simple manner. The ends of a large bunch of fronds were tied together and a ring of vine was attached some five inches below the top knot. The vine ring was then placed on the dancer's head, and the leaves were arranged to fall uniformly down all sides of his body to a point below his knees. The garment was fastened to his waist by a burití leaf belt. The dancer's arms protruded from the sides of the cloak, and the fronds were pushed aside to make openings for the eyes and mouth. Underneath these cloaks the dancers wore the same raiment used by all the other men during the ceremony. This consisted of a burití-leaf crown, to the front, back, and sides of which were attached vertical strips of burití leaf. Bands of this leaf were also tied around the biceps, wrists, ankles, and just below the knees, and were crisscrossed across the chest and shoulders. The ends of each band were shredded and allowed to dangle. A belt of burití leaf was also worn, and long thin strips of this leaf hung from it to form a knee-length skirt. Thin fibers hung from the back of a burití-leaf neck choker to below the buttocks. The garment used in the *Arawaru* ceremony was identical, except that the burití leaves were first boiled in water and then hung in the sun to bleach white.

The instruments used by the dancers, called *kui*, consisted of bamboo tubes some 18 inches long with a reed made of the root of the paxiúba palm inserted in the mouth. Identical instruments were used in a secular dance, the *Parawa*, but those for the *Dajacaparip* and *Arawaru* could not be used for such profane purposes, for fear of insulting the Mother of the Game.

After the ceremony began, five cloaked dancers made the house-to-house rounds day and night and were replaced after each round by fresh dancers from the men's house. There was an occasional intermission to allow the men and the inhabitants of the dwelling houses to sleep. Each round began when three cloaked men, dancing side by side, approached the first house in a clockwise direction from the men's house. Playing their instruments, they danced to the doorway of the house three times and backed off, entering the house on their fourth approach. After entering the house they circled twice around the interior and then left for the next house in the same direction, repeating the same movements. As they left the house, the other two cloaked dancers approached it, entered in the same manner, and followed the first three through the village. During the rounds of the five *kui*-players, the other men stayed in the men's house and sang songs appropriate to the ceremony. Most of these songs dealt with hunting and game animals, and some with fish and food-bearing plants.

The climax of the ceremony was the summoning of the spirit mothers of the game and their subsequent visitation. Some days after the beginning of the house-to-house dancing, temporary thatch walls were built about the open sides and front of the men's house. A great number of skulls of game animals were gathered and those of each species were placed in rows running east-west and parallel to each other. At the head of the line of tapir skulls was one that had been kept in the men's house and was considered to be the chief of all the skulls in the room. In front of the rows of animal skulls were those of two coatá monkeys. Their

773 on the hills of Aremirã. He had faint watched away by the clouds,
172 and he himself disappeared from Necodemos, following the course of the Tapajoz; on the left bank of the river, at a height no human hand can reach, he also drew some characters on the cliff of Cantagalo.

773 And since then no one has known where he is. The Mundurucu faithfully preserve the memory of his deeds, and paint themselves, their wives and their children in exactly the same fashion as Caru-Sacaebẽ was painted.

VI

Appearance of the dog in Necodemos -- Legend

Among all peoples, the dog is looked upon as a faithful friend. The Mundurucu, who are hunting savages, picture the [265] dog in their legends as descended from a maiden of their tribe and from an unknown warrior, who appeared in the maloca and disappeared again without anyone finding out who he was, whence he had come, or where he had gone. He was a deus ignotus.

The story ran as follows. After Caru-Sacaebẽ had disappeared, the Mundurucu of Necodemos continued [99] to hunt, searching every part of the plains and forests. One day, while they were out hunting, an unknown warrior by the name of Caru-Pitubẽ appeared at the maloca.

He went to the ekeá, climbed into a hammock, seized a horn from the roof, and proceeded to blow upon it in a peculiar way. A maiden of the maloca, Inchero by name, responded to [263] the call and offered the warrior dae [food prepared from Brazil [574] nuts] as a sign of good hospitality.

Caru-Pitubẽ had arrived almost at nightfall.

There was no one else in Necodemos.

303 Men as well as women derive great satisfaction from these strange ornaments.

304 The tattooing procedure is extremely painful.

It begins when the child reaches the age of eight. As might be expected, the child does not surrender of his own will to this agony; but he is taken by force, thrown upon the ground, and deprived of any motion.

[305] Then the painter traces the designs on the child's body with a sharp agouti tooth, [115] drawing blood.

[306] The indelible juice of the genipap is then applied to the incisions. These intentional wounds usually become inflamed, and fever sometimes ensues. For this reason, the operation is performed as a rule during the winter months, when the effects of the heat are less intense.

It is slow work: the first wounds are permitted to heal before the task proceeds. This renders the procedure so leisurely that the painting is only completed when the youth is nearing twenty.

304 It thus seems to be a sort of blood initiation -- a social
64 bond -- a consecrated tie -- which, like the individual ring in a chain, connects every member of the tribe to every other.

It is their most intimate bond and its origin, according to tradition, goes back to Caru-Sacaebe.

XVII

Time measurements -- Beliefs -- Burial customs.

[324] The Mundurucu call the sun caxi.

65 They differentiate summer and winter, calling the former coatu and the latter ixi.

They say that winter begins when the chestnuts begin to fall. And indeed the fruits of the chestnut (Bertholetia excelsa) begin to fall as soon as the rains come. [116]

Finally, a vertical grave is dug inside the dwelling of the warrior's family, and the head in whose honor the ceremonies took place is buried there.

XXII

Hunting, fishing, and agricultural celebrations

Each Mundurucu village also carries out every year at the start of winter a public ceremony which celebrates hunting and fishing on alternate years.

To this end the village elects a ceremonial leader who is chosen among the most reputed warriors and who must also be a good singer. [133]

They accumulate beforehand ample quantities of game, beiju (a kind of manioc bread), sweet potatoes, and other foodstuffs.

The women paint themselves with genipap, urucu, and other highly effective colors.

Men and women, adorned with feather ornaments and necklaces of enemy teeth, assemble in groups wherever they please and begin to make music, to dance and to sing.

They gather the skulls of tapir, deer, and other species of game or fish, and offer them the best delicacies -- dau, taruba, maniqueira, and other foods.

At midnight the shaman retires to a special room, beyond the reach of unhallowed glances. There, in the midst of absolute darkness, he first calls in loud voices upon the tapir's "mother," if the ceremony is in celebration of hunting.

After a while, those who surround the mysterious hut hear within it the sharp scream of the tapir.

It is the shaman imitating the cry of this animal to notify his audience that the spirit has answered his call and has come down to the hut.

There ensues a lively debate in loud voices between the tapir's "mother" and the shaman. He requests her to favor the

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

Within the house each family has its own partitioned quarters and a fireplace or stone manioc oven (Tocantins, 1877). How many families usually occupy a single house has not been reported. 342

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

The only item of *Mundurucú* clothing mentioned in the literature is the three-cornered penis cover suspended from a cotton cord, but there are several descriptions of the ceremonial feather garments for which this tribe is famous. Many authors consider the *Mundurucú* to have been the most expert featherworkers in South America within the historic period. 291

Featherwork.—Featherwork includes aprons, capes (attached to headdresses), caps, diadems, belts, girdles, bandoliers, arm bands, and leg bands. The feathers used in this craft were at least in part obtained from birds kept in captivity; red, blue, green, and yellow feathers were carefully sorted by color and size and stored in baskets or in palm-stem cylinders. Martius was told that the *Mundurucú* were able to cause their parrots to grow yellow plumes by plucking their feathers and rubbing frogs' blood into the wounds.[8] The feathers are attached to a net fabric. Tail feathers, arranged in parallel rows, are used in capes and pendants; rosettes of small feathers, bound at the quills, are attached to the base net to cover the attachments of long feathers; imbricated breast feathers may be used to cover the surface of a fabric or to sheathe a cord. Decorative effects are produced by simple alternation of colors. 287 [825]

A characteristic feathered staff is described as a stem of cane or wood about 3 feet (1 m.) long and 2 or 3 inches in diameter. The shaft is either covered with long feathers laid flat against it or sheathed with fine breast feathers. At the upper end a dense band of rosettes forms a projecting collar; a free cluster of long plumes may project from the head of the staff. The feathers are attached with wax and cotton thread. These objects are highly valued and when not in use are carefully stored in cylindrical containers. Their significance has not been reported; Martius merely says that when he approached a *Mundurucú* village, staff-bearers came to meet him. 293

Tattooing and painting.—The *Mundurucú* tattooing designs consist of fine, widely-spaced parallel lines applied vertically on limbs and torso; bands of lozenges across the upper part of the chest; occasional parallel horizontal lines, and cross-hatchings. Around each eye is tattooed a single-line ellipse; curved lines are drawn around the mouth. Lines converging toward the ears across the cheeks give the appearance of wings spread across the face. (For illustrations of *Mundurucú* tattooing, see the sketches by Hercules Florence (Steinen, 1899).) 304

[8] Nordenskiöld (1924 b, p. 207) says of this custom, which has been reported from other South American tribes, that the color change actually occurs, but zoologists attribute the change to dietary factors.

775 the soul was very serious for there were a number of dangers along the path that could destroy the soul and consequently kill the sick person who had lost it. A special ceremony was immediately performed to get the soul back, for the person became sicker as his soul traveled farther, and when the end of the journey was reached the person died. It was necessary to recover the soul before it reached the final and fatal point when it was taken away by the smallest fishes. Game animals also had souls and when an animal died its soul returned to the "land of the game" where it lived on in human form.

776 825 The most important class of spirits was that of the "mothers" of the species. Of these, the <u>putchashi</u> (mother of game) was the spirit owner of all game animals, collectively, and the most important of all these spirits. The "mother of game" existed in two forms: a wandering type that traveled within the bodies of certain game animals, especially the land tortoise, and the "real" "mother of game" which had the form of a stone and could only be seen by the shaman. This type was usually found in the springs and deep, cool pools at the headwaters of streams. These are places where game is usually to be found due to the constant supply of water and the Mundurucú recognize this fact. However, they also say that the game is here because it is attracted by the "mother of the game."

The "mothers" of the different species of game were of less importance, but could be equally dangerous when

776 offended. These spirit owners were angered when a hunter
825 killed an animal just for its hide and left the meat to rot, when someone ridiculed the game, when the spirit "mothers" were not "fed" by the shaman both privately and at ceremonies, and for a variety of lesser reasons. They took revenge by robbing the soul of the malefactor or causing him to have some accident.

Species of fish also had spirit "mothers," but these were of minor importance. There was also a "mother of fishes" which could be found in occasional alligators. As with all of the spirit "mothers" that resided in animals, only a shaman could detect in which particular animal it was located. In ancient times there used to be a "mother of birds," say the Mundurucú, but a sorcerer buried her deep in the ground and
[824] she is still alive but can never get out. Wild trees of importance to subsistence had "mothers" too but these were rarely referred to by the Mundurucú. The general "mother of the game" and the species "mothers" of the larger game animals were those that figured most heavily in the ceremonial life.

776 The malignant spirits were an important factor in the Mundurucú belief system for they persist in Mundurucú culture despite the decline of the rest of the native religion. In common with the Tupian tribes and the caboclos, the Mundurucú believed in the evil spirit known as

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the equipment of the men, except for their arms, thus leaving the males unencumbered for hunting and fighting. They also cooked, fetched water and firewood and performed other female services. Contrary to Spix and von Martius' (1831:1313) assertion that the women helped on the battlefield, informants said that the women were always left at a safe distance from the scene of combat. The men then proceeded to encircle the enemy village under cover of darkness. 708 726 756

No warfare rituals were held prior to the departure of the expedition, but the most powerful shaman available always accompanied the war party and throughout the course of march was able to ascertain events in the enemy village by sending one of his instruments abroad to spy upon the foe. Once the village had been encircled, the shaman blew ant-eater hair or macaw feathers in the direction of the houses in order to put the enemy into a deep sleep. Eagle feathers were similarly directed at the village in the belief that this would cause the defenders to become confused and impotent in the face of attack.

When the occupants of the village were benumbed, the warriors waited for the cry of a species of bird that breaks into song at dawn. When this signal was heard, the chiefs sounded blasts on their horns and cried the order to attack. Incendiary arrows, made by affixing dried corn-cobs to the end of the arrow shaft, were ignited and loosed at the thatch roofs of the houses. The Mundurucú then broke from cover and dashed into the clearing of the enemy village, emitting wild shouts calculated to terrify the people. Adult males and females were killed and decapitated, and prepubescent children of both sexes were captured by the attackers. The Mundurucú then beat a hasty retreat before the enemy could reorganize his forces and summon additional support. 726 [825] [411] 727

The retiring Mundurucú force drove its captive children ahead hurriedly and stopped at the temporary shelter only long enough to pick up the women and supplies. They then made a day and night forced march until they had reached a safe distance from the enemy. At this point, the expedition turned toward home or, frequently, to new fields of conquest.

A central object of the raid was the taking of enemy heads, and a strict protocol was observed in the preparation of the trophies. After killing an enemy man or woman, the warrior quickly decapitated the corpse. The spine was severed at the foramen magnum, but the skin was cut around the chest, shoulders, and back to leave a substantial flap below the point of severance. The excess skin compensated for the inevitable shrinkage that accompanied desiccation. A piece of wood was then thrust into the mouth of the trophy to prevent its locking closed in rigor mortis. During the return march the head was preserved by removing the brains, boiling it, and then drying it near a bonfire.

The war party broke up after reaching Mundurucú country, and the participants proceeded to their respective villages. Signals were sounded on horns a short distance outside the villages, and two messengers were sent to inform the people of the results of the raid. The boys of the community went to meet the waiting warriors and received the trophy heads from them. They ran [202]

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

727 ahead to the men's house and displayed the prizes to the older men and told them who had taken each. The warriors and their accompanying women then entered the village, and each delivered his captive children to the care of his wife and went to the men's house, where the trophy heads were returned to their owners.

727 765 [616] Although the waiting members of the community showed joy at the return of the war party, especially if it had been successful, mourning was in order for those who had fallen in the fray. Among the Mundurucú, each clan recognizes certain other clans of the opposite moiety as their *iboiwatitit*, or people who have the responsibility of burying the dead of the clan. This function is looked upon as more than a duty; moieties are conceived as ritually hostile bodies, and the iboiwatitit consider it a pleasure to bury the dead of the complementary clan. When the whole body is not available, it is considered necessary to the maintenance of proper relations between moieties that some part of the dead be buried. Since it was not expedient to bring the dead back to Mundurucú territory for interment, it was customary for a member of a slain warrior's iboiwatitit to sever his humerus and return it for the mortuary rites. This practice was said to have been followed also in the cases of men who were too severely wounded to continue the homeward journey; needless to say, they died shortly thereafter. When it was impossible to retrieve the humerus of the dead, a piece of arrow cane was cut to simulate the bone.

The iboiwatitit member who had brought the arm bone of the dead back to the village would place it in a basket in his wife's dwelling and keep it there for about a month. People from other villages were invited to attend the [578] burial, and on this occasion other members of the deceased's iboiwatitit engaged in ritual dispute for the honor of burying the bone. The humerus was always retained by the man who had secured it, and it was buried in the floor of his house.

727 554 784 Thus far we have discussed the roles of war leaders, the Muchacha society, the shaman, and the iboiwatitit of the fallen warrior, but other social statuses connected with warfare became activated after the return of the expedition. A wounded warrior was treated as if dead for one year after the hostilities; he had no sexual relations, his hair was allowed to grow long, and the use of his name was tabooed during that period.

727 554 [609] [825] The most important status was that of a taker of a trophy head, who was referred to as *Dajeboiši*. Literally, the title means "mother of the peccary," an allusion to the Mundurucú view of other tribes as being equivalent to game animals. The "mother" part of the term is derived from the trophy head's power to attract game and to cause their numerical increase, and the headhunter was so titled because of his obvious fertility promoting function; paradoxically for such a seemingly masculine status, he symbolically filled a female role.

727 224 The trophy head was believed to exert a powerful charm over the spirit protectors of the animal world and thus improved the supply and availability of game. Each time that the men of the village went hunting, the Dajeboiši

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the individual who demonstrates proficiency in the attainment of a socially desirable goal will himself be valued and that this will motivate him to appropriate action, but this still does not answer the question of why the goal and the accompanying activity is valued. Newcomb (1950:329) has stated the same case with cogency in regard to Plains warfare.

The trophy head was prized as a symbol of Mundurucú prowess and of its owner's status, but it was also sought because it was the center of a number of magico-religious observances. The trophy was thought to be pleasing to the spirit protectors of the game animals because it had inherent power, contingent upon the proper observance of connected ritual acts. The possession of a trophy head thus resulted in greater economic abundance, and in this sense it served the same general purpose as does the Jivaro *tsantsa*. However, this aspect of the trophy quest does not cast much light upon Mundurucú headhunting, for alternate ways of pleasing the spirits were known and practiced. The ceremonial and shamanistic techniques of propitiating the spirit protectors of game animals were complex both in practice and in ideational content. In contrast, the linkage of the trophy head and the spirits was vague and ephemeral; it is probable that headhunting developed subsequent to the rites connected with the animal spirits and had become only loosely integrated with them. It is to be expected that any important social activity will become value and belief cathected in this manner, but it would be erroneous to proceed to explain the activity by its supporting ideology.

Finally, it should be considered that the Mundurucú looked upon fighting as a source of sport and excitement. The enemy was looked upon as game to be hunted, and the Mundurucú still speak of the pariwat in the same terms that they reserve for peccary and tapir. War was a relief from boredom, but it is not surprising that peace would be boring to people who consider themselves warriors. One might ask why they did not relieve boredom in log racing as do some groups, or in drinking bouts as did many of their neighbors. In short, can we not look upon activity and play drives as being inherent within the species and proceed from that vantage to explain the particular way they are manifested in particular cultures?

FUNCTIONS OF MUNDURUCÚ WARFARE

The manifest goals of warfare provide us with an understanding of the incentives that motivated the Mundurucú warrior. The religious and sportive aspects of warfare were found to be considerably more ephemeral than were the economic and prestige goals involved, but even the latter two depended upon the existence of a social organization that allowed and encouraged intensive military activity by its very nature. Moreover, the most important single motivation to hostility was a generalized aggressiveness that recognized no specific aims, and this factor yields the most important single clue to an understanding of Mundurucú warfare. If specific goals do not fully explain the extent and intensity of the pattern, and if the pressure of external circumstances did not force battle, then the main dynamics of warfare must be sought

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

a thunderous noise, audible only to the animals, and they follow it to its new home. 756 776

The manifestation of the mother of the game in costá monkeys and land tortoises is recognized by the Mundurucú to be a temporary, and thus somewhat ephemeral, state. Only certain of these animals harbor the *putcha ši*, and they can be recognized only by a shaman. It is very important that they be identified as the carriers of the *putcha ši*, for if an unwary hunter kills one, he is subject to the vengeance of the spirit. Land tortoises bearing the *putcha ši* are occasionally caught by shamans and kept in secret places near the villages, where they are fed a drink made from sweet manioc and washed with water into which envira cherosa has been rubbed. The food and the delicate scent of the latter vine are gratifying to the *putcha ši*, and good hunting is thereby assured in the area. 224

There are other shamanistic techniques for pleasing the mother of the game and thus insuring an abundant game supply, and the major Mundurucú ceremonies are also dedicated to that end. But the *putcha ši* is a source of danger when offended, and the Mundurucú hunter must observe a strict etiquette toward game animals lest he attract the wrath of their mother. There are several ways of incurring the vengeance of the *putcha ši*. Killing and eating any game animal except one in which a *putcha ši* or the spirit mother of the particular species is traveling is considered to be perfectly legitimate. However, the animal must be killed primarily for its meat. The *putcha ši* becomes offended when a hunter kills any animal except the jaguar and leaves its carcass to rot, or when an animal is killed only for its hide. One may take the hide from an animal—and the Mundurucú sell hundreds of peccary hides every year to traders—but the [439] meat of the animal must be eaten. Beyond this conservation measure it is considered reprehensible to make a joke about, or make vulgar use of, any part [825] of an animal that has been killed, for one must observe a certain decorum and respect toward game. The apparatus and ritual acts that formed parts of the great ceremonies held for the spirit mothers are considered sacred and their use or performance on profane occasions would be most dangerous. It was for this reason that I was unable to induce the Mundurucú to enact any part of those ceremonies no longer practiced, although they were willing to describe them in detail. Finally, the sweet manioc drink offered to the *putcha ši* on ceremonial [782] occasions must be ritually pure. If it was prepared by a woman who had recently had intercourse or who was menstruating at the time, the *putcha ši* would become [784] extremely angry.

The *putcha ši* punishes humans by inflicting accidents upon them and by robbing their souls. Snakebites, cuts, falls, and all other accidental injuries are [752] looked upon as the vengeance of the *putcha ši*, and the shaman must be called in to ascertain the reason for the attack. Moreover, subsequent to the accident, the *putcha ši* directs a malignant object into the body of the injured person, causing him to sicken and in some cases die. The shamans consider these among their most difficult cases, for as soon as they successfully extract one malignant object, the *putcha ši* sends another.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 The *putcha ši* sends two types of malignant object, called the *yakíp* and the
224 *wirakuá*. The latter has already been explained as a supernaturally powerful,
825 stonelike object in which the *putcha ši* is sometimes found. The *yakíp*, on the other hand, is thought to be an evil force that is found in the form of a louse. Both the *wirakuá* and the *yakíp* are parts of a general, dangerous power, called *chewoi*, that exists in all animals. The Mundurucú believe that every animal possesses a *wirakuá* and a *yakíp* as part of its power (*chewoi*); these malignant forces apparently can be controlled by the *putcha ši* and used by it to avenge the grievances visited upon the animal world by humans. The *yakíp* or the *wirakuá* can also be sent by the animal souls as well as by the *putcha ši*. One shaman stated that the *yakíp* often enters the victim to weaken him, and the *wirakuá* then arrives to kill him.

Finally, every species of game animal has a mother spirit that exerts protection over the species. These mothers are decidedly secondary in importance to the *putcha ši*, or mother of all game, and the only ones that figure importantly in Mundurucú thought are the *biú ši*, the *daje ši*, the *rapsem ši*, and the *tauá ši*, or the mothers of the tapir, the peccary, the deer, and the prego monkey, respectively. The species mothers are given offerings at ceremonies and shamanistic performances, as is the *putcha ši*, and they are capable of avenging any offense given to their respective children. However, the Mundurucú commonly speak of "feeding the *putcha ši*" and of the "vengeance of the *putcha ši*," though scant reference is given to the species mothers in these connections. Also, the species mothers are never found in the land tortoise or the coatá monkey, nor are they believed to be manifest in the form of *wirakuá*. On the contrary, the species mothers are found only in certain of their children, and their presence in the animal can be detected only by a shaman.

776 Another class of mothers is associated with aquatic life and is of less importance
825 than the animal mothers. The *asima ši* is the mother of the fish, a position equiva-
226 lent to that of the *putcha ši* in the animal world. The *asima ši* travels in small alligators and can be found by the shaman in many places where fish are known to abound. In addition to its association with all species of fish, the *asima ši* is also believed to be the mother of all aquatic reptilian, amphibian, and mammalian life.

Individual species of fish do not have mothers, but the tartaruga and tracajá, species of river tortoise, have mother spirits that are found within some of their children. The only other aquatic species having a mother is the peixe-boi, or menatee. The mother of the peixe-boi can be found only within certain tapirs. There are no special ceremonies for these spirits, but they, too, are propitiated in the general ceremonies for spirit mothers.

776 This account of supernatural beliefs associated with game animals represents
184 the norm of informant responses on the subject. Mundurucú beliefs are not,
825 however, absolutely uniform and rigid, and there was a certain variation in individual views on the subject. There was, for example, some disagreement on the nature of the *wirakuá*, although all informants agreed that it was like a

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

stone and alive and strong. The *wirakuá* is evidently a rather abstract notion of a mystic force that is an attribute of many classes of beings. But beyond this minimal explanation there is a degree of permissible deviation in interpretation. Some informants said that the *putcha ši* was a *wirakuá*, but others said that it was merely found in a *wirakuá*. Another body of conflicting information pertained to the belief that there was only one *putcha ši* but that it could simultaneously be found in many places. Again, a minimal explanation was given that there is but one *putcha ši*, but it is divided into many. Deeper questioning drew rather different answers from different informants. In this, and elsewhere, I have given the most common explanation. It is to be understood, of course, that a range of variant belief and practice is to be found in all aspects of culture.

Evil Spirits

In spite of the great power to do harm possessed by the spirits associated with the animal world, the Mundurucú do not look upon these supernaturals as inherently evil or malignant. They attack people only when unjustly provoked and are beneficial when properly propitiated. Since man knows the rules that must be followed to maintain the benevolence of the spirits of the animal world, their vengeance is due to human frailty and not to supernatural caprice or malevolence. The proper attitude toward this class of supernaturals is one of respect and caution, and not of intrinsic fear.

However, the Mundurucú believe in other spirits, some of which are dangerous at all times and which attack humans without provocation. The most powerful of these is the class of spirits called *Yuruparí*, belief in which is extremely widespread among the Tupian-speaking peoples of South America. The Mundurucú recognize three types of *Yuruparí*. The first is said to be composed of the real *Yuruparí* and includes the souls of people who have been killed by attacks of the *Yuruparí*. Another type of *Yuruparí* is that created by sorcerers to accompany their souls on predatory journeys. These *Yuruparí* are neither as prevalent nor as powerful as the first type, but they are, nonetheless, greatly dreaded. The last category of *Yuruparí* includes the fresh-water porpoises that inhabit the Amazonian rivers. The porpoises are believed to swim in the rivers only by day; at night they are transformed into handsome men or beautiful women who dress in white clothes and travel on land. These are believed to be the least dangerous of all the *Yuruparí*, although they are still considered malevolent and capable of attacking humans.

Mundurucú shamans report that the porpoise class of *Yuruparí* frequently complains to them that the other *Yuruparí* are the real demons and that they themselves suffer from their assaults. This third class of *Yuruparí* is distinguished from the first two types by other characteristics, also. Only the porpoise-spirit travels on land; the others travel through the air. The porpoises are visible to all people in their nocturnal human form, and their beauty frequently leads the unwary to approach too closely. The sorcerer-created *Yuruparí* and those whose lives and souls were taken by the *Yuruparí*, however, are invisible to all but the shaman.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

776 These *Yurupari* make a thin, whistling noise as they travel through the air.
825 Though the porpoise *Yurupari* are handsome, shamans report the others to be ugly beyond description. A further distinction between the porpoise and the other *Yurupari* is that the latter have no fixed abodes, whereas the porpoises have cities at the bottom of deep quiet stretches of the Tapajós River.

776 All types of *Yurupari* travel only at night. They frequently lurk on the peri-
753 pheries of villages, and, consequently, few Mundurucú venture beyond the circle of houses after dark. The weapon of the *Yurupari* is a magical stone that it throws at anyone who comes within range. The stone is believed to enter the victim and invariably to cause fever, pains in the stomach and sides, and vomiting. The stones vary in size; the larger ones are thought to be the more powerful. Also, the amount of damage done by the stone depends on the distance from which it is thrown. If the *Yurupari* is within fifteen feet, death is almost instantaneous. At longer ranges, only temporary illness may result.

776 There are no means by which attacks of the *Yurupari* can be prevented, but
755 Mundurucú shamans have techniques for extracting the harmful stones. Extreme care must be taken in this treatment, for the stone maintains its malignancy even after being extracted. Only smaller stones can be touched with the bare hands, and even these must be treated gingerly. The stone, however, is afraid of the bow, and the bow is frequently used to drive the stone into a fire, where it is destroyed.

776 It was extremely difficult to obtain full information about the *Yurupari* while
797 in the field because the Mundurucú informants hestitated even to speak of this spirit. To mention it was believed dangerous, and it was also considered to be such a frightful subject that any prolonged discussion of it was in poor taste. This attitude caused a curious situation among the missionized Mundurucú. The priests translated the Devil as *Yurupari*, and their sermons to the Indians were replete with references to the greatly feared demon and threats that sinfulness would be punished by condemnation to the "fire of the *Yurupari*." They were evidently ignorant of the full range of *Yurupari* beliefs shared by the Mundurucú and were accordingly unaware of the acute discomfort and revulsion aroused in their listeners.

776 One of the commonest beliefs of *Yurupari* in the Amazon Basin is that of the
825 fresh-water porpoise transformed at night into a forest demon. Among the Brazilian *caboclos*, or backwoodsmen, the porpoise is believed to ensnare victims through its great sexual attraction and potency. Wagley reports that in the town of Ita the porpoise is thought to emit the high whistling sound characteristic of the Mundurucú *Yurupari*, although there is no indication that the porpoise is identified with the spirit.* Brazilian neighbors of the Mundurucú also believe in
776 the magical power of the porpoise, and it is quite possible that the Indian concept
171 of the porpoise type *Yurupari* was borrowed from the civilized population. If
177 this is true, we are presented with the seeming paradox whereby aboriginal culture elements have been spread by people having a basically European culture. This

* Wagley, 1953, p. 240.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

panion of the trumpets by parent and offspring clans constituted a phratriac affiliation and served to perpetuate their former unity. 534 776

When the Mundurucú shifted from a patrilocal to a matrilocal mode of residence during the nineteenth century, the clans lost their residential basis entirely and their male members were scattered by marriage throughout many villages. The sacred trumpets continued in their role as residences of the ancestral and companion spirits, but they no longer functioned to protect and aid a unified clan-village unit. Today, the trumpets are still regarded as the property of certain clans, but their spirits serve to protect a multiclan village. The close relationship that formerly existed between trumpets, clan ancestors, and clan members has become considerably attenuated, if not altogether lost. The trumpets are now considered the property of the clan of the man who manufactured them. In one village, no member of the clan that owned the village trumpets was in residence in the community. However, members of other clans played the trumpets and the village was nonetheless under the protection of the trumpet spirits. It is not surprising, then, that many informants considered the souls of the trumpets to be of greater importance to the village than were the spirits appropriate to the clan that owned them. The significance of the latter supernaturals will probably become increasingly dim in Mundurucú thought in future years owing to their incompatibility with the new social structure. 778 174 614

The Soul

The Mundurucú believe that all humans, animals, fish, and domesticated plants possess a soul, or *ibiunbōk;* the most detailed and most important body of belief, however, concerns the souls of humans. People have two *ibiunbōk;* one is the real soul, and the other is merely the shadow or reflection of the individual. The latter is believed to become transformed into the *aŝik* spirit upon the physical death of its bearer, and the former leaves the body and goes to the afterworld. The real *ibiunbōk* is thought to resemble a small, black, ovoid-shaped pebble and is said to be situated in the region of the spinal column, between the lower extremities of the shoulder blades. Although it has physical reality, no one knows of what material it is made. 824 825 774

In spite of their belief in the immortality of the soul, the Mundurucú are not as worried about the fate of the soul after death as they are with the misadventures that may befall the soul during life. The soul is said to leave the body sometime after death, but no informant was certain whether the soul departed immediately or lingered in the corpse for a period of time. The soul of the deceased has three possible destinations. Those of men who devoted considerable time to the playing of the sacred trumpets, or *karōkō,* go to Karōkōkai, the place where the trumpets were first discovered by the women. There they play the instruments and live well, for the forests team with game and the rivers with fish. Men and women who knew the ceremonial dances for the spirit mothers of the game reside in another afterworld, known as Upötcharō, or the land of the game. The animals there have human forms, although the forests are paradoxically thought to be 775

part of its trip, the soul travels with the coatá monkey. This animal traverses one 774
section of its passage by bending an assaí palm over, grabbing its branches, and then letting it fling him into the foliage of another tree as it springs back. If the soul is not careful, it falls to the ground, killing its sick owner. The only dangerous part of the journeys with various species of fish, except for the invariably fatal end of the trip, is with the black piranha, which tries to eat the soul.

The concept of soul loss, like the belief in spirit mothers of game animals with which it is associated, is widespread among both Indian and rural Brazilian inhabitants of the Amazon region. Especially interesting because of its similarity to the Mundurucú belief is Wagley's report that the Brazilian population of the community of Ita believes that the mãe de bicho punishes humans by stealing their "shadows."[22]

Although the departure of the soul from a living body is generally an occasion 774
of great danger, there are some circumstances under which it is considered desir- 756
able and beneficial. The souls of shamans frequently travel abroad and are able to visit the underworlds of the *kokeriwat* and the afterworlds of the Mundurucú. Shamans visit the afterworld of the game, (where they serve as shamans to the animals), and that of the trumpets, but they do not visit the Land of the *Yurupari*. The wounded warrior was believed to acquire temporary shamanistic powers dur- 774
ing the period of his incapacity, and his soul wandered abroad while he lay in his 727
hammock and dreamed of its experiences. These travels were considered desirable, and care was taken to remove the penis sheath of the warrior to allow him to dream. The Mundurucú were unable to explain why the penis sheath inhibited dreams and the wandering of the soul.

The souls of sleeping people sometimes travel harmlessly abroad, and dreams 787
are believed to be the experiences of the soul while away from the body. Dreams 174
are not considered visions or prognostications of future events, but they are thought to be good or bad omens. Thus, if a man dreams of some frightening experience, he will not leave the village for a few days for fear of some unknown danger.

Certain people are able to derive knowledge from their dreams. These people, 787
known as *cheseretaibitchanyen* (those who know how to explain dreams), derive their power through medication administered to them as children. The souls of Mundurucú of times long past appear to them in dreams and teach them certain songs that are sung during ceremonies. Significantly, the songs taught to dreamers are not new or forgotten ones, but songs that are quite actively present in Mundurucú culture and known by other dreamers.

All animals have souls, which return to the afterworld of the game and become 774
transformed into people upon the death of the animal. Fish are also thought to 825
have souls, but they are accorded little importance in Mundurucú thought. Although individual fish and animals have souls, only species of domesticated plants have souls. Dogs, too, are thought to have souls, but the canine soul returns to the Land of the Dogs upon the death of its body. Also, dogs are not considered to be

[22] Wagley, 1953, p. 235.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

774 under the protection of a spirit mother nor do they possess the *chewoi*, or malig-
825 nant power of the game. Finally, all other human beings are considered endowed with souls much like those of the Mundurucú. However, informants had no idea
775 where the souls of the white people and Indians of other tribes went after death, beyond referring to the missionary's heaven. Upon being asked the destination of the souls of white people, one Mundurucú chuckled and replied, "You, and not I, should know the answer to that question."

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in a manner thought to be quite lewd and suggestive. The other women look upon the *yapõ* as a threat to their own marital happiness, but blame the men for her condition. Any sufficiently disreputable and irreverent shaman can make a *yapõ* of a woman whom he desires. But, unlike love magic in most societies, once he creates her he must be prepared to share her with others, for his magic makes her want any and all men. 756 832 839

To make a *yapõ* the shaman prepares a paste of sorva sap and urucú and mixes it thoroughly with the roasted and powdered body of the uirapurú bird. Smoke is blown upon the preparation and it is magically sent into the body of the unsuspecting woman. Another preparation is made with a piece of uirapurú meat, and a third is made by mixing brilliantine with either the brains of the boa boa bird or of the matrinchão fish. The use of the uirapurú as a love charm or symbol is widespread in the Amazon region, especially among Tupian groups. The Mundurucú believe it to be an enchanted bird and explain that, as the other birds of the forest follow the uirapurú, so also will the men follow a woman who has been bewitched with a charm made from its body.

The *yapõ* is not physically damaged by the spell cast over her by the shaman. She appears happy and laughs constantly; her appetite for men is insatiable, but she enjoys herself thoroughly when in their company. However, her condition is viewed with disfavor by the other women, and she becomes marginal to female society. Also, she soon becomes the subject of widespread gossip and ridicule, both of which are unendurable to a Mundurucú. For these reasons, the *yapõ* generally goes to the shaman to be cured. He extracts the charm by the same techniques used to take out *cauã* and then recommends a preparation made of sorva sap and the root of a tree near which a jaguar has slept or rolled about. The woman applies this preparation to her face and body until she feels that she has been completely cured. The remedy is considered to be effective in keeping men away as it partakes of the qualities of the jaguar, which is considered an ugly and repulsive animal by the Mundurucú. [825]

The treatment is not always effective. A young woman of the village of Cabruá went to the shaman to be cured of her condition. During the following days a marked change was noted in her deportment. She smiled demurely behind her hand and no longer fixed the men with direct and inviting glances. But as the days passed, she returned slowly to her old ways and was soon meeting the men in the underbrush surrounding the village. When the shaman who had performed the cure was asked why she behaved in this manner, he shrugged and replied, "Sometimes the treatment works, and sometimes it does not."

Sorcery

When his power is used for socially approved purposes, the shaman is accorded the respect due a major benefactor of the community. But his power can be used for evil ends, and witchcraft is invariably believed to emanate from shamans gone bad. The sorcerer or *ibökaipat* is thought by the Mundurucú to engage in his nefarious practices with conscious and deliberate intent. All shamans have 754

/6/
*241 which may easily be fitted into the following outline of the technical development of a garden plot:

1. Choosing the site and the quality of the soil.
2. Determing the size and shape of the new plot.
3. Clearing the undergrowth.
4. Felling the trees.
5. Burning the felled vegetation.
6. Piling up and burning the remaining brush.
7. Digging and planting.
8. First and second weeding of the plot.
9. "Tearing up" the plot (pulling up the manioc roots, gathering the harvest).
10. Replanting the garden.

Let us now take up these tasks, one by one.

242 [181] 1. Choosing the site and the soil. The Indian is, by nature, a practical person. When he is thinking of preparing a plot, he naturally looks for conditions that will most facilitate his task and ensure the safe growth of his garden. For this purpose, he chooses the land most favorable to horticulture, for all sites are not adequate to planting. Preferably, he sets up his plot on slightly sloping ground or on a mild incline, so that rain water and freshets will drain immediately. He takes flat ground only when it is somewhat sandy, permitting rain water to trickle down to the subsoil rather than remain stagnant in the field. This is also the reason why gardens are not set up in humid lowlands: the roots, the tubercles would rot. Aside from this, [825] he also makes sure that there are no ant nests or vermin on the chosen site. Ants would cut down all the manioc, ruining the garden completely.

Even when he finds a site in good circumstances, the Indian is faced with the question of what he can plant in this soil. As a rule, he has a good knowledge of soils and their qualities, and from the experience of generations he knows, almost intuitively, what he can expect from them. In other words, he understands /7/ empirically what he can plant there and what the result will be under normal circumstances. The size of the plot derives, at least in part, from

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

592 their new quarters was exactly like the one in which they had previously lived, and they found themselves again in the midst of many fellow clansmen, their "brothers" and "fathers." The village economy, which will be discussed below, necessitated no great personal readaptation nor did it require extensive retraining. If the newly-wed man was of the same village, it was not even necessary for him to move his hammock. He brought his game to a different house and he had open rights to his bride (with whom he probably had been covertly consorting). At present, the majority of the men of each Mundurucú village were born in other villages and there is no reason to believe that this was different in the nineteenth century. Although a young man might be expected [582] to mate with an eligible girl of his own village, patterns of preferential cross-cousin marriage apparently outweighed the factor of physical proximity. It was also the custom for a young man of marriage age to visit a number of villages in search of a mate. Whether or not the residents of the village men's house were native to the community, the institution served to integrate the men as a group which functioned as an economic unit in times of peace and a military organization during the frequent wars.

476 The basic male work unit consisted of all the males in the village. There was no task of any importance in which the men of one dwelling house, i.e., the house in which their wives resided, usually worked as a productive unit. Large, all-village communal hunts were common, and game was tracked down and surrounded or ambushed with the help of dogs. These collective techniques were especially important when hunting the large, migratory herds of wild pig, the main meat supply. Frequently, smaller groups of men pursued the chase, but there was no invariable tendency for these parties to consist of the men of a single household. Members of all households might be numbered in each of several small hunting parties.

241 476 Garden clearing was always done by a work group of all the village men, and it was considered a serious breach of etiquette for a man to refuse to co-operate. The subsequent planting of manioc shoots involved considerable labor, and all the village men and women performed this labor for each garden in turn. The rest of the planting and all of the harvesting and processing [831] was left to the women. Occasionally, a couple went to the garden alone, but these excursions were looked upon as romantic jaunts.

476 [423] Although there was no ownership of the forest land, the completed gardens were "owned" by individual men. However, all labor performed upon them was done by the men of the village as a whole, and by the women of the household in which the owner's wife lived. Also, food sharing was extensive. The products of the hunt were divided equally and distributed throughout the village, and, furthermore, each household provided a share of the food consumed in the men's house.

476 621 Due to the high degree of co-operation between all the men of the village, the newly-wed male did not become integrated into a household-oriented economy. This undoubtedly served to ease any strains in adjusting to a new village, for, in terms of kinship, the group of village males was substantially

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

NOTES

[1] The field research on which this paper is based was supported by a Research Training Fellowship granted by the Social Science Research Council and by the William Bayard Cutting Travelling Fellowship awarded through the Trustees of Columbia University. 122

The writer's wife, Yolanda Murphy, co-operated in all phases of the collection and evaluation of the field data. Drs. Fred Eggan, A. L. Kroeber, George P. Murdock, Julian Steward, and Charles Wagley read and commented upon this paper, and the author wishes to express his gratitude for their aid and interest.

[2] For the purposes of this paper the spelling of Mundurucú words is a simple Anglicization, except in the following cases: i and u have the phonetic values of Spanish i and u; ã is pronounced as in German; ĩ and ũ are nasal sounds. 104

[3] The identical marriage practices have been found in South America in bilateral societies having an essentially Dakota type kinship system. The difference between these cases and the Mundurucú seems to be most simply explained as a function of the line through which relationship is traced. A bilateral system would probably emphasize cross-cousin marriage, while sister's daughter marriage would be more clearly indicated in a patrilineal organization. Data on referential systems is, unfortunately, generally omitted or not clearly distinguishable from the vocative system in the literature, and it is therefore difficult to analyze the terminology by the method followed herein. 602

[4] The trumpets are long hollow cylinders with reeds inserted in the mouth. The vibrations of the reeds emerge from the trumpet, essentially an echo chamber, as a deep reverberating sound. The instruments have a phallic symbolism which is evident when considered in connection with the associated legend. That the symbolic association between the genitalia and male dominance is not too remote in the male subconscious is suggested by the informant who, when asked how the Mundurucú "tame their women," replied "with the banana." These comments do not mean that I propose a psychological explanation of this complex. It merely indicates the deep interaction between culture and personality, structurally viewed. For our present purpose, it is preferable to view the complex as an integral part of the sociocultural structure. 534 831

[5] The reader will note that this is a somewhat different concept than the usual generalized statement of 'increase in the economic importance' of women. Eggan (1950:131) views the continuance of matrilocality among the Hopi in much the same light. 606

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALMEIDA SERRA, RICARDO F. DE
1869 Navegação do Rio Tapajós para o Pará. Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 9:1–16, Rio de Janeiro. 113

BATES, HENRY W.
1863 The naturalist on the river Amazon. London.

COUDREAU, HENRI
1897 Voyage au Tapajos. Paris.

EGGAN, FRED
1937 The Cheyenne and Arapaho kinship system. *in* Social Anthropology of North American tribes. F. Eggan, ed. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press. pp. 35–95.
1950 Social organization of the Western Pueblos. Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.
1954 Social anthropology and the method of controlled comparison. American Anthropologist 56:743–63.

GOLDSCHMIDT, WALTER
1948 Social organization in native California and the origin of class. American Anthropologist 50:444–56.

HARTT, CHARLES F.
1885 Contribuições para a etnologia do Valle do Amazonas. Archivos do Museu Nacional 6:1–174. Rio de Janeiro.

HEINE-GELDERN, R.
1923 Südostasien. *in* Buschan, G. Illustrierte Völkerkunde, vol. 11, Stuttgart.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

534 complied under the condition that they could occupy the
562 men's house and play the trumpets there. The men ac-
773 ceded, and the women, their position supernaturally re-
778 inforced by the instruments, assumed the roles of men. The latter drew water, chopped firewood, and made *beijú* (the flat manioc flour cake), just as the women do now. And throughout the night the women left their hammocks in the *ekaá* and went to the dwelling houses, where they forced the men to have coitus regardless of their desires, just as the men do to the women today. The women could not hunt, however, and were thus unable to feed the trumpets properly; they were therefore forced to relinquish them to the men. Since that time, the men have jealously guarded the instruments even from the sight of the females, lest they again assume dominance.

534 Their role of hunters, and their special relationship to
562 the karökö is one of the social charters of male superordi-
778 nation. Beyond this, one can discern the outlines of the
831 classical castration-anxiety theme. The trumpets are unmistakably phallic in design (as are bull roarers), and when the women owned them they usurped male roles, including the significant one of the aggressive part in sexual relations. The men accomplished a counterrevolution, but their manhood is still threatened. This appears in the occasional appearance of the vagina-dentata motif, such as in humorous references to the female organ as the "crocodile's mouth." Moreover, a punishment exists for women who spy upon the karökö, although nobody can remember
[688] this ever to have happened. The punishment is perfectly symbolic; the guilty woman is gang-raped by all the men of the village. Thus, the position of the male is symbolized and reinforced by the trumpets, and threats to this position are coped with by an act of phallic sadism. This conclusion may seem to be based on an inferential analysis,

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 787 instrument follows the thief's tracks and then comes back and reveals his identity and location to the shaman. If the object is merely lost, the *ibōbōt* searches for it and then informs the shaman where it is to be found.

Hunters occasionally lose their way in the forest, and their relatives immediately resort to the shaman to find them. The shaman's instrument locates the lost person and then returns to tell the shaman whether he is alive and homeward bound on the proper trail. If the person is still wandering aimlessly, the *ibōbōt* frequently nudges him in the right direction or enters his body and leads him home. Only the shaman can hear the voice of the *ibōbōt;* his dialogues with the instrument are inaudible to others.

756 One informant reported that in the old days the most powerful shamans of the tribe were able to turn people temporarily into animals. The Mundurucú in those times performed a ceremony called the *Duparip*, which took place over a three-year period. As a part of this ceremony, the three most powerful shamans participating allowed their hair to grow to their shoulders and were believed able to turn the bizorro, an insect, into the tapir and men into the tapir or deer. Nobody was able to see them perform these acts; the transformed men simply disappeared. It was considered extremely dangerous to be thus selected by these powerful shamans, because the men, in the guise of tapirs and deer, were frequently chased by the dogs and could be killed. However, the shamans recognized the slain animals as their own creations and proceeded to change them back to men. They took out the heart and blood, placing them on the ground and covering the pile with leaves, and then blew tobacco smoke upon it and stamped upon the ground; the man emerged from under the leaves alive and intact. It is said that men who had undergone this experience were considered especially sacrosanct because of their former membership in the animal world, and their presence was especially valued at the ceremonies connected with the animal spirits.

Shamans possessing the power to assume this special ceremonial role were always married to equally strong female shamans. These women were able to transform other women into animals during the *Duparip* ceremony and are said to have been capable of transforming a Brazil-nut husk with a length of vine inside it into a cutia.

Finally, some shamans engage in the practice of making a woman into a 756 *yapō*, or wanton. No respectable shaman would perform such an act, however, 832 and those who use their powers for such disreputable ends are called *mamú* 839 *keren*, or bad or foolish shamans. Reprehensible though this may be to the Mundurucú, the *mamú keren* is not to be classed with the *ibōkaipat*, or sorcerer, who is believed to be a dire threat to society. He causes disease and death, whereas the *mamú keren* merely converts women into nymphomaniacs, a practice that is rather ambivalently considered both disgraceful and highly amusing by the Mundurucú men.

The *yapō* indiscriminately copulates with all men who desire her. Characteristically, she does not smile modestly in the presence of the men, but grins and laughs

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

in a manner thought to be quite lewd and suggestive. The other women look upon the *yapõ* as a threat to their own marital happiness, but blame the men for her condition. Any sufficiently disreputable and irreverent shaman can make a *yapõ* of a woman whom he desires. But, unlike love magic in most societies, once he creates her he must be prepared to share her with others, for his magic makes her want any and all men. 756 832 839

To make a *yapõ* the shaman prepares a paste of sorva sap and urucú and mixes it thoroughly with the roasted and powdered body of the uirapurú bird. Smoke is blown upon the preparation and it is magically sent into the body of the unsuspecting woman. Another preparation is made with a piece of uirapurú meat, and a third is made by mixing brilliantine with either the brains of the boa boa bird or of the matrinchão fish. The use of the uirapurú as a love charm or symbol is widespread in the Amazon region, especially among Tupian groups. The Mundurucú believe it to be an enchanted bird and explain that, as the other birds of the forest follow the uirapurú, so also will the men follow a woman who has been bewitched with a charm made from its body.

The *yapõ* is not physically damaged by the spell cast over her by the shaman. She appears happy and laughs constantly; her appetite for men is insatiable, but she enjoys herself thoroughly when in their company. However, her condition is viewed with disfavor by the other women, and she becomes marginal to female society. Also, she soon becomes the subject of widespread gossip and ridicule, both of which are unendurable to a Mundurucú. For these reasons, the *yapõ* generally goes to the shaman to be cured. He extracts the charm by the same techniques used to take out *cauã* and then recommends a preparation made of sorva sap and the root of a tree near which a jaguar has slept or rolled about. The woman applies this preparation to her face and body until she feels that she has been completely cured. The remedy is considered to be effective in keeping men away as it partakes of the qualities of the jaguar, which is considered an ugly and repulsive animal by the Mundurucú. [825]

The treatment is not always effective. A young woman of the village of Cabruá went to the shaman to be cured of her condition. During the following days a marked change was noted in her deportment. She smiled demurely behind her hand and no longer fixed the men with direct and inviting glances. But as the days passed, she returned slowly to her old ways and was soon meeting the men in the underbrush surrounding the village. When the shaman who had performed the cure was asked why she behaved in this manner, he shrugged and replied, "Sometimes the treatment works, and sometimes it does not."

Sorcery

When his power is used for socially approved purposes, the shaman is accorded the respect due a major benefactor of the community. But his power can be used for evil ends, and witchcraft is invariably believed to emanate from shamans gone bad. The sorcerer or *ibõkaipat* is thought by the Mundurucú to engage in his nefarious practices with conscious and deliberate intent. All shamans have 754

476 to bathe and fetch water and firewood as a group. The latter three activities hardly demanded cooperation, but are illustrative of the fundamental division of the society on the basis of sex and of the love for sociability of the Mundurucú.
[579] The Mundurucú liked to do things together and it was a grave breach of etiquette to refuse to help in any work.

621 476 It will be noted that the village was the basic unit within which cooperation was carried out, while the extended family was of almost equal importance. Seldom did economic activities involve two or more villages. A man and wife occasionally left the village together for a few hours to plant or harvest vegetables or to gather fruits, but these occasions were of minor importance in the economy.*

476 554 Accompanying this emphasis on cooperation in the economy was a corresponding complete lack of stress on competition. Competitive economic activity was absolutely nonexistent. A lazy person lacked prestige but in this instance it was because a lazy person was a drain on the society.
554 Prestige was sought through accomplishments in warfare and knowledge of Mundurucú lore and not by economic means. In-
[526] deed, the Mundurucú did not openly seek to better anybody even in play with the exception of one strength test game, consisting of an attempt by each of two opponents to force back the forearm of the other, indulged in by the young people. In their speech the Mundurucú did not compare people

833 * It should be pointed out here that these conjugal excursions are generally viewed by the Mundurucú as guises to leave the village for the true purpose of daytime sexual intercourse. Their suspicions are well founded.

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is
[833] almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. How-
[855] ever, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended
[866] families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
868 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

[562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

took his trophy a short distance into the forest, where its magical effect was exercised. But the supernatural power of the head could only be maintained when certain precautions were observed. Both the taker of the head and his wife were prohibited from sexual intercourse and were supposed to avoid looking upon any person who had recently indulged in the act. Accordingly, they lived very restrained and sequestered lives; the Dajeboiši spent most of his time lying in his hammock, and his wife was assigned special assistants to perform her household and garden chores.

The Dajeboiši was also responsible for sponsoring a series of ceremonies that took place during three successive rainy seasons following the return of the expedition. During the first, which took place shortly after the return of the war party, feather pendants were attached to the ears of the trophy head; certain clans had the prerogative of affixing the feathers of particular species of birds. Also, the eye sockets were sealed with beeswax and two paca teeth were placed across each eye. During the second phase of the ceremony, the ornaments and skin were stripped from the skull and it was retired to a corner of the men's house. The third part of the ceremony was devoted to stringing the enemy's teeth on a woven cotton belt. This ornament served as a permanent trophy of the slain enemy, and the skull was left to deteriorate in the men's house.

The final phase of the ceremony involved the greatest degree of intervillage participation, for it served as a ceremonial reunion of the *Darekši* or "mothers of the arrow." The Darekši was a society devoted to the celebration of Mundurucú arms, and included all adult males. At this time, a great feast was held, martial songs were sung, and the young boys were given instruction in the songs of the Darekši. At the conclusion of the celebration, the ceremonial cycle terminated and the Dajeboiši and his wife resumed their normal life.[3]

No special honor was accorded the warrior who captured children. They were turned over to his wife to rear as her own. Having been incorporated into the kinship system through adoption, the children were accorded the treatment appropriate to their relationship status. In time, they married members of the opposite moiety and lived through a normal Mundurucú life cycle. Contemporary informants affirm that captives were in no way treated as inferiors, although their origins were certainly remembered. Young men were said to have taken part in Mundurucú war parties, even in attacks against their native group. No cases of defection were reported.

GOALS OF WARFARE

George Fathauer (1954:110) maintains in a recent article that the Mohave "conception of war was largely non-instrumental: it was an end in itself." The Mundurucú looked upon warfare in much the same way; war was considered an essential and unquestioned part of their way of life, and foreign tribes were attacked because they were enemies by definition. This basic orientation emerged clearly from interviews with informants. Unless direct, specific questions were asked, the Mundurucú never assigned specific causes to particular

feather pendants that were suspended from either ear, the attachment of which was the central purpose of the *Inyenborotaptam*. Feathers from five species of birds were used in the ornamentation, and each type of feather could be attached only by the *Kiriší*, *Akai*, *Chunyún*, and *Parawá* clans, and those of the mutúm by the *Witúm* clan. The *Karú* clan and subclan, the *Sau* subclan, and the *Warú* clan and subclan used the feathers of the red macaw; the *Kabá* clan attached parrot feathers; and the *Borón* clan contributed those of the gavião tawató. Those clans sharing the same feathers were always linked within the same phratry, and the appropriate bird species was usually an eponymous clan spirit of at least one of the groups. 796 727 [615]

The feather pendants could be no longer than the hair on the trophy head. For this reason, long-haired victims were especially prized and a woman's head was highly valued, although it was thought more valorous to kill an enemy warrior.

The sponsorship of these ceremonies was not the only duty of the taker of the trophy head. The social and religious role of the *Dajeboiši* had certain nonceremonial aspects that were, nonetheless, part of the larger ritual complex of warfare and head-hunting. Upon his return to the home village, the successful warrior assumed an enhanced status that endowed his person with an almost sacred aura and isolated him from normal relations with his fellow Mundurucú. Sexuality was considered especially dangerous both to the *Dajeboiši* and to his wife. They were enjoined against indulging in sexual intercourse with each other or with anyone else throughout the ceremonial period. The *Dajeboiši* could lose his power and fall into the previously discussed state of bad luck merely by looking at a *yapõ*, or wanton woman, and for this reason he always bathed very early to avoid meeting one on the path to the stream. Moreover, he was expected to have minimal contact with or sight of women other than his wife. Even she posed a threat to his special status, and they ate sitting back to back. 796 727 834 554

The *Dajeboiši* was expected to maintain a decorous and restrained attitude at all times. He spent much of his time lying in his hammock and gazing upward to avoid the contaminating sight of men who had recently had coitus. He could talk to the other men, but only on serious topics; trivial conversation and joking were considered inappropriate to his sacrosanct position. Although he slept in the men's house, the *Dajeboiši* did not partake of the communal meals there and ate only with his wife. But he was expected to be generous toward the other men and to keep tobacco under his hammock at all times for their use.

In addition to his ceremonial role, the *Dajeboiši* had an important function in the religious aspect of the hunting economy. His person and the trophy were thought pleasing to the Mother of the Game, and he brought the head into the forest whenever a hunting party embarked. The *Dajeboiši* did not, however, hunt nor did he accompany the other men. His mere proximity was sufficient to insure a good kill, and after two animals were slain he returned to the village. It was believed that if he were to remain longer in the forest he might step in the blood of a game animal and thereby lose the charm of the head.

The wife of the *Dajeboiši* occupied a delicate status also. Like her husband, she

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

796 had to exercise great care in her relations with others lest she look at a person
727 who had recently had sexual relations. On days when hunting parties left for the
554 forest she was supposed to remain in her hammock until late in the morning, for
●834 if she arose and moved about the game would run away. She was not allowed to
[515] bathe in the stream with the other women but washed her body from vessels of water brought to her house. Nor was the wife of the *Dajeboiši* supposed to work; a young woman from her *iboiwatitit* was chosen to draw water and wood for her and to perform household chores. Considerable authority over the other women was exercised by the *Dajeboiši*'s wife, and she felt free to send the women of the village to work in the garden or perform whatever services she desired.

The *Dajeboiši* and his wife were, according to some informants, obliged to maintain this regimen during the more than two years between the return of the war party and the final phase of the ceremonial cycle. Others thought that the prohibitions were not continually in force during this long period, but agreed that some restrictions were observed until the conclusion of the final ritual.

With the advent of the second rainy season after the taking of the trophy head,
796 the *Dajeboiši* again issued invitations to the people of other villages, and all re-
727 united for feasting. This phase of the ceremony is known as *Yašegon*, or Stripping the Skin from the Head. As the name indicates, the trophy head was skinned, its ornaments were removed, and the bare skull was then hung in a corner of the men's house.

Before the head was boiled and skinned, it was thrown on the ground and a group of men called "Vultures" batted it back and forth with sticks in imitation of the vulture's practice of tossing strips of carrion with its beak. The Vultures included all the bald men of the village and certain others who were thought to be really bald, although ordinary vision showed them to have hair on their heads. Previous to these proceedings, a number of old men, all of whom had at one time taken an enemy head, took the trophy head and tapped its top. If powder or any other matter fell from it, they announced that the *Dajeboiši* had broken an obligation. This was generally interpreted by all to mean that he had had sexual relations. In such a case his status terminated and no further observances were held, since the head had lost its power. If the test proved the owner of the head had kept his faith, the ceremony could continue.

The rites held during the first two rainy seasons were simple, and activities included only the decoration of the head during the first rainy season, its skinning during the second, and feasting on both occasions. The third winter, however, was the climax of the cycle, and festivities were lengthier and much more elaborate. The final phase of the ceremony was called *Taimetorōm*, or Hanging the Teeth, for on this occasion the teeth extracted from the trophy head were strung on a woven cotton belt. These belts were not worn, but were carefully guarded in a basket kept in the warrior's house.

But the most important ritual of the third rainy season was the all-night songfest of the *Darekši*, or Mothers of the Bow. The *Darekši* was a men's society; it was by no means exclusive in membership for all adult Mundurucú males belonged to

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

it, and it served as a general organization for persons of warrior status. The *Dajeboiši* was the leader and organizer of these festivities also and he customarily sent two messengers to the chiefs of the other Mundurucú villages to issue the following invitation: "Come, eat the hide of the game of the *Dajeboiši*. Come, drink *werú* and *mörí*. It is only a mouthful, but come." The chiefs then called their people together and announced, "They want us to come and eat and drink. Everyone who wishes may go." The invited villagers, who had long known of the impending ceremony and were expecting the invitation, cut their hair and ornamented themselves in the traditional Mundurucú style and set out the next day. Food had been amassed by the people of the host village and all settled down to feasting and completing their body painting.

On the day after their arrival, a member of the *Muchacha*[4] society, an exclusive group composed of old and valiant *Dajeboiši* who had mastered great knowledge of lore and songs, sounded the *pem*, a musical instrument used only by them. At this signal all the young boys, who had previously been tonsured and painted, fled into the forest and underbrush to hide from the men. The men then spread throughout the environs of the village and each captured a previously selected boy of the other moiety. The captor decorated the boy with necklaces and belts of glass beads (i.e., during the nineteenth century) and monkeys' teeth. By the time all had been assembled, dusk had already fallen, and the *Darekši* society returned to the village in a single file with the boys in the lead. All the men marched with bows and arrows set in release position. The women remained in the dwelling houses, for it was believed that any who saw the *Darekši* enter the village would be killed during the next war.

After entering the village, the men went to the house of the *Dajeboiši*, where they were served food and drink. A number of small ceramic vessels were laid out in a line and filled with various types of meat in a sauce made from the Brazil nut. Behind each bowl of meat was another filled with a drink prepared from sweet manioc. The line of men passed single file down the row of bowls, each man squatting on his haunches and taking one piece of meat with beijú (a flat manioc flour cake) and a sip of the sweet manioc drink. Then, still squatting, he moved to the right and took another piece of meat and beijú and another sip of the drink. When he reached the end of the line he returned to the beginning; the process was continued until all the food was eaten.

Certain precautions were taken with the drinks because of the sacred nature of the occasion. The Vultures had to eat apart from the other *Darekši*, for if one of the latter were to drink from the same vessel he would turn into a vulture when he died. Also, the sweet manioc drink could be made only by young girls and old women to avoid the threat of contamination of the drink by a drop of menstrual blood or semen from the vagina of a mature woman. The men were prohibited from sexual intercourse immediately before the ceremony for they too could contaminate the beverage and cause others who drank from the vessel to fall victims of the yellowing sickness, or *ujewaií*. To prevent this a shaman examined the

[4] The identity of this term with the Spanish word for 'girl' is an interesting but entirely independent parallel.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

177 ramic skillets. These utensils were much smaller than the
462 copper pans, and each household owned one. Today, one
476 toasting pan must serve a whole village not only because
[415] they are large enough to meet the needs of the population, but because they are expensive and beyond the means of most extended families. These pans are generally consid-
[422] ered to be the property of the community in the savannah villages, and joint use of them serves as an integrating factor.[1]

In addition to their efforts in manioc processing, the
462 women always seek company when they go to the stream
476 to bathe and fetch water, gather firewood, and go to the gardens. Their sociability and coöperativeness on these occasions is reinforced by other considerations. First, a lone
[776] person is thought by the Mundurucú to be particularly subject to attack by malignant supernaturals; this fear is especially pronounced among the women. Also, a young
[834] woman leaves the village unaccompanied only when seeking an amorous escapade.

Accompanying the emphasis on coöperation in the econ-
477 omy is a corresponding avoidance of any form of open competition; competitive economic activity is absolutely nonexistent. Although a good worker is a highly valued
[555] person, prestige is actively sought mainly through accomplishments in hunting, knowledge of Mundurucú lore, and, formerly, in warfare. The Mundurucú rarely seek overtly to better anybody; even their play is noncompetitive with
[526] the exception of one strength-test game indulged in by the young men, consisting of an attempt by each of two op-

[1] *Caboclo* families frequently pool their resources to buy these pans also. At the time of our visit, they cost about 2,000 cruzeiros, or about $60 in 1952. The Brazilian ethnologist Darcy Ribeiro has commented that the poverty of the *caboclo* is so extreme that the availability of a copper toasting pan is frequently the chief reason for their settling in tiny hamlets.

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

614 that personal possessions were destroyed upon death, garden lands were aban-
428 doned after two years of planting and allowed to return to forest, and villages and their houses were abandoned every ten years. Thus land and houses, as
[423] such, were 'owned' only while being used, and had but temporary value. The
[582] only matrilineal traits manifested by the Mundurucú were a taboo on marriage
[586] with the sister's daughter and the retention of children by the wife's family in cases of divorce.

614 The Mundurucú were divided by an exogamic moiety system, and these
616 patrilineal moieties were subdivided into component patrilineal clans. Certain clans were allied into loose, unnamed phratries, and four clans had subclans. Although the clans were formally exogamic, their function in marriage regulation was superceded by the moiety. However, sexual relations within the clan
[835] and, to a lesser extent, within the phratry were considered to be much more flagrant violations than was a breach of moiety exogamy. The moieties, referred to as "Red" and "White" people by the Mundurucú, had secondary functions such as the burial of each other's dead and the assignment of complemen-
[587] tary roles in certain ceremonial situations. The levirate and sororate occasion-
[582] ally occurred, but there is no indication that these were obligatory practices. Marriage with true cross-cousins was very frequent and was looked upon as a desirable union. The community was neither endogamous nor exogamous, and marriage within or outside of the village was permissible.

The interrelation of phratry, clan, and subclan was complex and is of considerable importance in that it manifests a fission process whereby new clans are born and phratries formed. Contemporary Mundurucú informants reported thirty-eight clans, some of which are now extinct due to depopulation. Twenty-two of these clans were in the White moiety and sixteen were Red. Each clan bore the eponymous name of some plant, bird, or animal, but totemic taboos towards the species after which the clan was named were absent. There was no feeling or expression of relationship with the species on the part of the clan members, nor were there myths of descent from the eponymous objects. Each clan, however, had a spirit called the *tubö*, or "old person," which was given the same name as the clan.[2] This carried some connotations of ancestry, as *tubö* also denoted the various culture heroes and can well be translated as "great ancestor."

614 The origin of the clan system is variously explained by Mundurucú in-
[715] formants. The most common response is that the culture hero, Karusakaibö, divided the Mundurucú into clans and gave them their names and spirits. However, Kruse (1934) reported a myth wherein the Mundurucú were once a number of mutually hostile tribes which were united by the same culture hero by the expedient of converting the tribes into clans. In connection with this latter myth and the previously mentioned lack of legends of descent from the eponymous object, it is significant that the Mundurucú word for the clan, *diwat*, does not directly imply descent. Literally translated, *diwat* means "dwellers of the river." Thus, the Aru (parrot) clan is referred to as Arudiwat, which means "dwellers of the river of the parrot." Ancestry is, however, in-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

578 spouse who lived in Cabitutú was his first wife, and she
837 would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabitutú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.[17]

Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the
595 modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the sororal type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is
582 with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is
616 rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of
835 any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

[17] Murphy, 1958.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

good taste and decency, although the seriousness of the delict depends on distance of relationship in the paternal line. Thus, incest within the nuclear family is considered absolutely unthinkable by the Mundurucú, but they frown in decreasing degree upon sexual relations within clan, phratry, and moiety. There is no defined punishment, however, for incest with any category of relative; the Mundurucú say only that people would be "ashamed" to commit such a breach. 835 [684]

In a society in which all people are believed to be related, moiety exogamy implies that any union with a person of the same generation and of the opposite group will be with a cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. Marriage with first degree cross-cousins is said by the Mundurucú to have been a highly preferred union at some time in the past, and it is still regarded as a most suitable match. I found only three cross-cousin marriages during the course of my field work, however, and it no longer occurs frequently. The levirate and sororate are, of course, permissible within the moiety system and occasionally occur, but persons are not and, within the memory of informants, were not formerly under any compulsion to enter such a marriage. Martius's report of the levirate [18] suggests that it may have been more prevalent during the period when partrilocality was still the residence rule. The levirate is a simple recognition of the right of the man's kin group, as a whole, to the woman. It may be hypothesized that the fractionation of the sibling group after the change to matrilocality dispersed the unit that formerly exercised corporate rights over the girl and made the levirate unworkable. And, since leviritic marriages are frequently polygynous, matrilocality imposed the same inhibitions as discussed above. 582 616 587 [616]

[18] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

582 604 Mundurucú kinship terminology indicates the custom of marriage between a man and his sister's daughter.[19] This avuncular form of union was frequently reported by early chroniclers in South America,[20] and is said by Oberg to exist among the contemporary Kamayurá of the upper Xingú River.[21] Martius specifically reported it to be practiced by the Mundurucú when the sister's daughter had no other prospective husband.[22] Avuncular marriage is nowhere in evidence among the contemporary Mundurucú, however, and its practice, past or present, is vigorously denied. Informants regarded such a union as incestuous, despite the obvious fact that a sister's daughter is always of the opposite moiety from that of her uncle. [835]

174 582 604 171 Since there is no reason to doubt the mutually corroborating distributional, documentary, and kinship-terminological evidence for sister's daughter marriage, we must assume that it has not only disappeared but has lapsed under such circumstances as to be absolutely proscribed. James Watson has noted a similar disappearance and taboo of sister's daughter marriage among the Cayuá Indians of southern Mato Grosso.[23] Although his evidence for its former practice is rather tenuous, he assumes it to have existed and to have fallen into abeyance due to the breakdown of the patrilineal extended family organization, and the union's consequent loss of function as a means of cementing relations between such units. Also, he assumes that marriages with the sister's daughter were commonly second unions, and the contemporary absence of polygyny would militate against the practice. Such rea-

[19] *See* pp. 93–94.

[20] Kirchoff (1932) presents the most complete discussion of this practice and contends that it was a common means of avoiding bride service.

[21] Oberg, 1953, p. 44.

[22] Martius, 1867, p. 393.

[23] Watson, 1952, pp. 118–121.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

soning may well be extended to the Mundurucú custom 174
of avuncular marriage, or to various types of preferential 582
union in many societies undergoing such changes. On the 604
subject of its taboo, however, Watson deduces that the 171
sister's daughter marriage has fallen under a general Cayuá prohibition on marriages with close kin. This has obviously no relevance to the Mundurucú situation, for no such prohibition exists among them, as the occasional cross-cousin union indicates.

I would prefer to advance an alternate explanation for 174
the taboo, based on the proposition that there is often 582
an incest taboo beween co-residents, whatever their 604
genealogical connection may be.[24] Given the shift in resi- 835
dence rules that has been noted, the mother's brother and his sister's daughter are co-residents, at least until the time of his marriage. Thus, a union with her would be endogamous to the household and would not only be disruptive of the good order of the residential unit, following Malinowski,[25] but would tend to isolate the household from the larger society, a point that Leslie White, among others, has stressed.[26] That sister's daughter marriage is congruent with a patrilocal residence rule would also, it might be added, lend confirmation to the thesis that the Mundurucú are patrilocal.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Kinship is still an all-pervasive means of ordering social 601
relations among the savannah Mundurucú. Every person 602
in the entire tribe is considered to be related to every other and is known to him and addressed by him by a kin term. Reference to the list below of kin terms used by males indicates how these relations are structured.

---

[24] *Cf.* Titiev, 1943, p. 516.
[25] Malinowski, 1930, p. 630.
[26] White, 1948, p. 25.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

THE MUNDURUCÚ OF THE CURURÚ

166 It does not require a particularly strong motive to in-
182 duce an Indian to leave his village. The villages have lost almost all their bases of cohesion. The considerations of coöperative labor and social organization, which have made the savannah villages continue to function, have now lapsed. The only remaining centripetal factors are the equipment of the farinha shed, bonds of close kinship, and the desire for sociability. The latter two factors are now waning in importance on the Cururú.

182 The ties of consanguinity show every evidence of weak-
602 ening. Sib identity is preserved in the naming system, and moiety exogamy is usually observed in the choice of marriage partners. This, however, is already deteriorating, for there are now some unions between persons of the same
[835] moiety, and violations of incest rules in casual sexual relations are much more frequent than in the savannah communities.

Kin ties have suffered in other ways. The circle of kinsmen significant to the individual in his daily social life and in the subsistence economy is constantly shrinking. Thus, an Indian might be able to identify and name a wide range of kinsmen (like the average European), but the fact of relationship is no longer of primary importance in patterns of coöperation, distribution, and interpersonal behavior. The important kinsmen are those who share a residence and join in the labor necessary to provide for the household needs. This group has become progressively
[594] smaller on the Cururú, and it can be safely said that the nuclear family is well on the way to becoming the basic socioeconomic unit. It is significant that, while the common form of address on the savannahs is still by kinship
[551] term, Mundurucú proper names and, increasingly, Christian names are more generally used on the Cururú.

182 The Cururú villages never did achieve stable integra-
621

the village. The children were reared in a stable group
855 that provided a large degree of emotional and economic security. The Mundurucú were and are devoted parents, and there was great affection between parents and children. However, the sudden death of both parents would have caused no great change in the social and economic life of the child.

Marriage

584 Marriages were sometimes arranged for the children by the parents when the children were still very young. Most of these arrangements were made between brothers and sisters for their children and were within the pattern of inter-moiety, cross-cousin marriage. The parents of either the boy or girl could take the initiative. In many cases, a young man who had developed a desire for a girl either asked her father and mother for her directly or used the intermediary of his own parents or older relatives. There was no gift exchange or bride price or service involved. If
585 the match was found suitable by both families, the young man
591 merely moved to the girl's village and took up residence in the man's house there. If he married a girl of his own village, as was often the case, he merely changed his household affiliation. He had socially recognized sexual rights to her and became a part of the economy of her household.
[836] In most cases, the man and woman had entered into sexual relations with each other before the marriage. If the young man had lived in the same village as his wife, the social recognition of the bond caused little change in the life of the couple or their families. The man began to bring

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

operate to the detriment of integration within the wife's household. Among the Mundurucú, however, there is no matrilineage (or patrilineage), and a man is bound to his natal household primarily by affect. As his own group of brothers becomes dispersed in matrilocal residence and his parents die, such emotional ties become correspondingly attenuated. From the point of view of social structure, the process by which he is integrated into his new matrix, however loosely, is reinforced by the gradual attrition of bonds of the old; and as part of the same process, his marriage becomes more stable. We see then that Mundurucú matrilocality contributes to the brittleness of marriage in its early phase, but the lack of corporate, bounded lineages leads in time to the strengthening of the connubial tie. Later sections will explore more completely the position of the married couple and the nuclear family within the larger framework of social life. 581 591

Adultery is common and a frequent source of strife between mates, but generally results in divorce only when the wife is promiscuous. The men regard their own adulterous escapades as highly amusing incidents, but take a far less lenient view when cuckolded. An offended husband may beat his wife or harangue her, but no direct physical action is taken against the guilty male. The woman whose husband is unfaithful has little recourse except to chastise him verbally and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself." 684 837

Adultery causes few open conflicts among the Mundurucú, but it is a chronic source of ill feeling. To a certain extent, latent hostility probably contributes to adultery. One of the more amusing episodes of our field trip was the plight of the trader-appointed, and thoroughly hated, chief Bíboi, of the village of Cabitutú. Bíboi had two wives, one in Cabitutú and the other in Cabruá. The 578 887

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

578 spouse who lived in Cabitutú was his first wife, and she
837 would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabitutú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.[17]

Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the
595 modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the sororal type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is
582 with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is
616 rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of
835 any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

[17] Murphy, 1958.

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

but the Mundurucú themselves, openly, consciously, and with no little amusement say also that they discipline their women with the penis.

The punishment of a woman for spying on the karökö is no doubt a rarity, but the penalty is occasionally meted for offenses of a related nature. Adultery is fairly common among the Mundurucú, but it usually is instigated by the male. Because of the inequality implicit in their roles, a lone woman generally finds it difficult to resist the determined advances of a man; her chief protection is the constant company of other women. But if the woman frequently and deliberately leaves the village alone, she is considered to be desirous of sexual relations and therefore fair game—this is a generally correct conclusion on the part of the men. Such a female is tolerated, indeed welcomed, by the men, but if her promiscuity becomes flagrant and if she takes the initiative in liaisons, she becomes a threat to the men. In effect, she usurps the male role. At this point, the men await an opportunity and then gang-rape her. Any woman who departs from her ascribed social role, or who even forsakes the protection of the men responsible for her well-being, may also be so punished. Adolescent girls who run away from the school conducted by the Cururú Mission, for example, are frequently apprehended in their flight and raped. All men join in on these occasions, without recognition of clan or moiety affiliations to their victim. One case was related in which a true parallel cousin took part in the rape of a girl who had fled the mission. At the conclusion of the act, he brought her back to the priests with appropriate and sanctimonious comments on the problem of wayward girls.

The sexes, among the Mundurucú, constitute self-conscious social groups. Mundurucú generally relax in the company of members of their own sex and sit apart at

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the women, but occasionally spiteful remarks are exchanged or a hair-pulling match, usually over a man, occurs. These events provide the grist for conversation for weeks. 521 578

Relations between the women of the savannah communities are subjected to an extra, situational strain because of an unequal ratio of the sexes. In the village of Cabruá, for example, there were thirteen mature men and eighteen women; the five unattached females constituted a serious threat to the married women, for they seduced many of the husbands and attempted to induce them to leave their wives. The disproportion between the sexes is promoted by the greater mobility of the male and the structure of savannah-Cururú relations. Young *campineiros* sometimes wander into the Cururú River villages, marry there and settle according to the matrilocal pattern. But fear of witchcraft and long distances from rubber-producing areas inhibit the reverse from taking place. The result is a shortage of husbands in the savannahs and a dearth of wives on the Cururú. Jealousy over sex is rife among savannah women, and mutual hostilities are structured by the support given by the matrilocal extended family. 162 578 [837] [166]

The nuclear family is not an important social unit in the savannah villages, although it is basic to life in the rubber season, when village and extended family break up to exploit the scattered resource. But during the eight to nine months of annual residence in the villages, the nuclear family has few vital functions. The men's house prevents it from being a consumption unit in the subsistence economy and from being even a co-resident group. And the thoroughgoing division of labor between the sexes delivers the nuclear family from any primary responsibility in the processes of production. Husband and wife occa- 594 [462]

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 as the single permissible occasion on which violence was
578 condoned. Kluckhohn's* view is well founded that the
754 sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him
683 and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Mundurucú has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

182 Conflicts between persons and groups are not always
578 connected with witchcraft. The Mundurucú men com-
[837] monly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the
[622] numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

182 Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their
591 villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive
596 weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished
[578] size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

* Kluckhohn, 1944.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

moving out of village life altogether to live in the relative isolation of their rubber avenues. Others have left the Cururú and are found near its mouth on the Tapajós. Not all fission arises from factional splits such as that described. Individual persons and nuclear families are always on the move from one village to another or to permanent residence in the rubber avenue because of unresolved interpersonal conflicts.

These disputes are frequently over women, who are scarce on the Cururú. It has been said that the savannah villages suffer from a shortage of men because of the slow but continuous emigration of the more mobile young males, which results in hostility and competition between the younger females. The opposite situation prevails on the Cururú. There, the young campineiro men who have drifted to the shores of the stream have upset the male-female ratio. The migration of young men from the savannahs to the Cururú has slowed up so much in recent years that the ratio between the sexes may readjust itself. At present, however, the men's excursions generally lead to the married women, and such liaisons cannot be long concealed in small villages. Extramarital sex relations are common in the savannahs also, but there are enough unmarried girls to make female adultery less frequent and competition over women less intense. Correspondingly, there are fewer cases of hostility between men in the savannahs caused by sex.

In addition to the effects of disputes over sorcery and sex, economic causes, such as the growing scarcity of land near the larger villages, are also responsible for social fission. When one's village house gets old it is often more convenient to take up permanent residence near the rubber avenue, especially if one produces sufficient rubber to buy the copper farinha-toasting pan.

DEVIANCY AND SOCIAL CONTROL I: WHAT MAKES BIBOI RUN

Robert F. Murphy

I

Biboi, the young chief of the Mundurucú[1] village of Cabitutú, visited the village of Cabrua with great frequency. So frequently in fact that he once made the ten hour round-trip in one day. Inquiry revealed that Biboi was on the horns of a dilemma. Though he was chief of Cabitutú, he kept a young and pretty wife in the house of his father, the chief of Cabruá. Whenever he visited his wife, his "followers" in Cabitutú busied themselves in plotting against him. Hearing of these threats to his authority, he would immediately dash back to reassert his position of leadership. But as soon as he was out of sight of Cabruá, the men of that community sought to tarnish the virtue of his wife; this was not a difficult task, and half the men of the village ultimately enjoyed her favors. Their exploits were well publicized, and Biboi, hearing of his cuckoldry, would hurriedly retrace his steps. During most of the time we lived in Cabrua, Biboi gravitated between the two communities--to the great amusement and deep satisfaction of his fellow Mundurucú.

On the lowest level of explanation, I have already stated what makes Biboi run. But the key questions of why the men of Cabitutú plotted against him and why those of Cabrua pursued his wife can only be answered through an analysis of Mundurucú society and culture and of Biboi's position within it. For Biboi was a marginal man trying to play traditional social roles to which he had not been socialized, and he failed to define correctly the nature of the role expectations or the values that pertained to specific social situations. His cumulative blunders finally threatened the stability of this small society, and certain processes were set in motion to reëstablish the normal flow of social interaction. Anthropologically, this is a study in deviancy and social control. Humanistically, it is a tragedy but, like many tragedies, one that has overtones of comedy.

II

Biboi's personality was most deviant, and I shall spell this out in terms of his manifest behavior, as it compared with the normal behavior of Mundurucú men and their chiefs. I know nothing of the socialization of Biboi, only that at an early age he went to live in the household of a local Brazilian who traded in the village headed by Biboi's father. He came back to live among his people, but he was no longer a Mundurucú, any more than he was a Brazilian. When I first met Biboi, he addressed me in backwoods Portuguese and in a swaggering manner introduced himself as "Biboi, son of Caetano [the chief of Cabrua] and chief of Cabitutú." This contrasted markedly to the diffident and hesitating way in which most Mundurucú addressed me, and

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 instrument follows the thief's tracks and then comes back and reveals his identity
787 and location to the shaman. If the object is merely lost, the *iböböt* searches for it and then informs the shaman where it is to be found.

Hunters occasionally lose their way in the forest, and their relatives immediately resort to the shaman to find them. The shaman's instrument locates the lost person and then returns to tell the shaman whether he is alive and homeward bound on the proper trail. If the person is still wandering aimlessly, the *iböböt* frequently nudges him in the right direction or enters his body and leads him home. Only the shaman can hear the voice of the *iböböt;* his dialogues with the instrument are inaudible to others.

756 One informant reported that in the old days the most powerful shamans of the tribe were able to turn people temporarily into animals. The Mundurucú in those times performed a ceremony called the *Duparíp,* which took place over a three-year period. As a part of this ceremony, the three most powerful shamans participating allowed their hair to grow to their shoulders and were believed able to turn the bizorro, an insect, into the tapir and men into the tapir or deer. Nobody was able to see them perform these acts; the transformed men simply disappeared. It was considered extremely dangerous to be thus selected by these powerful shamans, because the men, in the guise of tapirs and deer, were frequently chased by the dogs and could be killed. However, the shamans recognized the slain animals as their own creations and proceeded to change them back to men. They took out the heart and blood, placing them on the ground and covering the pile with leaves, and then blew tobacco smoke upon it and stamped upon the ground; the man emerged from under the leaves alive and intact. It is said that men who had undergone this experience were considered especially sacrosanct because of their former membership in the animal world, and their presence was especially valued at the ceremonies connected with the animal spirits.

Shamans possessing the power to assume this special ceremonial role were always married to equally strong female shamans. These women were able to transform other women into animals during the *Duparíp* ceremony and are said to have been capable of transforming a Brazil-nut husk with a length of vine inside it into a cutia.

Finally, some shamans engage in the practice of making a woman into a
756 *yapö,* or wanton. No respectable shaman would perform such an act, however,
832 and those who use their powers for such disreputable ends are called *mamú*
839 *keren,* or bad or foolish shamans. Reprehensible though this may be to the Mundurucú, the *mamú keren* is not to be classed with the *ibökaipat,* or sorcerer, who is believed to be a dire threat to society. He causes disease and death, whereas the *mamú keren* merely converts women into nymphomaniacs, a practice that is rather ambivalently considered both disgraceful and highly amusing by the Mundurucú men.

The *yapö* indiscriminately copulates with all men who desire her. Characteristically, she does not smile modestly in the presence of the men, but grins and laughs

in a manner thought to be quite lewd and suggestive. The other women look upon the *yapö* as a threat to their own marital happiness, but blame the men for her condition. Any sufficiently disreputable and irreverent shaman can make a *yapö* of a woman whom he desires. But, unlike love magic in most societies, once he creates her he must be prepared to share her with others, for his magic makes her want any and all men. 756 832 839

To make a *yapö* the shaman prepares a paste of sorva sap and urucú and mixes it thoroughly with the roasted and powdered body of the uirapurú bird. Smoke is blown upon the preparation and it is magically sent into the body of the unsuspecting woman. Another preparation is made with a piece of uirapurú meat, and a third is made by mixing brilliantine with either the brains of the boa boa bird or of the matrinchão fish. The use of the uirapurú as a love charm or symbol is widespread in the Amazon region, especially among Tupian groups. The Mundurucú believe it to be an enchanted bird and explain that, as the other birds of the forest follow the uirapurú, so also will the men follow a woman who has been bewitched with a charm made from its body.

The *yapö* is not physically damaged by the spell cast over her by the shaman. She appears happy and laughs constantly; her appetite for men is insatiable, but she enjoys herself thoroughly when in their company. However, her condition is viewed with disfavor by the other women, and she becomes marginal to female society. Also, she soon becomes the subject of widespread gossip and ridicule, both of which are unendurable to a Mundurucú. For these reasons, the *yapö* generally goes to the shaman to be cured. He extracts the charm by the same techniques used to take out *cauši* and then recommends a preparation made of sorva sap and the root of a tree near which a jaguar has slept or rolled about. The woman applies this preparation to her face and body until she feels that she has been completely cured. The remedy is considered to be effective in keeping men away as it partakes of the qualities of the jaguar, which is considered an ugly and repulsive animal by the Mundurucú. [825]

The treatment is not always effective. A young woman of the village of Cabruá went to the shaman to be cured of her condition. During the following days a marked change was noted in her deportment. She smiled demurely behind her hand and no longer fixed the men with direct and inviting glances. But as the days passed, she returned slowly to her old ways and was soon meeting the men in the underbrush surrounding the village. When the shaman who had performed the cure was asked why she behaved in this manner, he shrugged and replied, "Sometimes the treatment works, and sometimes it does not."

Sorcery

When his power is used for socially approved purposes, the shaman is accorded the respect due a major benefactor of the community. But his power can be used for evil ends, and witchcraft is invariably believed to emanate from shamans gone bad. The sorcerer or *ibökaipat* is thought by the Mundurucú to engage in his nefarious practices with conscious and deliberate intent. All shamans have 754

29: 841 Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

152 593 I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I believe that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband ap-
[634] peared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

355 593 Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are extremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

619 When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

302 Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

[531] On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

846 hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as
[842] the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the
child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened
to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the
553 suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is
changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the
bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the
same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching
582 puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already de-
termined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of
587 service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband
dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take
her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other
[582] available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage,
for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible
734 custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons
888

*The hopelessly degenerate Camês, Voturôes, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do
this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a
service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing
[101] or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tame-
puyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to
this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old peo-
ple" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into
764 mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and
[302] by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside
the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the
deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The
[775] Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of
000 the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

7: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1957 SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the whites with some pride, but viewed their efforts as civilizing missions 175
against the "savage Indians," or "Indians of the forest." Their attitude was 721
clearly that they did what had to be done and had always been done; the remuneration was secondary.

It is impossible to determine what proportion of Mundurucú warfare in the last century was instigated by the whites, but it is clear that many, and probably most, raids were conducted against groups having no enmity or even contact with Brazilian society. It is evident that the Mundurucú did not remain warlike solely for reasons of material gain, but mercenary service did serve to encourage the perpetuation of a deeply rooted pattern. Whether or not economic and ecological conditions stimulated warfare in the preceding century is difficult to ascertain. It is known that the area of Mundurucú occupation expanded northward in the late 18th and early 19th centuries into regions formerly inhabited by other groups. While the Mundurucú moved into a vacuum that they had helped to create, it is almost certain that assimilation and depopulation due to disease had decimated the ranks of the previous occupants far more than had Mundurucú arms, and the population of the latter was already on the wane. Additional territory was hardly the goal of the mi- [439]
grant Mundurucú; the lure of manufactured articles available through trade with the white settlements offers a more adequate explanation of their northward drift to the lower Madeira and Tapajós Rivers.

The secondary nature of economic goals in Mundurucú warfare is even 721
more manifest when looting is considered. No objects of significant economic 727
value were taken, and the raiders maintained their mobility by traveling light. Captive children were a far more important class of booty than were material items. Captive-taking was a means of strengthening the group through the addition of new members, but it is not certain whether the increment compensated for the loss of mature warriors and their female followers. If, however, one accepts intense warfare as a given factor, the capture of children was important to its successful continuance. Moreover, the Mundurucú valued and [842]
desired children, and the captives were treated as the captor's own.

The Mundurucú warrior was strongly motivated by the desire to achieve 555
prestige through the demonstration of valor, especially as signified by the tak- 701
ing of a trophy head. The Dajeboiši was subjected to very onerous restrictions, but he was rewarded by the lifetime respect of his fellowmen. However, if he was to maintain his position and advance to the high status of a Muchacha, it was expected that he would also become a font of traditional lore and songs. Prestige was not openly asserted among the Mundurucú, and the tone of the society was strongly egalitarian. Decision-making was decentralized and informal and joint activity depended upon the consensus of the participants, but the successful headhunter exerted considerable influence in the attainment of such consensus—albeit through subdued means.

Despite the fact that individual wars were undertaken because of the de- 721
sire of the participants to gain prestige, it would be most dubious to admit this as a fundamental cause of warfare. It seems almost a truism to say that

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

II. HEROES AND SPIRITS

771 776 MUNDURUCÚ RELIGION is animistic in its broadest outlines, although vague and unpersonalized concepts of power pervade belief. Spirits and powers are active agents in Mundurucú life, and the constant manipulation and propitiation of them are essential to the well-being of the tribe.

CULTURE HEROES

773 Culture heroes were people of great supernatural power who lived in mythological times and who were responsible for creating people and much of the animal world. They are also believed to have endowed the Mundurucú with certain items of their culture, although the origin of most of it is not rationalized by mythology. Culture heroes are considered by the Mundurucú to be people of a remote past who accomplished wonderful deeds and then passed out of contact with the world of people and nature. They are in no way worshipped or manipulated nor are they objects of fear and veneration or, outside of their existence in the myth cycle, the subjects of much thought or interest.

One culture hero, Karusakaibö, stands above all the rest to such a degree that C. Strömer has referred to him as a "Hochgott."[1] Although the "Gott" stem of the appelation, as applied to Karusakaibö, does violence to most definitions of deity, Karusakaibö's dominant position in Mundurucú mythology is undeniable. Like many culture heroes, his origin is unexplained. He exists in a cycle of six myths in the course of which people, the peccary, and the tapir are created, and the hills and sky are formed. Karusakaibö, although an extraordinary person of great power, was believed to be a Mundurucú who lived in a village named Uacuparí, situated near, but not identical with, a recent Mundurucú village of the same name. His son Korumtau, his wife Shikiridjá, and his sisters also enter into his adventures.

773 797 Karusakaibö has been syncretized by the Mundurucú with the Christian God preached to them by missionaries from the nineteenth century to the present day. The missionaries followed the example of the Jesuits of the early colonial period and have translated "God" as Tupan, the Tupian thunder deity; the Mundurucú have partly integrated the Christian and native myth cycles by incorporating pleasing tales from the Old and New Testament into their own mythology and substituting their own Karusakaibö for the missionary's Tupan. However, the subtleties of the concept of the Trinity have resulted in some ambiguity, and Karusakaibö is equated alternately with the Father and the Son.

773 797 842 Identification of the Christian deity and the principal Mundurucú culture hero has altered the position of the latter somewhat. Many Indians, especially those in closest contact with the mission, offer the influence of Karusakaibö as explanation for many phenomena not specifically accounted for in the cycle of Karusakaibö myths. As an example, various women stated that a couple must copulate several times to have children. After sufficient semen is accumulated within the woman, Karusakaibö (or Tupan, according to some informants) enters

[1] Strömer, 1932, pp. 5–6.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the woman and blows upon the semen, giving it life. Such atypical intervention in everyday affairs by the culture hero remained puzzling until it was learned that the nuns explain pregnancy to the girls at the mission school by telling them that Tupan places babies inside their bodies. 797 773 842

In all his activities, Karusakaibõ is accompanied by his constant companion, Daiïru, a trickster armadillo whose plots and interference are essential to nearly all of the culture hero's acts. In spite of the hero's great power, he finds it difficult to eliminate the wily armadillo and succeeds only at the end of the myth cycle, when he turns him into a tree that now holds up the sky. 773

The other Mundurucú culture heroes are of decidedly less importance and do not appear in the body of Karusakaibõ myths. There is a three-part saga in which two men named Karuetaouibõ and Wakurumpõ ascend to the sky and become the visible sun. The latter was an especially powerful shaman whose powers were so great that he once caused the sun to grow dark. He ended the eclipse by magically scraping off the face of the sun.

Moraichõkõ is the subject of a brief tale in which he is credited with making the rock paintings that are frequently encountered in the country adjacent to the Tapajós River. Since most of these paintings are on inaccessible cliffs, Moraichõkõ is acknowledged by the Mundurucú to have been a person of considerable supernatural power.

A series of four other stories surrounds Nung-nung, who is now in the Milky Way. In other stories, a man named Karukchewe was transformed into the tree from whose wood bows are made, and an old woman named Kapiru was responsible for the origin of horticulture. Thus, although Karusakaibõ is viewed as the most important and powerful of the culture heroes, he was not responsible for the creation of all Mundurucú culture.

Another class of culture heroes had no part in the creation of the natural or human environment, but are figures in sagas. A long legend is told about the wanderings of Perisuat, and the wars of Yurichungpõ and Karudaiïbi are related in a two-part cycle. There are several such personages and, though many have some supernatural gifts, none is as powerful as Karusakaibõ and Wakurumpõ. Nonetheless, the stories of these mythical characters are important in the education of the young and in the expression of themes central to Mundurucú values and world view.

Spirit Mothers

The most important single class of supernaturals believed to be active in the world are the spirit mothers of the game animals.[8] The generic spirit mother of all game animals and the various mothers of certain species must be continually 776 224

[8] Belief in spirit mothers, owners, or protectors of animals and plants is widespread in the Amazon basin. For example, Oberg (1953, pp. 53–54) reports the concept of spirit mothers of plants and animals from the upper Xingú River, and Wagley and Galvão (1949, p. 102) describe two Tenetehara spirits, the Owner of the Forest and the Owner of the Water, which are clearly related to the Mundurucú spirits. Belief in these bush supernaturals is evidently extremely tenacious, for Wagley (1953, p. 235) reports the concept of the "mãe de bicho" among the Brazilian residents of the town of "Ita." Most groups in eastern Brazil visualise these protector spirits as mothers; in contrast, the Taulipang refer to them as fathers (Koch-Grünberg, 1923, pp. 176–177).

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

SPIRITS OF THE UNDERWORLD

776 The *kokeriwat* are a class of spirits that are believed to inhabit the underworld. Although they are extremely mischievous, the *kokeriwat* are not specifically malevolent toward humans nor are they especially feared by the Mundurucú. During the old Mundurucú wars, *kokeriwat* warriors used to issue from the underworld and, unseen by all but the shamans, fought side by side with the Mundurucú as allies. One informant stated that the *kokeriwat* were really the souls of Mundurucú warriors of ancient times, but this is not a universally held belief and must be classed with our previously discussed minor variations on major themes. Despite the help given them by their invisible allies, the Mundurucú warriors had to take certain precautions against the *kokeriwat*, for the latter always attempted to steal the teeth from the trophy heads taken by the war party. The Mundurucú guarded against this by extracting the teeth, which were later strung on a cotton belt, and hiding them in the mouth of the head. When all the teeth were extracted, they were placed in a small box which the warriors suspended from their necks.

[842] The *kokeriwat* were also able to make women pregnant without their knowledge by assuming the form of a small bird and flying between their legs. They later returned to claim the issue. Several cases were reported in which the *kokeriwat* robbed the mothers of these surreptitiously begotten children. One child of the village of Parawaröktiká was sent by her mother to fetch water. After a considerable period of time passed by, the mother asked some women who were bound for the stream to tell the daughter to return immediately. The women went to the stream and found two sets of tracks leading away from the beach. They called the men of the village, who followed the tracks to a hill within which was situated one of the underworld homes of the *kokeriwat*. A shaman called out to the girl and asked her to return, but the *kokeriwat* replied in a voice heard only by the shaman, "She cannot return. I am keeping her for she is my daughter." The shaman was afraid to make any further attempt to regain the child, and she was left with the *kokeriwat*.

776 Informants were able to name three separate underworlds of the *kokeriwat*. The
772 one to which that child was taken was known as Paraduá. Another was called Wikotehongpõ and was on the banks of the Iririri River, a tributary of the Cururú River. The third home of the *kokeriwat* was Kokeriwatka (literally, the place of the *kokeriwat*), which was near the Morro de Careca on the Cururú River. All these places were abandoned by the *kokeriwat* after they became increasingly subjected to attacks by the *Furupari*. They now live in an underworld to the east and no longer have relations with the Mundurucú.

776 The Mundurucú know of the lands of the *kokeriwat* because many shamans are
756 said to have traveled there. Some shamans, as Põšubaboi, a former chief of Capíkpí, even had wives there. The *kokeriwat* have human forms when in their own land, but everything else is the reverse of the terrestrial world. Põšubaboi, for example, related that the first time he had intercourse with his *kokeriwat* wife he told her to lie on her back on the ground in the usual Mundurucú position. But the *kokeri-*

726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and [634 they are guarded by patrols who signal with the toré (beni), a rasping 209] cane trumpet, or with the kiohoa, a whistle. With this instrument the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the 727 Mundrucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.

595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy [578 which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like ● 846 the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already determined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage, for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus. * They club to death persons

*The hopelessly degenerate Camês, Voturôes, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal. IV. 1842. 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tamepuyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old people" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and naming.—According to Martius, the father keeps to his hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

Puberty and marriage.—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

the opposite moiety within the framework of the iboiwati- 614
tit relationship, and the clan crests, consisting of geomet- [531]
ric designs, of the inhabitants of each men's house are
painted on the upright posts of the structure. Fellow clans-
men sleep in adjacent hammocks in the men's house and
are adjoined by members of the same phratry, if any reside
in the village.

Beyond these few remaining manifestations of clanship 551
there remains only its expression in interpersonal behavior. 614
The clan affiliation of every Mundurucú is known to every
other through the naming system. The name of each Mun-
durucú consists of his clan name with a given name suf-
fixed. Boys are given the name of their great-grandfather
in the direct paternal line. If there are several brothers,
some are assigned the names of the great-grandfather's
brothers, both real and classificatory. Girls are given the
names of the father's mother's mother. Thus, given names
are transmitted in certain clans, or, at least, within the
moiety. The possession of a name is one criterion of mem-
bership in Mundurucú society. The product of a union be-
tween a white man and a Mundurucú woman is for this
reason, more than for his mixed ancestry, looked upon as
marginal to the society. Similarly, illegitimacy, while [848]
looked upon as a misfortune, does not socially disable the
child as long as the father is known. If, on the other hand,
the mother does not know who the child's father is, it can
receive no name. Such children are not mistreated, but
they are generally called by the derogatory nickname, *tun*
(excrement).

Clanship thus continues to bestow a social identity on 614
its members and to establish their inclusion as "people,"
or Mundurucú. In this sense, it is an important mechanism
in the maintenance of social boundaries between the Mun-
durucú and their Brazilian neighbors. Fellow clansmen are

726 though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent
462 of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were
727 taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also
[301] be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and
[736] her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

266 Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

846 **Birth and naming.**—According to Martius, the father keeps to his
553 hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children
852 reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

881 **Puberty and marriage.**—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

584 A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 of the savannahs and the new ones of the river bank became attenuated, and
224 a lack of powerful shamans in the former communities may well have developed.
796 The shorter *Dajearuparip* ceremony was practiced as recently as 1945 or thereabouts but has since lapsed in spite of a few unsuccessful efforts to resurrect it. By that time the lack of shamans must have become acute, as it is today in many sections of the Mundurucú country. Also, the early 1940's were a period of intense rubber collection, owing to the stimulus provided by World War II. During these years the Mundurucú of the savannah villages grew more accustomed to clothing and other attractions of the outside world, and involvement with Brazilian society increased. The exact effect of these influences is uncertain, but interest in ritual undoubtedly was replaced increasingly by apathy and fatalism in the face of the decay of other aspects of Mundurucú culture. Ceremonialism not only heightens social cohesion, but it reflects it. So far as the structure of Mundurucú society was undermined by other factors, so also was the basis of the ceremonial reunions.

The form of the extinct ceremonies for head-hunting and the spirit mothers of the game was described by informants. Other rites were reported by them in very fragmentary form and were attributed to a more remote past. Only a curing ceremony and the complex of ceremonial activities surrounding the sacred trumpets are still extant and were observed by me.

The Duparip Ceremony

796 One elderly Mundurucú reported a ceremony called the *Duparip*, which he said
881 had ceased to be practiced long before his birth and which had been related to
852 him as a boy by the old men. The *Duparip* was said to have been held infrequently; it was initiated during the summer, and the associated ritual activities occurred intermittently over a two-year span.

It was not possible to obtain a full account of the purpose or form of the ceremony, for the informant remembered only disconnected items. It obviously had some significance as a rite of passage, for young boys[1] were taken into the men's house and allowed to return to their proper dwellings only at the end of the two-year ceremonial period. During this time they were referred to as pet jacamís by
[302] the men, and three stripes were cut through their hair, from front to back, in imitation of the feathering of that bird. When they were finally released from the men's house, they were given sharp wooden "beaks" with which they "pecked" at the women. During their confinement they could leave the men's house only to relieve themselves. The men periodically hastened the growth of the boys by standing upon their feet and lifting them up by the armpits. The "young jacamís"
[262] could eat only a certain type of deer, the meat of which was carefully examined for traces of skin, which was believed to make the boys ill.

Other passages of the *Duparip* included the previously mentioned rite in which three powerful shamans transformed people into animals.[2] Flutes were played by

[1] My informant reported that boys are recruited for this ceremony at the age of three; I think this most doubtful and believe that five years is a more reasonable age.
[2] See p. 42.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dancers clothed in cloaks of buritĭ leaf, who danced from house to house, playing in each. Another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat. 796 881 852 [304] [616]

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing signalized full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Duparip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of pecking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group. 304 796 884

Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundurucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and returned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad. 796 727

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.[8] No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundurucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain clans of the comple- 766 727 616

[8] Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

291 Although they go entirely naked, they carefully avoid any
841 postures which might appear indecent, and this to such an extent that no one notices it when they go through those trying periods peculiar to their sex.

152 I shall now relate one of the instances of jealousy, for I be-
593 lieve that such first-hand episodes provide a more vivid picture of the uses, customs and feelings of a people than any general description might do.

The Indian girl Sebastiana, already referred to above, was married in Acupari. One day a young man came to her and said: "Leave your husband, who is not a good hunter, and come with me to another village." At that very moment the husband ap-
[684] peared, came to her, and asked her what the young man had said. The girl, embarrassed, did not know what to answer, and her husband seized a bow and chastised her severely. Yet [114] this couple were always close and loved each other, until the unfortunate circumstances which threatened her mother forced Sebastiana to flee Acupari, leaving her husband behind.

855 Families are very united; fathers and mothers alike are ex-
593 tremely fond of their children, and will face the greatest dangers to help and protect them.

I have seen sick children treated with the greatest care and dedication in the large village houses.

619 When a Mundurucu mentions another member of his tribe, he always uses the same expression -- "a kinsman of ours" -- to distinguish him from members of other tribes.

When these barbarians happen to meet outside their villages, in the midst of a forest or on the banks of a stream, they easily recognize each other by the paintings and tattoo marks peculiar to their tribe.

302 Mundurucu body painting is a remarkable thing. The designs are traced with great skill by consummate artists.

[531] On the face and chest, numerous lozenges are drawn to perfection. The back part of the body is covered with parallel lines from the neck nearly down to the heels; the breasts, the buttocks, and the female sexual parts are painted with fanciful designs which are identical for members of the same sex.

2: Kruse M-5 (no date) 1934
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

609 Madeira and the Xingú are not *pariwat* to the Tapajós Mundurucú; they are *bari'pnyc*, "relatives", as explained previously.

The Brazilians are called Baracereru. They are held in esteem, as are also the Parowat,1 the inhabitants of Belém do Pará, and the Biudecaneruwat, the inhabitants of the capital. The "Cearenser" [people of Ceara ?], the Carawat,1 known as "Messerhelden" have a bad reputation. The *judeu'nye*,1 the Jews, are hated, as having [731] treated the Mundurucú very badly; after a certain Jew brought in measles on the Cururu and the Barra in 1826,1 starting an epidemic to which a large number of Mundurucú and Apaicá1 fell victims, friendship became definitely a thing of the past.

Some Notes on General Culture

241 The basis of the economic life of the Mundurucú is hoe culture. They maintain that formerly manioc and all other domesticated plants were unknown among them and that they used to obtain their food supply solely through hunting and through gathering [411] wild fruits. In their hunting they use arrows made of single [231] pieces of wood. The Mundurucú never kills his domestic animals, but he will partake of such meat if another has it at hand. The [222] wild fruits are gathered by the women. Shortage of food can 261 easily prevail, but is not the rule. If meat and fish are lacking, there are wild fruits and the products of the gardens. For the rest, the Mundurucú endures enforced fast with stoic patience without indulging in futile complaints.

342 The Mundurucú remember well the time when they used huts with conical roofs. These huts have now been superseded by quadrangular ones with the corners almost always rounded off.

776 The Mundurucú have a very clear and sharply defined belief in a Supreme Being. He is called Karusakaibé, and appears to have been a historical personage. He is prayed to; I have gathered a collection of such prayers. More about him will appear infra.

562 More too will be said below about social organization as it prevails among the Mundurucú, which topic is a chief one of the present paper. The foregoing summary data are given merely as a background. As regards social organization we may however premise here that the man holds a position of predominance among the Mundurucú. Nevertheless the woman is decidedly respected. [855] On the part of both man and woman, love for the child is marked.

1 [See errata sheet, Category 116, p.57—A.—Analyst]

000 the village. The children were reared in a stable group
855 that provided a large degree of emotional and economic security. The Mundurucú were and are devoted parents, and there was great affection between parents and children. However, the sudden death of both parents would have caused no great change in the social and economic life of the child.

Marriage

584 Marriages were sometimes arranged for the children by the parents when the children were still very young. Most of these arrangements were made between brothers and sisters for their children and were within the pattern of intermoiety, cross-cousin marriage. The parents of either the boy or girl could take the initiative. In many cases, a young man who had developed a desire for a girl either asked her father and mother for her directly or used the intermediary of his own parents or older relatives. There was no gift exchange or bride price or service involved. If
585 the match was found suitable by both families, the young man
591 merely moved to the girl's village and took up residence in the men's house there. If he married a girl of his own village, as was often the case, he merely changed his household affiliation. He had socially recognized sexual rights to her and became a part of the economy of her household.
[836] In most cases, the man and woman had entered into sexual relations with each other before the marriage. If the young man had lived in the same village as his wife, the social recognition of the bond caused little change in the life of the couple or their families. The man began to bring

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is
[833] almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those neeessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. How-
● [855] ever, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended
[866] families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
868 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

[562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

592 needed the attention of his wife did he hang his hammock in the house.

593 The nuclear family within this context was clearly a less important social unit than the extended family. Its most important functions were, of course, procreation and the raising of children. The man always brought his game to his wife, but unless it was only enough for a few people, it was cooked and shared by the whole household and even the village. Man and wife performed small personal services for each other, but these could easily have been done by any other member of the opposite sex. Since the children grew up in a large family, a great deal of their upbringing was entrusted to other members of the household. By the age of five years the boys were already incorporated into groups 857 of their age mates. The younger children usually played in the village, but the groups of boys over eight years of age began to range out on the savannahs and in the smaller stretches of gallery forest, shooting small birds, gathering fruit, and bathing in the streams. The boys had great freedom and a minimum of parental supervision. Only when they were about twelve years of age did they begin to become a part of the adult economy and even this was only in certain tasks such as garden clearing, planting, and fishing. After they were married and had achieved warrior status they became fully functioning members of the community.

Girls began to help their mothers in all of the female chores at an early age, but served especially to tend the smaller children when the mothers had to work outside the village.

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is
[833] almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. How-
[855] ever, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended
[866] families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

● 857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
868 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

[562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the 857
men's house, have very loose ties with their households. 868
Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine [591]
where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only [593]
by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as com- 562
pared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented 462
about any household economy, and the boys take little 867
part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since [596]
the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social struc- 857
tural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys 868
cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When 883
the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown [868]
sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old [582]
enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village [584]

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
[833] digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. How-
[855] ever, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended
[866] families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
868 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

[562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

as most of the population. These small one- or two-family 361
groups do not have the social frame of reference necessary
for the perpetuation of the native social system. And the 367
social units are too small for the effective transmission of
the traditional culture to the young.

Village life, relative isolation from Brazilians, greater 182
population density, and, therefore, more intensive interac- 184
tion with other Mundurucú, make for better preservation
of the Indian culture among the residents of the Cururú
River. But here, too, tradition is on the wane, and the na-
tive social structure has been drastically modified.

Actually, the stronghold of Mundurucú society and cul-
ture lies in the remaining savannah villages, and it is from
the savannah area, once far more populous, that the con-
temporary dwellers of the Tapajós and Cururú rivers orig-
inally emigrated. It cannot be said that the Mundurucú of
the savannah villages represent the "aboriginal culture,"
for they too have been deeply affected and altered by
Brazilian society. But change has been the least among
this population. A greater degree of political and economic
autonomy is preserved, and the native social system per-
sists, although it has been subjected to modifications. So-
ciety and culture in the savannahs is certainly not the
same as one hundred fifty or even fifty years ago, but it
is still more distinctively Mundurucú than in the Cururú
villages and far more so than among the scattered Indians
of the Tapajós River.

THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

The Planalto de Mato Grosso is a thinly forested and rug- 133
ged upland, ranging in altitude from 2,000 to 3,000 feet,
which forms the divide between the streams flowing north
to the Amazon and south to the Paraguay River. The head-
waters of the Madeira, Tapajós, Xingú, and Araguaya

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the men's house, have very loose ties with their households. Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as compared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented about any household economy, and the boys take little part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social structural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village

Husband and wife occa-
594 sionally go to the gardens for the ostensible purpose of
[833] digging yams, but the true purpose of these occasions is almost invariably amorous. Each man is, however, responsible for providing his own family with those necessities of life that must be obtained in trade. A good husband clothes
[581] his wife and children, provides them with trinkets, and buys tools. These items are occasionally provided for other members of the extended family, especially unmarried women and their children, but it is recognized that a man's primary responsibilities in these matters are to his own wife and children. The individualizing tendency of rubber production and trade, is thus an important factor in distinguishing the nuclear family as a social unit. Otherwise, the organization of village and household activities and the ease of divorce make it quite weak.

593 The Mundurucú are devoted parents and bestow a great deal of affection and attention on their offspring. How-
[855] ever, children are frequently placed in the care of the mother's sisters or mother, or left with a young girl of the household when the mother is busy or out of the village. The children, like children in most societies with extended
[844] families, derive security from a number of persons and may place dependency on a wide range of people.

857 The roles of boys and girls among the Mundurucú an-
868 ticipate their future positions in life. Girls begin to join in the work of the females at an early age, starting with baby tending and later helping in farinha manufacture. They accordingly tend to spend much time in and around their houses and are gradually incorporated into the economy of the matrilocal extended family, in which presumably they will also spend their adult life.

[562] The boys, on the other hand, are given the greatest freedom. They wander from house to house and play in the village or in the neighboring savannah and under-

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the men's house, have very loose ties with their households. Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as compared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented about any household economy, and the boys take little part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social structural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village

12:Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

182 women are no longer as desirable as in the good old days,
796 nor are men as brave and strong. Correspondingly, the
[756] shamans are thought to have lost much of their power and knowledge. Besides, there are significant social and economic reasons for the lapse of the ceremonies. The larger ceremony fell into abeyance after the migration to the Cururú River had gained full force, and the shorter form was terminated after the exodus had reduced the savannah population to its present 360. Significantly, the Dajearuparip ended in 1945, at the conclusion of the period of rising rubber prices in World War II and the concomitant growing preoccupation of the Mundurucú Indians with extraction of latex. Thus, there is not only an insufficient number of shamans at present, but there are not enough people left in the savannahs to stage a large-scale reunion.
[224] Furthermore, only the campineiros, a bare one-quarter of the total Mundurucú population, still depend on game as
[226] the principal source of protein; the others rely primarily on fishing, and the ceremonies have correspondingly less economic significance to them. Finally, to the degree that the old social system has weakened, so also has this positive, affirmative aspect of the religion. The rites were vital to tribal unity and male activity and were a function of them. The decay of intervillage coöperation in other spheres and the inevitability of eventual abandonment of residence on the savannahs make the Mundurucú apathetic to the continuity of the group-based and group-affirmative rituals—actually, those aspects of relations with the supernatural that Emile Durkheim defined as "religion." [8] The people still believe in the game-animal spirits and still give credence to the efficacy of the ceremonial means of propitiating them. But the failure to translate the
[869] beliefs into the realm of action has robbed them of im-

[8] Durkheim, 1947.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

mediate reality and caused their transmission to the young to become attenuated.

Shamanism and the corollary belief in sorcery have had, however, remarkable persistence among the Mundurucú. This continuity is not, perhaps, so unusual when one considers that similar practices may be found among the rural Amazonian population and even among the lower classes in north Brazilian cities. The Mundurucú shaman is believed to be endowed at birth with special supernatural powers inherited from his father. He usually receives tutelage in the art from his elders, but even if he is uninstructed and never engages in actual practice, he is still considered a shaman and capable of special relations with the supernatural.

The shaman's major task is the cure of disease and injury. Formerly he also had ceremonial roles, but these are largely defunct today. Disease is thought to be caused by intrusive objects made and spread by sorcerers, and the shaman extracts them by the technique, widespread in South America, of blowing tobacco smoke on the patient and removing the malignant object by suction or rubbing. There are generally one or two shamans, but seldom more, in savannah villages.

The skills of the shamans are in constant demand, and great dependence is placed on them. But despite the high prestige that they are accorded, their position is ambivalent. Although only shamans can cure disease, only they also have the supernatural power of disease-causing witchcraft, and a sorcerer is believed to be a shaman "gone bad." Shamans are generally not thought to practice sorcery with limited ends and against particular persons. Their magic can be used to inflict harm on individuals, but they are more commonly believed to spread malignant objects that attack and sicken people indiscriminately. The

12;Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

nicipio of the same name which encompasses the upper 648
Tapajós, ascend the stream in a trader's launch to take a
prisoner into custody. Medical facilities, either public or 743
private, are almost nonexistent. A dentist from Santarém 759
visits the population annually and pulls teeth for a fee, but
medical doctors are unknown south of the rapids. There
is a hospital at Fordlandia, the old Ford Motor Company
rubber plantation—which is now a Brazilian agricultural
experimental station—but the trip is too far and costly for
most sick persons. Schools are totally absent. Inhabitants 871 ●
who read and write usually learned to do so in another [212]
area or through literate parents. Actually, the Mundurucú 648
are in a better position than their Brazilian neighbors, be- 658
cause both the Franciscan mission and the Indian Service
post on the Cururú River offer limited medical and educa-
tional facilities to them.

One of the most striking features of the life of the 361
Tapajós River inhabitants is their isolation. The typical [342]
habitation in this vast riparian region is the isolated wattle
and daub hut built either on a platform, as on the lower
Amazon, or, more commonly, on a somewhat higher sec-
tion of a river bank beyond the reach of the annual floods.
These isolated huts are scattered along the banks of the
major streams and on their affluents. On the larger rivers,
often at the mouths of the subsidiary streams, are the
barracões (stores) of the *patrões* (patrons), the local
traders, who buy the produce of the caboclo and sell him
needed items and occasional luxuries, such as an alarm
clock or a guitar. There are usually three to six houses ad-
jacent to the store and house of the patron, all in the same
forest clearing on the river bank. Some of these are the
houses of rubber tappers whose rubber avenues are
nearby, and others belong to people who live there during
the rainy season when no rubber can be collected. Most

171 But they
●881 do have one curious custom in common with their neighbors the Maues. They expose their daughters to continuous fasting and to the smoke in the gable of the hut when the latter pass from childhood to womanhood.

244 In agriculture the Mundrucus have an advantage over others only
[161] in as much as the power of their numerous and warlike tribe (I heard a figure of 18,000 given and even one of 40,000) makes their plantations more secure; also the rather dense population make dependence on hunting and fishing alone unfeasible. They grow some cotton and a great deal of manioc. The flour ground from manioc is packed in
[439] baskets and the wide leaves of palms, spice stalks [Würzschilfe] and heliconias and regularly sold to the mariners in Tapajoz now that they have established friendly relations. In the area near the Brazilians
361 each family lives by itself in a conical hut. Today these are often not built individually in isolated places throughout the forest but are grouped into villages. Those Indians not yet in a neighborhood of whites occupy large, open huts as a community of several families. But even in the
[727] mission I found near their houses the preserved heads of slain enemies and numerous skulls of larger game animals stuck up on poles. Everything about the appearance of these savages made it evident that they consider themselves mighty hunters and warriors and that they strive to maintain their hegemony in the area. To this their name has reference.
101 It is from the Tupi language. Mundrucus, Mondorucus means either: "those who plunder together" (from monda "steal," ru "together," cu, co "plantation, property), or: "those who practice (ico) cutting off (mondoc)", that is to say cutting off heads. Moturicus, from motumun moteryc and ico, means: "the shaker, the thief [Mitnchmer]." [391] Very widespread is the nickname Paiquizé, Paia-kyce, that is "Father Knife, Decapitator." Castelnau (III. 106) lists the Arupás as living among the Mundrucus on both banks of the Arinos, and they are probably identical with the Oropias already mentioned (p. 204, 383) who are also found on the Madeira river.

726 Their military organization is begun in peacetime. Every man capable of bearing arms cuts a notch in a stick that is sent around and by this he pledges his participation in war. In wartime the chief has power of life and death over the individual. That they were in a state of war with the Apiacas was not told me. * For their attacks they

* The Picobyé (in Pohl II. 183) or Paicobejé do not belong here but are a tribe belonging to the Macamecrans.

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

726 though Martius reports that women participated in the battle to the extent
462 of recovering arrows shot by the enemy and delivering them to their own warriors. He even asserts that the women "cleverly catch the arrows of the enemy in flight" (Spix and Martius, 1823–31, 3: 1,313). The usual method of attack was to assault the enemy village at daybreak and to fire the huts by means of incendiary arrows. During the fight, the war leader stood behind his warriors directing the attack. Assistants signaled his orders on their trumpets. Women and children of the enemy were
727 taken prisoner; the women were later married by *Mundurucú* men, and the children were adopted. But enemy warriors were killed and their heads taken as trophies.

A *Mundurucú* warrior who had fought bravely but because of a wound had failed to obtain a head, received in compensation a cotton belt from which hung teeth removed from enemy heads. Such a belt might also
[301] be given to the widow of a warrior killed in battle (pl. 23, *right*), and
[736] her possession of it entitled her to be supported by the community. When a warrior had been wounded, his name was not spoken for a year; during this time he was considered to be dead. At the end of the year, a feast was given to reinstate him in the community.

Trophy heads were dried and colored with urucú or genipa; the brain cavity was filled with cotton and a carrying cord was laced through the lips (pl. 23, *left*). *Mundurucú* trophy heads were not shrunken. (Koseritz (1885) and Barbosa Rodrigues (1882 a) were both in error on this point.)

266 Strömer believes that the *Mundurucú* were cannibalistic, basing his belief on a passage in native text which seems to imply that some part of the trophy head was eaten. Kruse (1934) denies that the *Mundurucú* were in any way cannibalistic; Nimuendajú (personal communication) doubts the credibility of Strömer's informants on this subject.

LIFE CYCLE

846 **Birth and naming.**—According to Martius, the father keeps to his
563 hammock for several weeks after the birth of a child and there receives the visits and solicitude of his neighbors. Immediately after its birth, the child is given a totemic name. Other names are added as the child grows older. If a man performs a heroic deed in hunting or warfare, his heroism will be commemorated by an additional name. When children
852 reach their 8th year, their tatooing begins, and a boy takes up residence in the men's house.

● 881 **Puberty and marriage.**—Martius (1867) says that a girl at her first menstruation is required to undergo a long period of fasting "while exposed to the smoke in the gable of the hut."

584 A girl may be betrothed while still quite young to a mature warrior. Though she remains with her parents and the marriage is not consummated

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

178 224 796 of the savannahs and the new ones of the river bank became attenuated, and a lack of powerful shamans in the former communities may well have developed. The shorter *Dajearuparip* ceremony was practiced as recently as 1945 or thereabouts but has since lapsed in spite of a few unsuccessful efforts to resurrect it. By that time the lack of shamans must have become acute, as it is today in many sections of the Mundurucú country. Also, the early 1940's were a period of intense rubber collection, owing to the stimulus provided by World War II. During these years the Mundurucú of the savannah villages grew more accustomed to clothing and other attractions of the outside world, and involvement with Brazilian society increased. The exact effect of these influences is uncertain, but interest in ritual undoubtedly was replaced increasingly by apathy and fatalism in the face of the decay of other aspects of Mundurucú culture. Ceremonialism not only heightens social cohesion, but it reflects it. So far as the structure of Mundurucú society was undermined by other factors, so also was the basis of the ceremonial reunions.

The form of the extinct ceremonies for head-hunting and the spirit mothers of the game was described by informants. Other rites were reported by them in very fragmentary form and were attributed to a more remote past. Only a curing ceremony and the complex of ceremonial activities surrounding the sacred trumpets are still extant and were observed by me.

The Duparip Ceremony

796 981 952 One elderly Mundurucú reported a ceremony called the *Duparip*, which he said had ceased to be practiced long before his birth and which had been related to him as a boy by the old men. The *Duparip* was said to have been held infrequently; it was initiated during the summer, and the associated ritual activities occurred intermittently over a two-year span.

It was not possible to obtain a full account of the purpose or form of the ceremony, for the informant remembered only disconnected items. It obviously had some significance as a rite of passage, for young boys[1] were taken into the men's house and allowed to return to their proper dwellings only at the end of the two-year ceremonial period. During this time they were referred to as pet jacamís by [302] the men, and three stripes were cut through their hair, from front to back, in imitation of the feathering of that bird. When they were finally released from the men's house, they were given sharp wooden "beaks" with which they "pecked" at the women. During their confinement they could leave the men's house only to relieve themselves. The men periodically hastened the growth of the boys by standing upon their feet and lifting them up by the armpits. The "young jacamís" [262] could eat only a certain type of deer, the meat of which was carefully examined for traces of skin, which was believed to make the boys ill.

Other passages of the *Duparip* included the previously mentioned rite in which three powerful shamans transformed people into animals.[2] Flutes were played by

[1] My informant reported that boys are recruited for this ceremony at the age of three; I think this most doubtful and believe that five years is a more reasonable age.

[2] See p. 42.

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dancers clothed in cloaks of buritĩ leaf, who danced from house to house, playing 796
in each. Another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When 881
hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by 852
piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also [304]
pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's [616]
house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat.

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the 304
Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age 796
of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing 884
signalized full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Duparip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of pecking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group.

Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundu- 796
rucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and re- 727
turned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad.

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.[8] No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundu- 766
rucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening 727
news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies 616
of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain clans of the comple-

[8] Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

883 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[884] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his pri-
[882] mary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[752] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the 857
men's house, have very loose ties with their households. 868
Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine [591]
where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only [593]
by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as com- 562
pared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented 462
about any household economy, and the boys take little 867
part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since [596]
the extended family has its core in a group of related and coöperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social struc- 857
tural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys 868
cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When 883
the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown [868]
sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old [582]
enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village, [584]

12: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1960
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

883 whom he desires, he goes off to other villages in search of
[884] a mate. He will find the new men's houses in which he will stay to be organized along the same lines as the one in which he had been incorporated. And just as his strongest ties during adolescent years were to his age mates and the occupants of the men's house, so also will he find his pri-
[882] mary association to be with the men of the village, as a whole.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

592 Patrilineal descent and matrilocal residence without vil-
621 lage endogamy give the Mundurucú an unusual social structure. This is also manifest in the realm of political organization. The oldest man of each household is nominally considered to be its leader, but I never saw the "leader" intervene in the over-all direction of women's activities, except to inform them when a consignment of farinha was promised to a trader. The actual direction of household activities is generally in the hands of its oldest woman, commonly the wife of the leader. The female director of the household exerts considerable influence over the other women because of her age and her senior status under ideally matrilocal conditions as older sister, mother, and grandmother to them. Her husband is respected by the members of the household, and by the rest of the people of the village, but he is peripheral to its main activities.

554 House leaders, as all older men, usually occupy high
621 positions on the village prestige scale. Shamans are ac-
[752] corded considerable standing, and any man who is serious in demeanor and possesses a large store of traditional knowledge is well regarded. The highest position in the
622 village, however, is that of the chief. Considerable con-
554 fusion surrounds the contemporary status of chieftainship because of historical changes in methods of selection and

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

dancers clothed in cloaks of buriti leaf, who dipped from house to house, playing in each. Another connected trait reflected intermoiety ritual antagonism. When hunters of the White moiety killed a red deer, they mocked the Red moiety by piercing the animal's lip and inserting a woman's lip plug. The ears were also pierced and plugs inserted, and the deer was carried triumphantly to the men's house where the hunters danced before cooking the meat. 796 881 152 [304] [616]

Tattooing was the only life cycle observance practiced in recent years by the Mundurucú. Although now rapidly disappearing, tattooing was started at the age of about six or seven and terminated some ten years later. Complete tattooing signalled full manhood for the boys and womanhood for the females and constituted initiation as an adult member of the society. If the chronology reported by my informant is correct, the *Dapurip* may well have functioned partly to incorporate the young boys into the male world before they were subjected to the long and painful process of tattooing. Their new status as novitiate males would thus be signified by the custom of peeking the women at the end of the ceremony, the first time in which they played a symbolically male role in interaction with the women as a group. 304 796 884

Warfare Ceremonies

Summer, the dry season, was traditionally the time for warfare among the Mundurucú. War parties usually stayed in the field throughout the dry season and returned before the winter rains made rivers impassable and life uncomfortable. Occasionally an expedition pursued its activities throughout the rainy season and the following dry season, but it always returned before the rains forced it to spend a second winter abroad. 796 727

Those Mundurucú who stayed at home generally passed at least part of the dry season away from their villages, moving to the river banks where they fished and hunted. The first rains of September and October brought them back to their villages where they reunited with the returning warriors to take up the threads of mundane village life and, also, to stage the most important rituals of the Mundurucú ceremonial cycle.

The villages of successful head-hunters were the locales of a series of ceremonies that involved ritual observances during three successive rainy seasons after the return of the war party.* No ceremonies were held before going on the warpath, and the war ceremonies of the Mundurucú were part of the religious beliefs and activities surrounding the supernatural potency of the trophy head and of its owner rather than rituals to assure a successful raid.

The return of a war party was an occasion of joy and festivity in the Mundurucú villages, but the holiday atmosphere was often dampened by the saddening news of the death of a kinsman during a foray or while on the march. The bodies of the fallen warriors could not conveniently be brought back to their communities, but it was nevertheless considered necessary that certain class of the comple- 766 727 616

* Some informants claimed that the ceremonial cycle was carried out during one rainy season, but the majority opinion and most reliable view were as above.

hammock at the birth of a child, lets himself be taken care of as the woman lying in and receives the visits of the neighbors. For the child is attributed only to its father, the part of the mother is likened to that of the soil which receives the seed. Soon after birth the suckling [393] gets a name from an animal or a plant. The name is changed however several times in the course of his life, whenever the bearer has accomplished some heroic deed in war hunting. Thus the same person takes five or six names one after the other. On reaching puberty the son forms his own family by taking a wife, one already determined for him in his youth or one he has earned by several years of service in the household of his father-in-law. When a woman's husband dies, his brother must marry her and the brother of the widow must take her daughter of marriageable age in marriage if there is no other available bridegroom. Certain degrees of relationship exclude marriage, for example between a paternal uncle and a niece. Currently a horrible custom is in vogue among the Mundrucus.* They club to death persons

*The hopelessly degenerate Camés, Voturões, Dorins and Xocrens have the same custom of whom there were in 1826 only 972 individuals left in the Campos de Guara-puava (S. Paulo.) Fr. das Chagas Lima in Revista trimensal, IV, 1842, 53.

suffering from diseases considered to be incurable. Supposedly they do this out of pity. The children believe they are doing their parents a service if they cut short an existence which, without hunting, dancing or cajiri, can offer no more happiness. It may be that the name "Tamepuyas," heard in the Tapajôz as a tribal name (nickname?), refers to this. The name can be explained as "those who get rid of the old people" (Tamuya puyr). When a death occurs, the female relatives go into mourning by cutting off their long hair, by blackening their faces and by a prolonged period of loud lamentation. The body is buried inside the hut in a hammock. Then drinking fests are held in honor of the deceased and the more powerful he was the longer they last. The Mundrucu does not believe in immortality (according to a statement of the missionary A. Jesuino Gonsalvez.) The only trace of higher belief

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

until she reaches puberty, the prospective husband assumes the responsibility of providing food for her and her parents. A younger man may obtain a wife by giving several years' bride service in the household of the girl's parents. 584

Death and burial.—An "executioner"[1] was pointed out to Martius, whose duty it was to despatch the family ill and the senile. Attribution of this custom to the *Mundurucú* is said to be widespread among neighboring tribes. 888 934

When a death occurs, the maternal[2] relatives of the deceased cut their hair, blacken their faces, and conduct a prolonged wailing for the dead. The corpse, wrapped in a hammock, is placed upright with flexed knees in a cylindrical grave under the floor of the dwelling. Grave goods consist of ornaments and other small objects. Skeletons of men of high status are exhumed and burned after the flesh has decayed; the ashes are buried in jars. 764

When a warrior is killed on a distant battlefield, his head is taken back to the village and put on display with his ornaments, trumpet, and weapons. After a feast in honor of the deceased, the head is suspended from the neck of his mother, widow, or sister, and his fellow warriors pledge to avenge his death. During this ceremony the shaman is isolated in a special hut where he blows the sacred trumpet (*kadidé*). The ceremony is repeated at yearly intervals, terminating with the fourth performance, when the head is finally buried in the house of the deceased. 766

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES

At the beginning of winter, the *Mundurucú* perform a ceremony which on alternate years invokes success in hunting and in fishing. The shaman, isolated in a special hut, propitiates the guardian spirits of game animals and fish. A ventriloquistic dialogue in which the voices of the animals are heard proceeding from the hut informs the people of the shaman's success in obtaining the favor of the spirits. Offerings are made to the skulls of animals and fish. The ceremony is directed by a feast leader who is both a prominent warrior and a good singer. Tocantins (1877) reports a similar annual ceremony to propitiate the spirits of maize and manioc. 796 956

Farabee (1917 a) describes a feast held at the first full moon in May to celebrate the first hunt following the birth of the April litters of peccaries. After a feast in which young peccaries are eaten, there is a dance in which the performers imitate a herd of peccaries. Children run among the dancers like young peccaries while the older people imitate the sound of peccaries feeding; a dancer representing an old boar protecting the herd wrestles with another dancer who plays the part of a jaguar. The boar succeeds in holding off the jaguar while the herd of peccaries escapes. 746 526 224

1 [Martius (source #2) says this was done by the children -- Analyst]
2 [Martius says paternal rather than maternal -- Analyst]

11: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953) 1958
SQ13 Mundurucu SQ13

756 lieve that it is incumbent upon them to help the sick and to perform their obligations to the supernatural world.

756 428 562 One does not seek to become a shaman among the Mundurucú, nor is shamanism the result of a serious illness or an extraordinary experience, as is true in many societies. The power is acquired only through inheritance from the father, and it is believed that all children of shamans are also shamans, although they may not practice the art in later life. For all practical purposes, however, only male children inherit shamanistic power. The female offspring of shamans are nominally classified as shamans; also, and women evidently participated more fully in the practice until a relatively recent period, for Tocantins reports a number of women to have been accused of sorcery, knowledge of which is confined to shamans, in and about the year 1875.[1] Today, active status is limited to men; and the daughters of shamans are considered to be shamans in an academic sense only.

756 Mundurucú informants were unable to explain the shaman's power beyond saying that it is within him and that he is born with it. It is not thought of in concrete terms, as a supernatural object lodged within his body, nor is the power thought to reside in supernaturals whom the shaman controls. The absence of any concept of control or of collaboration with certain spirits is rather unusual in this section of South America. Métraux, for example, reports the trait for the Tupinambá,[2] and Wagley has written of the use of familiar spirits among both the Tapirapé[3] and the Tenetehara.[4] In the regions to the south of the Mundurucú, Oberg states that shamans are aided by spirits among the Kaingang, Bororó, and Nambiquara.[5] Investigation failed to indicate, however, that the Mundurucú shaman was aided in any way by supernatural beings. He is in contact with the supernatural world and is capable of collaborating with it or defeating its intended but he accomplishes this through direct use of the unbridled power contained within him and not through the intermediary of spirits. Also, all shamans have some form of contact with all supernatural beings; none has special relations with any particular supernatural.

Some shamans are thought to be more powerful than others. The most effective [998] practitioners are usually the older men, for they are considered to have acquired experience and skill. However, the crucial determinant of a shaman's strength is the strength of his father, for the sons are believed to inherit the degree of power of the parent. Some older Mundurucú men barely practiced, since their power was considered slight, whereas younger men were often highly regarded as shamans. Among the contemporary Mundurucú, two or three shamans are looked upon as being in possession of great strength, and their services are in heavy demand. On one occasion, a man became violently ill shortly after midnight and needed immediate care. The village shaman was away, so it was necessary for one of the sick man's relatives to set out through the forest, which is feared at night, on the path to the next village. He directed its shaman to the aid of his sick rela-

[1] Tocantins, 1877, pp. 109–111.
[2] Métraux, 1948, p. 139.
[3] Wagley, 1943.
[4] Wagley and Galvão, 1949, pp. 166 ff.
[5] Oberg, 1934, pp. 80, 73, 100.